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FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN C. CALHOUN.

BOSTON, *December 27, 1899.*

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association.

GENTLEMEN: Herewith we beg leave to present, as the Fourth Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, a volume of the Correspondence of John C. Calhoun, edited by one of our number.

Very respectfully, yours,

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

WILLIAM P. TRENT.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

JAMES BAYN, JR.

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

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of the South during the first half of the century now closing—a history for which large collections of documentary material are conspicuously lacking. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the Historical Manuscripts Commission, established by the American Historical Association, should, from their first appointment in 1895, have looked upon an edition of the correspondence of John C. Calhoun as one of the tasks which, if it were possible, most imperatively called for their attention. Fortunately it has proved to be possible, and the result is laid before the American Historical Association and the public as the Fourth Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The thought of such an edition was first awakened in the mind of the editor, then a teacher in the Johns Hopkins University, by a passage in Von Holst's *Calhoun*, read soon after its publication in 1883. In 1888 he had some correspondence with Calhoun's son-in-law, Col. Thomas G. Clemson, of Fort Hill, S. C., who then possessed the main mass of the extant correspondence, and who courteously invited him to make use of it. Soon after this Colonel Clemson died, leaving these papers to the Clemson Agricultural College, the present occupant of the estate at Fort Hill. To the trustees of that institution, and especially to Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, the editor and the reader are more largely indebted than to anyone else. They not only gave generous permission to use freely for the purposes of this edition the valuable materials in their possession, but sent the whole mass to Providence, where, stored in a fireproof library, it might be used at the editor's convenience.

The collection so kindly placed at his disposal embraced about 430 letters written by Calhoun, a certain amount of miscellaneous manuscript, and about 2,300 letters written to him. To the latter class of letters few additions have been obtainable; but so much effort has been made to secure additional letters written by Calhoun, and with so much success, that this portion of the Clemson College collection has become the nucleus of a mass of about 800 letters, illustrating all periods of Calhoun's career in all aspects of his life. His letters preserved at Clemson College were, in the main, those written to his wife and her mother, to his daughter and her husband, Colonel Clemson, and to two intimate cousins and brothers—

in-law, John Ewing Calhoun and James Edward Calhoun. Though several of these relatives had an interest in and a capacity for politics, which caused Calhoun to write freely to them concerning public affairs, it was felt that an editor ought also to secure as many as possible of the letters which Calhoun wrote to political associates and supporters. It is believed that the endeavor to secure such materials has been carried out with a thoroughness quite unusual in such cases, and that, by reason of the extreme kindness of the possessors, who have responded with the most gratifying liberality, comparatively few such letters that are extant and valuable have escaped. Inquiries were systematically addressed to all known descendants of Calhoun or of his immediate relatives, to the descendants of his leading correspondents and his chief associates in public life, to the public archives of the Federal Government and of the Southern States, to those public libraries and historical societies most likely to have any of his letters, to the leading autograph collectors and dealers throughout the country, and to many prominent citizens of South Carolina. A circular was also sent to all the newspapers published in that State, and their aid was considerable.

Among those to whom editor and reader are indebted for additional letters, the first place unquestionably belongs to Miss Margaret M. Calhoun, of Wallace, Ga., and her brother, Mr. Patrick Calhoun, of Cleveland, Ohio, who placed at the editor's disposal the interesting series of letters from their grandfather to their father, Col. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, his eldest son. The Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, kindly permitted an examination of the archives of his Department and the copying of those letters, not already printed, which Calhoun wrote as the head of that Department. The Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, gave a similar permission. Copies of Calhoun's letters to Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, preserved among the papers of those statesmen in the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the State Department, were supplied by Mr. Stanislaus M. Hamilton, to whose unwearied kindness so many historical students are indebted. Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C., contributed the highly important series of Calhoun's letters to his father, Governor and Senator James H. Hammond, and also the copies which the latter kept of his extremely interesting replies. Mr. Robert

P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash., sent a series, hardly less interesting, of letters to and from Gen. Duff Green. A group of letters to Maj. Christopher Van Deventer, chief clerk of the War Department under Calhoun, and ever afterwards a prominent political supporter, was furnished by his son, Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.; a group addressed to Maj. Armistead Burt, M. C., of South Carolina, who married Calhoun's niece, by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville. Mr. Wilberforce Eames, librarian of the Lenox Library, and Mr. Gregory B. Keen, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, responded generously to requests for copies of the letters possessed by those institutions. Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, an associate in this commission, obligingly performed the laborious search of the files of the Departments of State and War. The most cordial acknowledgments are also due, for letters printed in the following collection, to Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C., who lent the remaining letters of Calhoun to Governor Francis W. Pickens; to Mrs. J. F. Calhoun; to Col. William P. Calhoun, of Edgefield; to Mr. William M. Meigs, of Philadelphia; to Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington; to Miss Elizabeth Pickens Cunningham, of Asheville, N. C.; to Mr. Charles Francis Adams; to Dr. Lester G. Bugbee, of the University of Texas; to Mrs. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston; to Messrs. Simon Gratz and Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia; to Mr. Mendes Cohen, of Baltimore; Hon. J. L. M. Curry, of Washington; Mr. Yates Snowden, of Charleston; Mr. F. E. Shoup, of Columbia, Tenn.; Miss Mary T. Hunter, of Lloyds, Va.; Mr. Hugh Calhoun Middleton, of Augusta, Ga.; Mrs. M. E. Wilcox, of Washington; Mr. Charles P. Greenough, of Brookline, Mass.; Mr. Fred M. Steele, of Chicago; Rev. S. T. Martin, of Dublin, Va.; Mr. P. H. Hill, of Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Georgia, and Mrs. M. A. L. Compton, of Athens, Ga. It is not easy to express adequately the editor's sense of the kindness with which his requests for the loan of valuable letters have been met by so many persons, to most of whom he was entirely a stranger. Acknowledgments not less grateful are made to the many persons who have sent letters or copies of letters, which have not been used, or who have obligingly, but without result, made searches,

sometimes more laborious than he likes to think of, for the editor's benefit.

Something like 800 letters of Calhoun, it has been remarked, were gathered together by these means. Of these somewhat more than 500 are printed in the present volume. In general, letters heretofore printed have been omitted, with the exception of seven or eight which seemed to be of such interest or importance that the collection would be incomplete without them. Many have been omitted as having no historical importance—letters concerning the official routine of the War Department (of which an abundant number are given already in the American State Papers) or concerning private business or the details of agriculture. Yet it is not to be forgotten that agriculture was a favorite interest of Calhoun, as of most other Southern statesmen, and enough of the agricultural portion of his correspondence has been included to exhibit this aspect of his character and life. Many family letters, in which the public has or should have no interest, have been left out. But on the other hand the editor has felt that, Calhoun being to many readers a mere abstraction, a purely political *eidolon*, it was an important part of his task to let Calhoun, the man, reveal himself. He has therefore included enough of the private family letters, without, he hopes, violating the sanctities of domestic life, to exhibit Calhoun as a human being and a member of a family, to show his constant devotion to his wife and her mother, his strong affection for his children, his anxious care for their well-being and improvement, his abiding interest in all kinsmen. As to his relations to his slaves, the reader may rest assured that he has the evidence in the same form and proportion in which it presented itself to the editor in the total mass of the correspondence. There has been no effort to suppress anything; indeed, there was nothing to suppress—nothing but the ordinary and inevitable incidents of the system of slavery. The one or two letters now printed in which reference is made to the punishment of slaves or to the pursuit of fugitives are, according to present recollection, the only ones the editor has seen. Finally, it should be remarked that, not without reason, letters of a personal sort have been included in greater abundance for Calhoun's earlier years than for later times, for such letters are of special

interest when they come from formative years and help to show the early development of personal traits.

Not all letters have been printed entire. It is recognized that there are advantages in completeness of text. Some readers are ready to suspect that the omissions have been made for ulterior purposes—patriotism or partiality, hero worship or conventional decorum. They may be assured that nothing of the sort has happened in the present case. But often it has happened that a long letter, chiefly occupied with agriculture or with private business having no interest to the present world, has had, at the end or elsewhere, a paragraph of political history that seemed worth preserving. Nearly all the cases of omission are of this sort. The trustees of Clemson College enjoined the editor to print no passages that would give pain to the living. But there are few such passages. Calhoun was neither gossippy nor spiteful, nor was he a man of active personal animosities, for his politics revolved around principles rather than personalities. As for merely political conflicts, there has seemed to be no reason to suppress their evidences; the fights of sixty years ago are ancient history now. No passages have been omitted in order to support or to weaken any particular opinions in politics or history. Nor has a single word been omitted for the supposed benefit of Calhoun's reputation. Indeed, it might be said of him, as of very few public men, that he had nothing to fear from the posthumous publication of his papers. Whatever omissions have been made on the other grounds explained above are indicated by dots, except in the case of some insignificant postscripts. The subscriptions, signatures, and addresses have also been omitted, for there was nothing characteristic about them (plain "Yours truly," or "Yours sincerely," being the usual subscription), and they took up space.

As for the texts of the letters, it is not supposed that they are all perfect, for Calhoun's handwriting is often very difficult to read. But unusual pains have been taken to secure accuracy. The letters, copied by typewriter, have been compared with the originals, word for word, by an assistant having a competent knowledge of American political history. The editor has repeated the process with minute care in the case of a large share of the letters, and has verified it to a considerable extent

in each of the others. Where the text here printed is derived not from the original letter, but from a copy, the fact is stated in a footnote. Much the greater number of letters, it will be seen, have been printed from the originals.

The intention has been to print every sentence *verbatim et literatim* as Calhoun wrote it. Some may object to this Chinese fidelity, which preserves a writer's casual errors of spelling more faithfully than he would himself have preserved them; but on the whole American editing needs to err on this side. In general, Calhoun spelled well, though he seems to have invariably written spirit "sperit," and presumably so pronounced the word. His use of capitals presents one curious puzzle. The reader with theories would feel sure that Calhoun would always spell "State" with a capital initial. In reality, it is impossible to say whether he did so or not. His large "S" and his small "s" are usually identical in form, differing only in size. Now, the letter with which he begins the word "State" seems usually to be something between the two. At all events, it is not uniformly either one or the other, even in the same letter, and the reader will find a corresponding want of uniformity in the print. Though the editing has attempted to be rigid in spelling and capitals, in punctuation a little latitude has been allowed, when to preserve an eccentric punctuation of the original would make the sense obscure. The initials "c. c." in the heading of a letter are used to indicate that it forms a part of the Clemson College collection; "P. AND M. C." to indicate that it was lent by Mr. Patrick Calhoun and Miss Margaret Calhoun. In other cases the sources are acknowledged in footnotes.

Besides the letters of Calhoun, nearly 200 of the letters written to him are herewith presented. Though the 2,300 letters to Calhoun embraced in the Clemson College collection belong nearly all to the decade 1840-1850, yet within those limits they illustrate the history of the South and of the Federal Government in a most interesting manner. Their variety is great, for they come from nearly 900 different writers, representing all classes of Southern society, and from many Northerners. The selection from among them, a somewhat difficult matter, has been carefully conducted with a view to illustrating from as various points of view as possible the career of Calhoun and

the history of the South and the Union during his time, so far as really important and characteristic letters cover these topics. It is interesting to see how uniform an opinion of Calhoun on the part of his supporters these letters reveal. No one expects anything of him but the most high-minded political conduct; and in this respect, also, the letters that are not printed, though many of them are from office seekers and second-rate politicians, tell the same story as those that are printed.

A few letters to Calhoun have been derived from other sources than Clemson College. Especially noteworthy among these are the letters of Governor Hammond and Gen. Duff Green, already mentioned. In respect to omissions and accuracy of text, the same principles have been followed as in the case of the letters written by Calhoun himself.

It is hoped that the arrangement of the material will explain and commend itself. A chronology of the events of Calhoun's life, kindly contributed by Prof. James Q. Dealey, of Brown University, has for convenience been prefixed. This is followed by lists of Calhoun's letters heretofore printed, of his letters now printed, and of the letters addressed to him which are included in the present collection. Between these lists and the main body of the text is inserted a sketch of his early life, written by Col. William Pinkney Starke, which the editor deems well worthy of permanent preservation. Colonel Starke, a native of the Calhoun region in South Carolina, and an intelligent man, resided for some time at Fort Hill with Colonel Clemson, engaged, at the latter's instance, in preparing a biography of Calhoun from the papers left by him. The life was written in an early form of shorthand, but Senator Tillman has caused it to be transcribed. It proves to be a valuable record, written from the letters and from materials of neighborhood tradition, of the life of Calhoun from his birth (indeed from the origin of the Calhouns in Scotland) to his entrance into Congress in November, 1811. At that point Colonel Starke deemed it indispensable to pause and discuss with thoroughness the Constitution of the United States—and he wrote no more. The fragment which he left, composed with old-fashioned leisureliness, has been compressed, without real injury, though without specific indication of omissions, into dimensions suitable to the present volume, to which it forms a fitting introduction.

As for the annotations of the letters, though they might have been made much more extensive, the number of notes actually needed in order to make the text intelligible is small. These the editor has tried to supply; beyond this minimum he has not chosen to go.

With this preface the editor takes leave of the correspondence of John C. Calhoun and of the duties, four years pursued, of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. His modest task has been to provide materials with which others may elaborate the fabric of American political history or the biography of Calhoun. He is content with the belief that what he has tried to do may make a portion of that fabric more solid and substantial and with the thought of having made better known to American readers—to the readers of documents, at least, a small but potent audience—the character and the career of one of the greatest and most elevated of American statesmen. The day on which this preface is concluded is exactly fifty years from that on which Calhoun died. One can not fail to be impressed with the contrast between the political situation upon which his dying eyes rested, an anxious and discordant people, a Union apparently crumbling, and that which is presented before us at the present day, a Union of matchless solidity and strength, “the ensign of the Republic still full high advanced,” the nation proceeding with buoyant optimism to new tasks and to an inspiring future. But surely not the least happy element in the contrast is that growth of fraternal feeling, of generous judgment, and of historic breadth of view, which enables all alike to do justice to the memory of a great and noble statesman who, whether his opinions be ours or not, is seen to have spent a long and laborious life in the conscientious service of our common country.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

BROWN UNIVERSITY,

Providence, March 31, 1900.

CHRONOLOGY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN.¹

- 1782, Mar. 18 Born at Calhoun Settlement, Abbeville
County, S. C.
- 1802.....Entered junior class of Yale College.
- 1804, Sept. 12.....Graduated as bachelor of arts.
- 1805, July 22-1806, July 28...Law course at Litchfield, Conn.
- 1807.....Admitted to the bar at Columbia, S. C.
- 1807, Oct. 13.....Elected to State legislature from Abbeville
district.
- 1810, OctElected to House of Representatives.
- 1811, Jan. 8Married to his cousin, Floride Calhoun, only
daughter of Hon. John Ewing Calhoun.
- 1811, Nov. 4-1812, July 6Twelfth Congress, first session. Calhoun in
House of Representatives.
- Dec. 12First speech, on war resolutions.
- 1812, Nov. 2-1813, Mar. 3Twelfth Congress, second session. Calhoun
in House of Representatives.
- 1813, May 24-Aug. 2Thirteenth Congress, first session. Calhoun
in House of Representatives.
- 1813, Dec. 6-1814, Apr. 18Thirteenth Congress, second session. Cal-
houn in House of Representatives.
- 1814, Sept. 19-1815, Mar. 3....Thirteenth Congress, third session. Calhoun
in House of Representatives.
- Jan. 8Speech on incorporation of Bank of United
States.
- Apr. 6....Speech on tariff bill.
- 1815, Dec. 4-1816, April 30....Fourteenth Congress, first session. Calhoun
in House of Representatives.
- 1816, Dec. 2-1817, Mar. 3Fourteenth Congress, second session. Cal-
houn in House of Representatives.
- Feb. 4Speech on internal improvements.
- 1817, Oct. 8-1825, Mar. 3.....Secretary of War under President Monroe.
- 1819, Jan. 14Report on development of roads and canals.
- 1824, Dec. 3Second report on development of roads and
canals.
- 1825.....Made Fort Hill his permanent residence.
- 1825, Mar. 4-1832, Dec. 28....Vice-President of the United States under
Presidents J. Q. Adams and Jackson.

¹ Contributed by Professor James Q. Dealey of Brown University.

- 1825, Mar. 4-8.....Nineteenth Congress. Special executive session of Senate. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1825, Dec. 5-1826, May 22....Nineteenth Congress, first session Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1826, Dec. 4-1827, Mar. 3....Nineteenth Congress, second session. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1827, Dec. 3-1828, May 26....Twentieth Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1828, Dec. 1-1829, Mar. 3.....Twentieth Congress, second session. Calhoun President of Senate
- 1828, Dec. 28.....Adoption, with modifications, by legislature of South Carolina of "The Exposition," prepared by Calhoun.
- 1829, Mar. 4-17.....Twenty-first Congress. Special executive session of Senate. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1829, Dec. 7-1830, May 31....Twenty-first Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1830, Jan. 19-27.....Webster-Hayne debate. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1830, MayBreach with President Jackson.
- 1830, Dec. 6-1831, Mar. 3.....Twenty-first Congress, second session. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1831, July 26....."Address to the people of South Carolina."
- 1831, Dec. 5-1832, July 16....Twenty-second Congress, first session. Calhoun President of Senate.
- 1832, July 16.....Resigns the vice-presidency.
- 1832, Aug. 28....."Letter to Governor Hamilton."
- 1832, Dec. 12.....Elected by South Carolina legislature to Senate, filling out unexpired term of Gen. Hayne.
- 1832, Dec. 3-1833, Mar. 2.....Twenty-second Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate, from Jan. 4.
- 1833, Jan. 4.....Calhoun sworn in as a member of the Senate.
- Feb. 15-16.....Speech on the "force bill."
- Feb. 26.....Speech on his resolutions in support of State rights, and reply to Mr. Webster.
- 1833, Dec. 2-1834, June 30...Twenty-third Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
- Apr. 9....Speech on bill to repeal "force bill."
- 1834, Dec. 1-1835, Mar. 4....Twenty-third Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1835, Dec. 7-1836, July 4....Twenty-fourth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate
- Mar. 9....Speech on Abolition petitions.
- 1837, Mar. 4-10.....Twenty-fifth Congress, special executive session of Senate. Calhoun in Senate.

- 1837, Sept. 4-Oct. 16Twenty-fifth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1837, Dec. 4-1838, July 9Twenty-fifth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
- Feb. 15 ...Speech on independent Treasury bill.
- Mar. 10 ...Speech in reply to Mr. Clay.
- 1838, Dec. 3-1839, Mar. 3Twenty-fifth Congress, third session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1839, Dec. 2-1840, July 21 ...Twenty-sixth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1840, Dec. 7-1841, Mar. 3Twenty-sixth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1841, Mar. 4-15Twenty-seventh Congress, special executive session of Senate. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1841, May 31-Sept. 13Twenty-seventh Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1841, Dec. 6-1842, Aug. 31 ...Twenty-seventh Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
- Feb. 28 ...Speech in defense of veto power.
- Aug. 5 ...Speech on tariff bill.
- Aug. 28 ...Speech on treaty of Washington.
- 1842, Dec. 5-1843, Mar. 3Twenty-seventh Congress, third session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1843, Mar. 4-1844, Mar. 6Not in office. Candidate for Presidency, but withdrew Jan. 20, 1844.
- 1844, Mar. 6-1845, Mar. 6Secretary of State under President Tyler.
- 1845, Nov. 26Elected by South Carolina legislature to Senate, filling out unexpired term of Judge Huger.
- 1845, Dec. 1-1846, Aug. 10 ...Twenty-ninth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate from Dec. 22.
- Mar. 16 ...Speech on Oregon question.
- 1846, Dec. 7-1847, Mar. 3Twenty-ninth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
- Feb. 9 ...Speech on the Three Million Bill.
- Feb. 19 ...Speech on series of resolutions in regard to Wilmot proviso.
- Feb. 24 ...Speech in reply to Mr. Benton.
- Mar. 9 ...Speech to the citizens of Charleston.
- 1847, Dec. 6-1848, Aug. 14 ...Thirtieth Congress, first session. Calhoun in Senate.
- Jan. 4Speech on his resolutions in regard to the war with Mexico.
- May 15 ...Speech on Yucatan question.
- June 27 ...Speech on Oregon question.
- 1848, Dec. 4-1849, Mar. 3Thirtieth Congress, second session. Calhoun in Senate.
- 1849, Mar. 5-23Thirty-first Congress, special executive session of Senate. Calhoun in Senate.

- 1849.....Prepares for publication his "Disquisition on government," and "Discourse on the Constitution of the United States."
- 1849, Dec. 3-1850, Sept 30...Thirty-first Congress, first session Calhoun in Senate to March 31.
- Mar. 4.....Speech on slavery question, read by Mr. Mason, of Virginia.
- Mar. 13...Last remarks made in the Senate.
- Mar. 31...Death at Washington, 1850.

CALENDAR OF THE LETTERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN HERETOFORE PRINTED.

The following calendar is a revised version of that which was printed in the Third Annual Report of the Manuscripts Commission, pages 591 to 609. A few additional letters of Calhoun have been printed during the year, chiefly in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, and two not discovered before have been found. The list makes no attempt to discriminate between public and private letters, but includes whatever bears the outward form of a letter. Most of the items, it will be perceived, have been drawn from the folio American State Papers and from the later public documents of the Federal Government:

- December 15, 1817. To A. K. Parris. Room needed for office. American State Papers, Miscellaneous, II, 471.
- December 16, 1817. To Gen. E. P. Gaines. Attack on Seminoles. American State Papers, Military Affairs, II, 689; and also Indian Affairs, II, 162; Niles's Register, xv, 303.
- December 22, 1817. To the President (James Monroe). Strength of the Army. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 669.
- December 23, 1817. To the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Henry Clay). List of brevet officers. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 673.
- December 26, 1817. To Gen. E. P. Gaines. Directions for course of action with Seminoles. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 689-690; Niles's Register, xv, 303.
- December 26, 1817. To Gen. Andrew Jackson. Orders in Seminole war. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 690; Niles's Register, xv, 303; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 438; and also (extract) in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 162.
- December 29, 1817. To General Jackson. Issuing of orders. Instructions. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 375-376.
- January 12, 1818. To President Monroe. Amelia Island. American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 139; Niles's Register, XIII, 346.
- January 16, 1818. To Gen. E. P. Gaines. Seminole war. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 691, 692; Niles's Register, xv, 304.

- January 29, 1818. To Gen. Andrew Jackson. Seminole war. Niles's Register, xv, 304, xvi, 91.
- January 29, 1818. To Robert Brent. Double rations to commandants. American State Papers, Military Affairs, iv, 375.
- February 6, 1818. To Gen. Andrew Jackson. Seminole war. Niles's Register, xv, 304, xvi, 92.
- February 14, 1818. To P. Hagner. Maryland militia claims. American State Papers, Military Affairs, iii, 168.
- February 16, 1818. To Col. W. King. Accountability for funds. American State Papers, Military Affairs, ii, 167.
- February 21, 1818. To President Monroe. Arms, etc., manufactured and delivered to the States. American State Papers, Military Affairs, i, 677.
- March 2, 1818. To President Monroe. Treaty with the Creeks. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 151.
- March 7, 1818. To Governor N. Edwards. Commissioner Chouteau and Indian Treaties. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 173.
- March 7, 1818. To Col. A. P. Hayne. Measures regarding Seminoles. American State Papers, Military Affairs, i, 766; Niles's Register, xvi, 91.
- March 16, 1818. To Governor Joseph McMinn. Cherokee Emigration. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 478-479.
- March 24, 1818. To President Monroe. Documents relating to the origin of the Seminole war. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 154.
- March 26, 1818. To Prof. Benjamin Silliman. G. P. Fisher, Life of Silliman, i, 288.
- April 1, 1818. To President Monroe. Indian agents. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 163.
- May 2, 1818. To Gen. Isaac Shelby and Gen. Andrew Jackson. Treaty with the Chickasaws. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 173.
- May 2, 1818. To Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass, and Benjamin Parke. Treaty with the Miamis, Delawares, etc. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 174.
- May 8, 1818. To Governor William Clark and Auguste Chouteau. Treaty with the Quapaws. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 174.
- May 8, 1818. To Thomas L. McKinney. Purchase of goods for the Indians. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 174-175.
- May 11, 1818. To Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur. Treaty with the Shawnees. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 175.
- May 11, 1818. To Joseph McMinn. Cherokee treaty, etc. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 479.
- May 13, 1818. To Governor Bibb, of Alabama. Seminoles. Niles's Register, xv, 305.
- July 29, 1818. To Joseph McMinn. Cherokee Emigration. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 479-480.
- July 29, 1818. To Joseph McMinn. Cherokee Treaty. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 480.
- July 30, 1818. To Governor Isaac Shelby. Negotiations with the Chickasaws. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, ii, 178.

- July 30, 1818. To Gen. Andrew Jackson. Chickasaw annuity. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 178.
- August 2, 1818. To Joel Crawford. Claims for military service. Miller, The Bench and Bar of Georgia, I, 467.
- August 14, 1818. To Gen. Andrew Jackson. The President's decision relative to St. Marks and Pensacola. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 734-735; Niles's Register, XV, 305.
- August 14, 1818. To Gen. E. P. Gaines. Niles's Register, XV, 305.
- August 19, 1818. To Governor Lewis Cass. Removal of the Six Nations, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 176.
- August 19, 1818. To Gen. E. P. Gaines. Niles's Register, XV, 305.
- September, 1818. To Gen. A. Jackson. (Extract.) Seminole War and European Complications. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 516.
- September 1, 1818. To Gen. E. P. Gaines. St. Marks and Pensacola. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 745; Niles's Register, XVI, 81.
- September 5, 1818. To the Superintendents and Agents for Indian Affairs. Claims by and against Indians. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 268-269.
- September 8, 1818. To Gen. Andrew Jackson. Garrison at St. Marks. (Extract.) American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 745.
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ACCOUNT OF CALHOUN'S EARLY LIFE, ABRIDGED FROM THE
MANUSCRIPT OF COL. W. PINKNEY STARKE.

Among the emigrants from Scotland to North Ireland who crossed the channel early in the eighteenth century was a family of Colquhouns and another of Caldwells. The Gaelic clan Colquhoun is said to have been very respectable in numbers. The Caldwells were Lowlanders from the Frith of Solway. The Calhouns, as we shall henceforth call them, settled near Donegal in the northwestern part of the island, in which country Patrick Calhoun, the father of John Caldwell Calhoun, was born in 1723. In the years 1727-28-29 the north of Ireland suffered from drought. Owing to a succession of bad crops a number of the discontented and impoverished Scotch settlers concluded to leave Ireland, nor were they altogether satisfied with the religious situation. Four thousand emigrants to America left Ireland in one season. In the year 1733 a family of Calhouns emigrated to America. One of the three brothers was James Calhoun, who with Catherine, his wife, and four sons, James, William, Patrick, and Ezekiel, had resided in Donegal. They landed in New York, but soon removed to the western part of Pennsylvania, where they settled not far from the Potomac River. The boundary line of the French possessions at that time traversed a part of Pennsylvania. The French and English had commenced quarreling and were preparing to settle their dispute with the sword. Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg, was constructed, and the Indians along the Ohio began to show signs of hostility. The Calhouns had hoped to find rest in the wilderness where they had dwelt for several years, but were forced to seek a place of greater safety beyond the Potomac. They crossed over into Virginia and never paused till after following the base of the mountain for more than 200 miles they established themselves in what is now Wythe County, in the southwestern

part of the State. There they purchased lands lying upon Crab and Reed creeks, where they lived for a few years.¹ The defeat of Braddock exposed the entire western frontier of Virginia to irruption by the Indians. Patrick Calhoun during his residence in Virginia married his first wife, who soon died without issue. Some years before the migration of the Calhouns from Pennsylvania his only sister, Rebecca, was born. Patrick Calhoun, owing to an injury in childhood, had enjoyed only six months' schooling in Ireland, and as there were no schools to be found in the Pennsylvania wilderness this was all the scholastic education he ever enjoyed. In time he became qualified for the profession of land surveying, a business followed in his youth by Washington, whose early advantages for obtaining a literary education were not much greater than Patrick Calhoun's. In the year 1755 Patrick Calhoun went to the Waxhaw settlement in South Carolina. The Caldwells, who left Ireland about the same time as the Calhouns, had drifted along down into Carolina and were living in the Waxhaw settlement. Patrick became acquainted with the family and perhaps dandled on his knee a 5-year-old damsel, the future mother of John Caldwell Calhoun. He received from the Caldwells and others such accounts of the fertility of the lands lying beyond the Catawba River that he induced his family to emigrate to the new country.

Although but one hundred and thirty years have elapsed since the Calhouns crossed the Catawba the changes have been so great that we find it difficult to believe that railways run along the tracks of what were then Indian trails. The Calhouns worked their way along wagon roads and foot trails till the compass was perhaps their only guide. No doubt they often heard the crack of the Indian rifle, for at that time the Charleston market called for an annual supply of 200,000 buckskins for British vests and smallclothes.

The northwestern part of the colony was then known as the District of Ninety-six, so called from a station on an Indian trail lying at that number of miles from Fort George. No part of North America was at that time more abundantly supplied with game than the region now called Abbeville County, a region bounded on the west by the Savannah and intersected

¹ See Calhoun's letter of September 15, 1846, *post*.

by several considerable streams. The Calhouns must have passed near the spot upon which the town of Abbeville now stands. At that time the Indian line ran a few miles to the west of it. They crossed the Long Cane Creek and proceeded as far as Little River. At length, near the latter stream, they found a region so inviting that they determined to locate a site for a settlement. This was on a small stream running into Little River, and at a distance of 2 or 3 miles from it. The surrounding country was mostly a prairie of rich black loam, just sufficiently undulating for drainage, covered with cane and wild-pea vines, and probably not thickly timbered.

It was in the year 1756 that the Calhoun family, consisting of the aged and widowed mother, Catherine, and her sons, James, William, Patrick, and Ezekiel, with their families, removed to the colony of South Carolina. They were accompanied by two or three families who had been persuaded to join them. At the time of their arrival there were only three or four families of settlers within easy reach. Having secured homesteads the Calhouns again commenced a pioneer life. Upon the right bank of the little stream running westwardly into Little River, Patrick Calhoun erected his dwelling. It took the name of Calhoun Creek.

Mr. Patrick Calhoun, who was in the thirty-fourth year of his age at the time of his arrival in Carolina, took at once the position of a leader in the new settlement. He was in no long time appointed by the colonial governor a captain of rangers, and, as we shall see, did much by his courage and counsel to insure the safety and contribute to the advancement of the back settlements.

War soon broke out with the Indians. A party, of which Patrick Calhoun was one, when removing their wives and children and most valuable effects to Augusta for safety were attacked by the Cherokees on the 1st of February, 1760, and some 50 persons, men, women, and children were slain. After the massacre many children were found wandering in the woods. One man discovered and brought back nine of these fugitives. Two little daughters of William, the brother of Patrick Calhoun, were carried into captivity. The elder of them, after some years, was rescued; the other never was heard of. Among the slain was the old Scotch woman Catherine Calhoun, the mother of the family of Calhouns. A curious

part of the State. There they purchased lands lying upon Crab and Reed creeks, where they lived for a few years.¹ The defeat of Braddock exposed the entire western frontier of Virginia to irruption by the Indians. Patrick Calhoun during his residence in Virginia married his first wife, who soon died without issue. Some years before the migration of the Calhouns from Pennsylvania his only sister, Rebecca, was born. Patrick Calhoun, owing to an injury in childhood, had enjoyed only six months' schooling in Ireland, and as there were no schools to be found in the Pennsylvania wilderness this was all the scholastic education he ever enjoyed. In time he became qualified for the profession of land surveying, a business followed in his youth by Washington, whose early advantages for obtaining a literary education were not much greater than Patrick Calhoun's. In the year 1755 Patrick Calhoun went to the Waxhaw settlement in South Carolina. The Caldwells, who left Ireland about the same time as the Calhouns, had drifted along down into Carolina and were living in the Waxhaw settlement. Patrick became acquainted with the family and perhaps dandled on his knee a 5-year-old damsel, the future mother of John Caldwell Calhoun. He received from the Caldwells and others such accounts of the fertility of the lands lying beyond the Catawba River that he induced his family to emigrate to the new country.

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¹See Calhoun's letter of September 15, 1846, *post*.

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It was in the year 1756 that the Calhoun family, consisting of the aged and widowed mother, Catherine, and her sons, James, William, Patrick, and Ezekiel, with their families, removed to the colony of South Carolina. They were accompanied by two or three families who had been persuaded to join them. At the time of their arrival there were only three or four families of settlers within easy reach. Having secured homesteads the Calhouns again commenced a pioneer life. Upon the right bank of the little stream running westwardly into Little River, Patrick Calhoun erected his dwelling. It took the name of Calhoun Creek.

Mr. Patrick Calhoun, who was in the thirty-fourth year of his age at the time of his arrival in Carolina, took at once the position of a leader in the new settlement. He was in no long time appointed by the colonial governor a captain of rangers, and, as we shall see, did much by his courage and counsel to insure the safety and contribute to the advancement of the back settlements.

War soon broke out with the Indians. A party, of which Patrick Calhoun was one, when removing their wives and children and most valuable effects to Augusta for safety were attacked by the Cherokees on the 1st of February, 1760, and some 50 persons, men, women, and children were slain. After the massacre many children were found wandering in the woods. One man discovered and brought back nine of these fugitives. Two little daughters of William, the brother of Patrick Calhoun, were carried into captivity. The elder of them, after some years, was rescued; the other never was heard of. Among the slain was the old Scotch woman Catherine Calhoun, the mother of the family of Calhouns. A curious

stone, engraved by a native artist, marks the spot where she fell among her children and neighbors. When Patrick Calhoun and others returned to bury the dead three days afterwards, he discovered his niece Rebecca, who had concealed herself in the canebrake. She afterwards became the wife of Gen. Andrew Pickens, and was the grandmother of Governor Francis W. Pickens, of Fort Sumter memory. The graves at Long Cane marking the site of this massacre are still to be seen.

The war between the French and the English came to an end in 1763, and in the following year the Cherokees gave up the struggle. The settlers returned to their homes and soon the tide of population set in with renewed force, mainly from Virginia and Pennsylvania, towards the northern and western sections of the colony. In 1766 the first migratory movement was made from the seacoast, in which year a considerable number of French Protestant families came up and settled in the Calhoun neighborhood. Much of that peculiar tone of manners distinguishing the South Carolinians in the early days of the Republic was due to the admixture of this French element in our population. John C. Calhoun grew up not without receiving some benefit from the association that gave a certain polish to his manners.

In the Revolution the Calhouns and Caldwells early took a decided stand on the Whig side. The war came to an end in South Carolina in 1781, and Mr. Patrick Calhoun was living in quiet on his plantation on Calhoun Creek near Little River when his third son was born, March 18, 1782. The massacre of John Caldwell in the previous year was fresh in the memory of the Calhouns, and they gave to the infant the name of his murdered uncle. The Calhoun domicile, situated on ground slightly rising on the northern side of the creek, was the first framed house in the neighborhood. It was two stories high, and, as I can remember (I have been to it and slept in it repeatedly in early childhood) had four rooms on each story. "Mr. Calhoun, in his childhood," said Senator Butler in his eulogy, "had but limited advantages of what is termed a literary tuition. His parents lived in a newly settled country and among a sparse population. This population had but a slight connection with the lower country of South Carolina, and were sustained by emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

There was, of course, but limited means of instruction to children. They imbibed most of their lessons from the conversation of their parents. Mr. Calhoun has always expressed himself deeply sensible of that influence."

A hundred years ago there were very few schools in the upper country of South Carolina. Occasionally an "old field school" was opened for a few months by some itinerant schoolmaster capable of instructing children in the rudiments of learning. The writer is old enough to remember such a school in the same Calhoun neighborhood, a log hut with rude appliances. In the year 1794 there was a schoolhouse existing at Brewer's, half way between Mr. Calhoun's and Little River, and a tradition existed that John Caldwell went to school there for a few months when quite young. With this possible exception and also excepting three months of schooling in Georgia in his fourteenth year, Mr. Calhoun's scholastic education commenced when he was more than 18 years of age.

Wherever in the back woods of South Carolina lived a true mother, herself a woman of any culture, there was to be found the best teacher. Of the tall stately Caldwell mother of John C. Calhoun little has come down to us. To her descendants she left the memory of many virtues. One of her husband's family, now a man not far from a hundred years of age, has seen her. "She was a great manager," he told the writer, "and that is something. She taught her son John how to administer the affairs of a plantation."¹ We have abundant proof of the deep impression made by his mother upon the heart of John Caldwell.

Not many books were to be had in those days, few newspapers, no dime novels. A book was a costly and precious article in the backwoods, not to be procured without difficulty, and accordingly very much valued. Charleston was then the richest city on the continent, and Patrick Calhoun, as a member of the legislature, was accustomed to perform his annual journey thither on horseback. We may believe that he brought back from the city, in his leathern saddle-bags, a book for his children, especially for John, who took to read-

¹ Note by Colonel Starke: Having spent the first ten years of my life in the same neighborhood, having often slept in the old Patrick Calhoun mansion, and being myself of the same Scotch Presbyterian stock, I can appreciate the tenor and force of the enviroing influences in Mr. Calhoun's early life.

ing from early boyhood. He acquired much from the conversation of his parents, of whose influence, as Mr. Butler says, he always expressed himself as being sensible. Numerous stories of the Indian wars were related by the old Scotch-Irishman—stories of Tory barbarities, stories of British atrocities. John was only 6 years of age when the question of the adoption of the new Federal Constitution came before the people of South Carolina. Patrick Calhoun opposed its ratification in common with almost the entire up-country. But the power lay with the parishes, and the State adopted it. The first glimpse we have of John Caldwell is in his tenth year. "We have heard him say," remarks Mr. Hunter, "that amongst his earliest recollections was one of a conversation when he was 9 years of age, in which his father maintained that government to be the best which allowed the largest amount of individual liberty compatible with social order and tranquillity, and insisted that the improvements in political science would be found to consist in throwing off many of the restraints then imposed by law and deemed necessary to an organized society." The boy is set a-thinking. Brought into the world for a purpose of no mean significance, and therefore gifted with natural endowments of no common order, the impression made upon his memory by his father's remark shows that his mind was ready to manifest its bent, or perhaps to receive an impulse giving it direction.

In 1794 we obtain our first visible glimpse of John Caldwell. In Dr. Howe's admirable history of Presbyterianism in South Carolina we have a biographical sketch of the Rev. Moses Waddell, the most celebrated of Southern schoolmasters. "In the year 1794," says the learned Howe, "an appointment had been made for a new preacher at a schoolhouse near Brewer's, a few miles from Hopewell Church, and just half-way between the waters of Calhoun's Creek and Little River. It was a week day, but a considerable audience had been assembled, for some indefinite and fleeting rumor had excited the curiosity of the Scotch-Irish colonists. At the close of the service the people crowded around the preacher, and a contest which bade fair to be scarcely amicable arose as to the privilege of entertaining this wonderful young stranger. This point was at length conceded out of sheer respect, and he went with Mr. Patrick Calhoun, the patriarch of the flock. We

have often heard him describe, with the pleasant garrulity of age, this first visit to the Calhoun settlement, that evening's hospitable entertainment around the wide, old-fashioned chimney, the sire in one corner, the fair old matron in the other, and beside her an interesting daughter.

"After some time a door was opened, and a youthful head, with very disheveled locks and strong features, peeped in, but was instantly withdrawn. That strong-featured lad of 12 years, with disheveled head, was John C. Calhoun. The young minister was Moses Waddell, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter."

To continue this relation, given by a venerable lady, one of the audience that had listened to Mr. Waddell at Brewer's schoolhouse, "on retiring to rest that night the young preacher dreamed of that beautiful girl, who had sat near her mother, no doubt admiring the young stranger." Mr. Waddell often alluded to a dream he had that night. He dreamed that he married the young maiden, and that she died soon after marriage. Though there was nothing remarkable in the dream, there was something strange in the sequel, for in little more than a year it was literally fulfilled.

Mr. Patrick Calhoun's house was constructed of such durable materials as to last for nearly a hundred years. It was destroyed by fire a few years ago, and only two chimneys remain to mark the spot. The sitting room was to the left hand on entering the house, and the curious traveler may still notice the wide fireplace before which, on that winter's evening nearly a century ago, sat the little party above described. That young clergyman, in the time to come, was destined to number among his 4,000 pupils two candidates for the Presidency in 1823, Crawford and Calhoun, besides many others, hardly less distinguished, scattered throughout the entire South.

On returning from his legislative duties in Charleston Patrick Calhoun brought home on horseback behind him a young African, freshly imported in some English or New England vessel. The children in the neighborhood, and perhaps many of the adults, had never before seen a black man. Mr. Calhoun gave him the name of Adam, and in good time got a wife for him. At the time of John Caldwell's birth, Adam

had a family coming on, one of whom, named Sawney, was a playmate for Mr. Calhoun's boys.

Patrick Calhoun at the time of Mr. Waddell's visit was more than 70 years of age. In 1791 he had been elected a judge of the county court of Abbeville, and in the year following the legislature selected him as one of the commissioners for running the line between Abbeville and Edgefield. At the session in December, 1795, a resolution was passed ordering the State treasurer to pay Patrick Calhoun for his services as commissioner in running that boundary line. This is the last thing recorded of the old pioneer and patriarch of Abbeville.

The Rev. Moses Waddell, having married Catherine Calhoun, took her over to his home in Columbia County, Ga., where he had opened a country school. John Caldwell's parents determined to send John to his brother-in-law's academy. Accordingly, in the winter of 1795 the boy, now in his thirteenth year, for the first time in his life had an opportunity to receive the benefit of a good school. But as if the fates had ordained it otherwise, his father died on the 15th of January, and his sister, Mrs. Waddell, almost immediately afterwards. The afflicted widow about the same time received news from Mr. Waddell that made her fear for the health of her son. A letter from her son-in-law had informed her that John's devotion to books was such as to affect his health, whereupon she sent for him. As it happened, he had not been going to school at all, for at that period Mr. Waddell's clerical duties occupied so much of his attention that he was absent during the greater part of the time.

His brother-in-law was the librarian of a circulating library, to which John Caldwell, of course, had free access, as the books were in Mr. Waddell's house. In our age of cheap literature it is not easy to appreciate the eager delight of this vigorous young intellect at the sight of these volumes. Books were precious things to him. The first book he opened was Rollin's Ancient History. Robertson's History of America and Life of Charles V and Voltaire's Charles XII gave him an insight into the history of times when the first great evolution of modern European thought was taking place. There was no "light literature" to be found in a library with which Moses Waddell had anything to do.

In the course of his researches the lad of 13, having finished Rollin's History, took up Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding. The boy grappled with Locke's philosophy of the mind, and with such unrelenting ardor did he devote his energies to the exploration of this new world that by the time he had reached the chapter on Infinity his health was seriously affected. His considerate brother-in-law, who was absent from home on his clerical duties most of the time, saw the necessity of taking the boy from his books. His mother, alarmed by reports concerning the state of her son's health, sent for him, brought him home, and put him to the plow. What we absorb with delight is fixed in the memory for future use. When the young Calhoun returned to his mother's plantation, he brought home an accumulation of facts to be slowly digested into mental substance during the coming years. His mother was a woman of culture for the time, and John had brought home an amazing collection of stories. Who is so good a listener as a mother?

It was a time of great men and stirring events and when men rose by merit. It is the mother that rouses emulation and inspires the desire to excel. In the sketches of Calhoun's life we are told that on his return from Georgia he devoted himself to field sports and fishing for a few years, to the great improvement of his health. The country abounded with game, the streams swarmed with fish, and John Caldwell no doubt angled and shot, and, from his active, energetic temperament, we are inclined to believe that he angled and shot with skill.

Among the ill effects of slavery upon the whites not the least was the sense of degradation of manual labor. But Patrick Calhoun had not attained to the development of such a sense, and I have often seen his grandsons behind the plow.

Mr. Patrick Calhoun, though living in comfort and possessing abundance, was far from being rich. No; John Caldwell did not do much loitering in the woods or along the banks of Little River. Sawney told a different tale. This son of Adam lived to a great age, and spent the last twenty years of his simple life in comfort and indolence. He had been the especial playmate of John in childhood. From the reflected greatness of his former playfellow, Sawney in his old age found

himself famous. It was his delight to entertain all inquirers with accounts of John Caldwell's career. They had hunted and fished together. "We worked in the field," said Sawney, "and many's the times in the brilin' sun me and Mars John has plowed together."

The overseer was a later introduction, the natural result of wealth, luxury, and indolence, and whatever was most harsh in the institution of slavery was due to the rise of this middleman.

William and James, brothers of John, were young men at the time of his return from Waddell's, or old enough to engage in other pursuits. The managing mother, a canny Scotchwoman, soon sent off one to Charleston and the other to Augusta, where they obtained employment as clerks. By degrees the management of the farm fell into the hands of John Caldwell.

The institution of slavery, the old plantation life, is gone. Soon all recollection of it will be lost. In order to enable the reader to understand something of that life, we shall give a brief account of what fell under our notice. We shall present no imaginary picture.

Not far from the Calhoun settlement lived a man who had ridden with Sumter in the old war for liberty. During a long and active life he managed the business of the plantation himself. Toward the close of his life he consented to try an overseer, but in every case some difficulty soon arose between the middleman and the negroes, in which the old planter invariably took sides with the latter, and rid himself of the proxy. On rainy days the negro women spun raw cotton into yarn, which was woven by his own weaver into summer goods, to be cut out by a seamstress, and made by the other women, assisted by her, into clothing for the "people." The sheep were shorn, and the wool treated in the same fashion for winter clothing. The hides of cattle eaten on the place were tanned into leather and made into shoes by his own shoemaker. He had his own carpenters, wheelwrights, and blacksmiths, and besides cattle and sheep the old planter raised his own stock of horses and mules. He grew his own wheat for flour, besides raising other small grain, corn, and cotton. He distilled his own brandy from peaches and sweetened it with honey manufactured by his own bees. His negroes were well

fed and clothed, carefully attended to in sickness, virtually free in old age, and supported in comfort till their death. The moral law against adultery was sternly enforced upon the place, and no divorce allowed: His people were encouraged to enjoy themselves in all reasonable ways. They went to a Methodist church in the neighborhood on Sunday, and had besides a preacher of their own, raised on the place. The young were supplied with necessary fiddling and dancing. I was present when he died, and heard him say to tell his son that he would leave him a property honestly made and not burdened with a dollar of indebtedness. His family and friends were gathered about his bedside when the time had come for him to go. Having taken leave of his friends, he ordered his negro laborers to be summoned from the field to take farewell of him. When they arrived he was speechless and motionless, but sensible of all that was occurring, as could be seen from his look of intelligence. One by one the negroes entered the apartment, and filing by him in succession took each in turn the limp hand of their dying master, and affectionately pressing it for a moment, thanked him for his goodness, commended him to God, and bade him farewell.

The faithful discharge of the duties of the proprietor of a plantation in former times demanded administrative as well as moral qualities of a high order. There never was a better school for the education of statesmen than the administration of a Southern plantation under the former régime. A well-governed plantation was a well-ordered little independent state. Surrounded with such environments, Calhoun grew up at this school. Providence placed him there, forcing him away from books, keeping him from the busy haunts of men. Under the watchful eye of his mother, a "great manager," and with the proud feeling of being leaned upon by her as her support, the sense of duty grew into a habit. Said Mr. Webster: "I have not in public nor in private life known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of it in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty."¹

¹ Note by Colonel Starke. When he took charge of his brother's property he made the largest crop ever made and saved him from bankruptcy. "Under whatever overseer, he always made fine crops" (J. E. Calhoun).

When young Calhoun was managing the plantation for his mother, the only newspaper, we believe, published in the State was the weekly South Carolina Gazette. The Post-Office Department of the General Government was then in its infancy. At that time no post-office had been established in the Calhoun neighborhood; a letter was a serious business, and an opportunity for its safe transmission was watched for and used. A copy of this valuable journal reached the hands of John Caldwell, and was carefully preserved by him to the end of his life. The newspaper lies before us. Published May 10, 1798, it is somewhat tattered and worn, with a faded yellowish look, having evidently been much handled. It was read and reread many times by John Caldwell, then 16 years of age, for it bears his pencil-marks in various places. The stock watered and fed, the stables and barns locked, and when necessary the weekly rations of meal and bacon dealt out and the keys hung up by the fireplace, he seats himself at a table lighted by a home-made tallow candle and opens the Gazette. It was his first political text-book, and on this account deserves notice.¹ From his fourteenth to his nineteenth year John Caldwell had few books to read, and little spare time for reading. He was the manager of a plantation, and attended to his duties. He cultivated the habit of thinking for himself, which invested what he said with the charm of originality. It was at this period of his life that he began the cultivation of that conversational talent to which Mr. Webster alluded on the same occasion, a talent in which he so came to excel that another distinguished Senator remarked that in this respect "no one approached to an equality with him."

He was educated, we repeat, under "an old-fashioned" system that had its time and subserved its uses. He was taught to regard the Bible as a sacred book, to reverence God, to obey his parents, to do justice to all. He was a profoundly devout man without being religious, and often expressed himself as having "unshaken confidence in the providence of

¹Among the contents were accounts of proceedings in Congress on April 11 and 13, including a party debate on relations with France; memorials from Pennsylvania and Baltimore on the same subject; President Adams's reply, April 21, to an address of the citizens of York, Pa., and the proceedings of a public meeting at Charleston on May 4. Most of these are pencil-marked. Ed

God." However much he may ultimately have come to differ from the Calvinistic creed of his ancestors, in which he has since been followed by the entire Presbyterian laity, he kept his views to himself. But this much may be said, that when he first appears before us the influence of his early religious training is very perceptible, and occasionally to the end of his life we may plainly discover that the Scotch-Presbyterian "Nuach" instilled into him in his infancy and childhood had never left him.

John Caldwell, as he mixed with the people, began to be regarded as a young man of worth and promise, grew more and more noticeable in the community of farmers about him till they began to talk about him. "By and by," said Mr. James Edward Calhoun, a man himself of finished culture and hale in his tenth decade, "by and by a feeling manifested itself among the people in remarks that John C. Calhoun ought to be educated." This public sentiment was made known to his mother. But John's presence was necessary on the farm, and doubtless the canny Scotchwoman had an eye to business. How could she do without him? But so frequently and urgently was the matter pressed upon her, according to my informant, that at last she spoke to her eldest son about it. "We had a consultation about the matter," said J. C. C. In the summer of 1800 her second son, James, came home from Charleston. She sent for her eldest son, William, and laid the matter before them. Just at this time, too, it happened that the Rev. Moses Waddell, having at last discovered that his true vocation was teaching, had established an academy on the Carolina side of the Savannah, in close proximity to the flourishing town of Lisbon and Petersburg, in Georgia. Vienna was not more than 8 eight miles distant from Mrs. Calhoun's. The object in view at first in this family council was merely to send John to Mr. Waddell's school long enough to fit him to pursue the profession of the law.

When the proposition was first made to John Caldwell to send him to Waddell's he objected. He said he had determined to become a planter; besides, as he remarked, how could his mother do without him. The advantages of an education were pressed upon him for some time in vain. At last John laid his ultimatum before the family council, and from

all that we can learn a report of its proceedings might be given somewhat as follows:

JOHN. To the offer of such a partial education I answer decidedly, no; but if you are willing and able to give me a complete education, I give my consent.

FAMILY COUNCIL. What is your idea of a complete education?

JOHN. The best school, college, and legal education to be had in the United States.

FAMILY COUNCIL. In that case we would be obliged to send you to a New England college and maintain you there for several years.

JOHN. True; but I will accept nothing less.

FAMILY COUNCIL. How long will you require for the accomplishment of such an education?

JOHN. About seven years.

The family council had frequent meetings and discussions. While well enough to do in the world, the Calhouns were in moderate circumstances. To James has been awarded most of the credit which we are persuaded belongs to all, and as we believe mainly to the widowed mother. There are not many men who would consent to shorten a small income for seven years in order to educate a brother. What confidence these three persons must have had not merely in the ability and energy of this youth of 18, but in his honesty and sense of duty, in his utter trustworthiness, that they agreed to the proposed compact with him. The country owes much to that mother and those two brothers, William and James Calhoun.¹

A few days after the family had decided to send him to Vienna, John Caldwell left his home—left it with reluctance—and entered Mr. Waddell's school to begin in his nineteenth year his scholastic education. Mr. Calhoun's opinion of the famous schoolmaster Waddell was given long afterwards in these words:

In that character [as a teacher] he stands almost unrivaled. He may be justly considered as the father of classical education in the upper country of South Carolina and Georgia. His excellence in that character depended not so much on extensive or profound learning as a felicitous combination of qualities for the government of boys and communicating to them what he knew. He was particularly successful in exciting emulation amongst them, and in obtaining the good will of all except the worth-

¹ In his boyhood the present writer enjoyed the acquaintance of Mr. William Calhoun and his family, and there now lies before me a letter from his third daughter, Sarah, known to me as Sallie, now Mrs. E. P. Noble, of Texas, who, in her youth, was one of the most beautiful women in the United States. To her and to her respected husband I am indebted for many interesting facts in this history. (Note by Colonel Starke.)

less. The best evidence of his high qualities as a teacher is his success. Among his pupils are to be found a large portion of the eminent men in this State and Georgia. In this State it is sufficient to name McDuffie, Legaré, Pettigru, and my colleague Butler. To these many others of distinction might be added. His pupils in Georgia who have distinguished themselves are numerous. In the list are to be found the names of William H. Crawford, Longstreet, etc. It is in his character of a teacher, especially, that he will long be remembered as a benefactor of the country.

From Vienna this remarkable teacher removed to Willington, Abbeville County, and the name of the Willington Academy became famous all over the South. After he was forced, from age and disability, to give up teaching, the school was revived by his sons, James and John Waddell, but under the general supervision of the old schoolmaster. No doubt his sons followed their father's plan of teaching, and as I was when a boy long an inmate of Moses Waddell's family and a pupil at the Willington Academy, it may not be unentertaining to give a short account of the old Willington school as we had it from tradition. The boys boarded at farmhouses in the neighborhood or lived in log huts in the woods near the academy, furnishing their own supplies. At sunrise Dr. Waddell was wont to wind his horn, which was immediately answered by horns from various boarding houses in all directions. At an early hour the pupils made their appearance at the log cabin schoolhouse. The Doctor, entering the cabin and depositing his hat, would reappear at the door with the school horn in his hand. He then would call out loud, "What boy feels most flatulent this morning?" After the horn had been sounded by some lucky youth the school boys came in to listen to a short, set form of prayer.

After prayers the pupils, each with a chair bearing his name sculpted in the back of it, retired to the woods for study, the classes being divided into squads according to individual preference. In the spring and summer months these squads scattered through the oak and hickory woods in quest of shade, but in cold weather the first thing done by them was to kindle log-heap fires. Whosoever imagines that the boys did not study as well as they would have done under the immediate eye of the teacher is mistaken. I have been to many schools, conducted according to various systems of education, but nowhere have I seen such assiduity in study, nowhere have I ever witnessed such emulation to excel. It was a classical

school. The multiplicity of studies now advertised at fashionable academies was unknown in those early times. The debating club on Friday afternoons was an important institution, and regarded by the teacher as a very necessary part of his scholastic system, for to converse and speak in public were esteemed necessary accomplishments to Southern youths. It was to such a school that John C. Calhoun went in the summer of 1800. Under Dr. Waddell he opened for the first time a Latin grammar.

About the same time the freshman class was organized at Yale College, and so rapidly did this eager student press forward under the instruction of Moses Waddell, that he overtook that same class in 1802, when he matriculated as a junior in that famous institution of learning. I once asked Mr. Calhoun if he remembered when the thought first came into his mind of his superiority to ordinary men. He smiled and paused for reflection a few moments. "I went on to Yale College," said he in reply, "fresh from the backwoods. My opportunities for learning had been very limited. I had a high opinion of the New England system of education. My first recitation was in mathematics, and we had been told to fetch our slates into the class room. On taking our seats the professor proceeded to propound certain arithmetical questions to us. I found no difficulty in working out the first, and on looking about me was surprised to find the others busy with their slates. The professor noticing my movement asked me if I had got the answer, and I handed him my slate. The answer proved to be correct. The same thing occurred every time. On returning to my apartment I felt gratified. That is, perhaps, sir, the best answer I can give to your question."

Not long after his matriculation at Yale his mother died. In letters to Mrs. John Ewing Calhoun he often speaks of the tenderness and watchfulness of a mother's love in such terms as serve to show that he had felt and appreciated its force. He had the Scottish clannishness that recognizes kinship far removed. His family affections were warm. Towards the excellent woman, that "great manager of her household," who had so faithfully watched and guided him in boyhood and youth, he entertained a devoted love. One of the last acts of his life was to fence in the graves of his dead with iron rail-

ing, and erect over the remains of his parents a marble pile, which now stands near the ruins of the mansion in which his mother had rocked his infancy to sleep, and where the sturdy old Scotch-Irishman had trained him in his ways of duty. It was mainly due to his mother, as we have every reason to believe, that he was persuaded to receive an education, and to her influence it was also owing that arrangements were made that enabled him to enjoy the advantages of a finished collegiate training.

Through Dr. Waddell, her son-in-law, Mrs. Calhoun was kept informed of the progress of John Caldwell in his studies. I have myself often heard the old teacher speak of him as a schoolboy.

The only anecdote recorded of Mr. Calhoun during his residence in New Haven is of a discussion in the class room, in his senior year, with the president of the college. "Mr. Calhoun," says Senator R. M. T. Hunter in his sketch of him, "was highly esteemed by Dr. Dwight, then the president of the college, although they differed widely in politics, and at a time when political feelings were intensely bitter. The doctor was an ardent Federalist, and Mr. Calhoun was one of very few, in a class of more than 70, who had the firmness to openly avow and maintain the opinions of the Republican party, and among others that the people were the only legitimate source of political power. Dr. Dwight entertained a different opinion. In a recitation during the senior year on the chapter on politics in Paley's Moral Philosophy, the doctor, with the intention of illustrating his opinion, propounded to Mr. Calhoun the question as to the legitimate source of political power. He did not decline an open and direct avowal of his opinion. A discussion ensued between them which exhausted the time allotted for the recitation, and in which the pupil maintained his opinion with such vigor of argument and success as to elicit from his distinguished teacher the declaration, in speaking of him to a friend, that 'the young man had talent enough to be the President of the United States,' which he accompanied with a prediction that he would one day attain that position."

On the 12th of September, 1804; John C. Calhoun received his degree of bachelor of arts. The old diploma lies before us: "Senatus Academicus, Collegii Yalensis, In Civitate Novo-

Portu, Reipublicæ Connecticutensis," etc., signed by Timotheus Dwight, Præses. He had been appointed to speak, and the subject selected by him, "The qualifications necessary to constitute a perfect statesman," indicated the bent of his mind toward politics. He was prevented by a serious illness from appearing among the distinguished graduates at the commencement. Since that first recitation in mathematics he had measured himself with his compeers, and the result could not have been disheartening. Although preparing himself for the pursuit of a livelihood in an honorable profession, he was looking forward to possibilities in another direction; and justly. Men still relied upon merit; the age of political availability was not yet come; the people were yet accustomed to cast about them for intellectual excellence combined with integrity. A high and honorable ambition could expect to find its fit reward.

Calhoun's purely literary tuition was now at an end. In four years from the time he opened his Latin grammar, he had, in fulfillment of his purpose and promise, graduated with distinction at one of the highest institutions of learning in this country. The short time allotted to his literary education, joined to the want of early training, prevented him from bestowing that attention upon polish which marks the distinguished graduates of our time. Whether [or not] Mr. Calhoun's want of the last veneering rendered him unable to see the utility that lies in little things, he seemed always to undervalue the dressing of his thoughts. Neither in speaking nor in writing did he aim at the grace of style. His aim was not so much to please or persuade, as to convince by reasoning, to overpower by an irresistible logic that formulated earnestness and intensity of purpose.

Ezekiel, a brother of Patrick Calhoun, had married a Miss Ewing. His son, John Ewing Colhoun, as he always wrote the name, wedded a low-country heiress of French extraction, Floride Bonneau. The Bonneaus lived at Bonneau's Ferry, on Cooper River, about 20 miles above Charleston. This John Ewing Colhoun, by his marriage, came into possession of a rice plantation, [and of] lands in the upper country, where, at a very advanced age, his son James Edward still lives, from whom we have obtained sundry facts of interest concerning his distinguished kinsman.

This John Ewing Colhoun was elected to the United States Senate from South Carolina toward the close of the last century. While he was a Senator, as his son says, the head of the Colquhouns engaged in a correspondence with him, in which the Highlander endeavored to persuade the American to restore the spelling of the name of the ancestral clan. John Ewing, who went so far as to write his name Colhoun, died in 1802, leaving a widow and three children, Floride born in 1792, John Ewing, and James Edward. Mrs. Colhoun, the widow, spent the summer of 1804 at Newport, R. I., and while there, hearing of the illness of John Caldwell at Yale, she wrote and invited him to come to her cottage at Newport as soon as he could travel.

Mr. Calhoun arrived in Charleston in company with Mrs. Floride Calhoun and family about the middle of November. He hastened on his way home, and soon found himself among his friends in Abbeville. He was a genial, kindly man, fond of his friends, delighting in social intercourse. The only relaxation that he ever indulged in was social conversing with his friends. But that was said of him long afterwards. He was young at the time we speak of, and Christmas was coming.

Mr. Calhoun spent the winter of 1805 at Abbeville village, reading Blackstone in Mr. Bowie's law office. It was a part of the original family compact that he was to receive the best legal education to be had. At that time there was at Litchfield, in Connecticut, a famous law school kept by Judge Reeves and Mr. Gould, and to that place he determined to go.

Mrs. Floride Calhoun was in the habit of spending the summers at Newport. She was wealthy, and traveled in state in her journeys from her rice plantation on Cooper River to the upper country, where she had large possessions.

Having determined to go on to Newport in her family chariot, and aware of John's intention to return to New England, Mrs. Calhoun invited him to take a seat in her coach. Her youngest son James, still living, remembers the trip. The wealthy widow must have made a stir in the little village as she passed through it in her family coach, drawn by four splendid gray horses, with the reins held by an English coachman in full livery. The widow took with her Floride, then in her thirteenth year, and her sons John and James. At the request of John Caldwell, for whom she had learned to feel a warm

motherly regard mixed with admiration, the widow consented to make a detour and stop a day or two at Charlottesville, in Virginia. The young Carolina Republican was anxious to see Mr. Jefferson, then on a visit to Monticello.

"Cousin John," said my informant, "went out to Monticello to call upon Mr. Jefferson, who must have been pleased with him, as he detained him till the following morning. The conversation between these two men is said to have lasted until midnight, which was an unusual occurrence with Mr. Jefferson. I remember hearing that Mr. Jefferson, coming into town next day, spoke about John C. Calhoun in a manner quite gratifying to my mother." "Jefferson loved him," said Richard Rush, in speaking of Mr. Calhoun after his death.

To understand John C. Calhoun, we should have previously studied the history of Thomas Jefferson. That interview at night between the old Virginia statesman and the young Carolinian, the only time they ever met, has something in it quite suggestive. The ancient Greeks had a mystic torch race in which the tired runner handed the lighted brand to some fresh racer, who bore it onward to the goal.

Having accompanied Mrs. Calhoun and family to Newport, John Caldwell proceeded on his way to the Litchfield Law School. This lady had such an admiration for his talents that she carefully preserved all his letters to her. His law diploma, dated Litchfield, Conn., 29th July, 1806, certifies that "John C. Calhoun has read law as a regular student under the tuition of Hon. Tappan Reeves and James Gould, from the 22d July, 1805, to the date hereof, and that during that period he has applied himself to no other regular business, and has attended diligently and faithfully to the study of the law." I was a student in the law school of William T. Gould at Augusta, Ga. Judge Gould was the son of one of the teachers at Litchfield, and doubtless followed in his system of instruction that of Reeves and Gould. Legal questions were discussed by us in the moot courts, Mr. Gould presiding as judge. Public discussion must therefore have been a part of Mr. Calhoun's education.

At the close of his legal studies at Litchfield, Mr. Calhoun went to Philadelphia, where he purchased a horse and returned to Carolina by land. In this way he traveled over an inter-

esting part of the United States, surveying it with observing eyes, mixing with the people as he passed along, chatting with them on the road, conversing with the farmers at night, studying the character of his countrymen and noticing the condition of the country under Jefferson's second administration.

He left Charleston about the 1st of June, 1807, and returned to Abbeville village, where he expected to establish himself as a lawyer. At the next session of the supreme court held at Columbia he underwent his examination for the bar. From letters written soon after his admission to the bar it would appear that after accumulating a moderate competency he intended returning to farming which, to the end of life, was his favorite pursuit. To purchase a plantation on the Savannah River and live among his friends and relatives was his dream of happiness. But the fates were spinning for him a different destiny. Immediately after the attack on the *Chesapeake*, June 22, 1807, the farmers of Abbeville district, in South Carolina, called a public meeting in reference to the outrage. Mr. Calhoun, not yet admitted to chancery practice, was pursuing his business at Abbeville. He had doubtless done much talking about this and other affairs, for the committee of arrangements selected him to draw up and present the resolutions to the citizens of Abbeville at a public meeting. For the first time in his life he rose to his feet before his assembled countrymen.

Standing 1 or 2 inches above 6 feet, the gaunt, erect young man, then in the 26th year of his age, presented that marked visage known to many in the audience, and for the first time flashed upon them the intense light from those dark-brown eyes. No report has reached us of this important speech except through tradition. That it was effective we know from the results which followed. The people of Abbeville district had long entertained an objection to being represented in the legislature by lawyers. For many years no one of that profession had ventured to offer himself as a candidate for political honors. Now, however, with general acclaim, the people of his native district called for John Caldwell Calhoun and elected him to the legislature at the head of the ticket. And thus was completed the family compact. John Caldwell Calhoun had asked for seven years and the time

came to an end about the date of that public meeting in Abbeville. William and James Calhoun were present and must have been content.

Returning to Carolina in November, Mrs. Colhoun proceeded to her rice plantation near Bonneau's Ferry, on Cooper River, where she remained during the winter and spring of 1808. Her only daughter, Floride, then in her 17th year, is represented as being beautiful in form and feature, graceful and winning in manners and address. Being half French, she manifested the cheerful vivacity of her Huguenot ancestry, as well as those more solid qualities for which they were distinguished. During the spring of 1808 John Caldwell, mounting his horse, rode all the way from Abbeville to Bonneau's Ferry, where, in the old mansion of the Bonneaus, he passed several days.¹ He was admitted to practice in chancery soon after his return.

It was not long after his entrance into the legislature before he made an impression. In those days the Presidential electors were appointed by the State legislatures, and South Carolina never abandoned this plan of electing them till her constitution was altered by strangers and thieves in 1868. "Early in the session," says Mr. Hunter, "an informal meeting of the Republican members was called to nominate candidates for the places of President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Madison was nominated for the Presidency without opposition. When the nomination for the Vice-Presidency was presented, Mr. Calhoun embraced the occasion to present his views in reference to coming events as bearing on the nomination. He reviewed the state of the relations between the United States and Great Britain and France, the two great belligerents which were then struggling for the mastery and in their struggle trampling on the rights of neutrals, and especially ours. He touched on the restrictive system which had been resorted to by the Government to protect our rights, and expressed his doubts about its efficiency and the conviction that a war with Great Britain was inevitable. 'It was,' he said, 'in this state of things of the utmost importance

¹ The story of Mr. Calhoun's love affair and engagement is told by Colonel Starke by means of extracts from his letters to Mrs. J. E. Calhoun, letters which are printed on later pages of this volume.—ED.

that the ranks of the Republican party should be preserved undisturbed and unbroken by faction or discord.' He then adverted to the fact that a discontented portion of the party had given unequivocal evidence of rallying around the name of the venerable Vice-President George Clinton (whose nomination was proposed), and of whom he spoke highly, but he gave it as his opinion that should he be nominated and re-elected he would become the nucleus of all the discontented portion of the party, and thus make a formidable division in its ranks should the country be forced into war. These persons he predicted would ultimately rally under De Witt Clinton, the nephew, whom he described as a man of distinguished talents and aspiring disposition. To avoid the danger, he suggested for nomination the name of John Langdon, of New Hampshire, of whom he spoke highly both as to talents and patriotism. It was Mr. Calhoun's first effort in a public capacity. The manner and matter excited great applause; and when it is recollected that these remarks preceded the declaration of war more than three years, and how events happened according to his anticipations, it affords a striking proof of that sagacity, at so early a period, for which he has since been so much distinguished. It at once gave him a stand among the distinguished members of the legislature."

Ex-Governor Joseph Alston, the son-in-law of Aaron Burr, was a member at the same session, and wished to bring him into his political clique; but after an abortive attempt to exercise influence over him, he observed to Mr. Huger, "I am afraid I shall find this long, gawky fellow from Abbeville hard to manage." Several important measures were originated by Mr. Calhoun while in the legislature which have become a permanent portion of the legislation of the State, and he soon acquired an extensive practice at the bar.

The great question that agitated the minds of the people of the United States in 1810 was the apprehended war with Great Britain. Elections were to be held throughout the country for members of the Twelfth Congress, and the people everywhere were serious and alarmed. There were many timid men in the backwoods, for only thirty years before Tarleton's red dragoons had ridden over the State. These men brought out General Elmore in the Congressional district watered by

the Saludah and Savannah. Mr. Calhoun's strong resolutions, presented to the Abbeville meeting after Barron had lowered his flag to the *Leopard*, and the signal ability with which he supported them, had made an impression upon the farmers of the backwoods. They kept their eyes on him. They had sent him to the legislature, notwithstanding that he belonged to a hated profession. They had heard good reports of him there, and in watching his course afterwards they felt a constantly growing admiration. Wherever he went he left an impression of force and trustworthiness. By common consent among those who were for strong measures Mr. Calhoun was brought out, and during the summer and fall of 1810 he conducted an active canvass before the people, during which he met his opponent at various places in the district. When he was done it was all over with General Elmore. Mr. Calhoun was elected to Congress by a large majority.

A few years of law practice, particularly in the chancery court, had enabled Mr. Calhoun to accumulate that moderate competency to which he aspired. Eminently fitted as he seemed to be from the cast of his mind for success at the bar he never liked the profession. Farming was his delight. He loved the farmers, and of all our representative men he may be considered as the peculiar representative of the agricultural interests, the great farmer-statesman of our country. His views as yet of his career are very limited. The people have urged his acceptance of the nomination to Congress, and youthful ambition and self-confidence prepared him to assume the trust. He has met Mr. Elmore. A few broadsides have so utterly dismasted and dismantled that man of peace as to leave no doubt of victory. After two sessions, however, he hopes to return to that pleasant place "Near my brother Patrick's." But it was otherwise written in the book of destiny.

To this period of Mr. Calhoun's life is to be referred his only attempt at verse-making. But the muse of song refused to come at his bidding, for what could she make of an invocation commencing "Whereas"—? The friendly Aristarchus summoned to sit in judgment on the lyric condemned the ditty. Calhoun never again attempted to mount the winged hippogriff.

In November, Mrs. Calhoun returned to South Carolina. Floride's lover met her in Charleston, where he had awaited

the arrival of the vessel, and accompanied her family to Bonneau's Ferry on Cooper River, about 20 miles above the city. Mr. Calhoun had been triumphantly elected to Congress early in October, but was not to take his seat for nearly fourteen months. He might well say that heaven had been kind to him. The secret of his engagement had been so well kept that her brother James, then a lad of 13, was not aware of it till some days after the arrival of the family from Charleston. One day, as he informed the writer, being in the carriage with the two lovers, he caught cousin John slyly kissing his sister. Intercourse between young persons of different sexes was not so free and easy in those days as it is at present. James felt indignant at the conduct of his kinsman, and did not fail on arriving at home to report the matter to his mother, who, however, manifested neither surprise nor indignation. It was then learned that a wedding would soon come off. "It was a grand affair, that wedding," continued the venerable gentleman, his memory going over three-quarters of a century, "an old-time wedding; everybody was there."

On the 8th of January, 1811, John Caldwell Calhoun was married to Floride, only daughter of ex-Senator John Ewing Colhoun. After spending a few weeks at his mother-in-law's in St. John's parish, Mr. Calhoun took his bride up to his plantation and dwelling, called Bath, "not far from my brother Patrick's," in Abbeville district.

Mr. Calhoun's married life was a very happy one. His only relaxation from public duties was found in the bosom of his family and in conversation with his friends. No breath of slander ever soiled the private life of John C. Calhoun. "There was nothing groveling or low or meanly selfish," said Mr. Webster, "that came near the head or the heart of Mr. Calhoun. If he had aspirations, they were high and honorable and noble." Webster, who had watched him for forty years, knew him well.

With his entry into Congress terminates the strictly private life of Mr. Calhoun. For almost forty years he occupied a commanding position in public affairs, and his personal history during that time is so closely interwoven with that of his country that neither can be well understood without some knowledge of the other.

PART I.

LETTERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN.

LETTERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

New Haven August 29th 1804.

DEAR MADAM, Yesterday your friendly favor of the 23rd. Inst^t came to hand. M^r. Noble did suggest to me, sometime since, that you expected to spend the summer in Rhode Island, and that you would be glad to see me there, but did not mention at what place. Soon after my Brother wrote me word that you contemplated spending it in Philadelphia. Under this uncertainty it was impossible for me to act until further information from you. This, however, as I before stated, reached me not only late, but found me ill.

I thank you, Madam, for your kind solicitude regarding the present state of my health. I am happy to assure you that I feel myself making some advances towards a recovery, tho' not such rapid and immediate ones, as would correspond both with the wishes of my friends, and my own impatience to recover. I flatter myself, however, that I shall have so far regained my health by Commencement² that I shall be able to realize the enjoyments and participate in the labors of that Day, But above all, Madam, I am anxious to recover in order that I may visit New Port, which, with the indulgence of health, I shall do immediately after Commencement; Until which time, and forever, believe me, Dear Madam, to be, with great respect, yours, . . .

*To Alexander Noble.*³

Newport, 15 Oct., 1804.

D^r. ALEXANDER: From a variety of causes I have been prevented from answering your last till now. It would be

¹ Floride Bonneau Calhoun, widow of John Ewing Colhoun or Calhoun, U.S. Senator from South Carolina from 1801 to 1802, and first cousin of John C. Calhoun. It was her daughter Floride whom Calhoun married in 1811. The letter is addressed to her at Newport, Rhode Island, as are also the subsequent letters written to her, down to 1808.

² September 12.

³ The text of this letter has been derived from Col W. Pinkney Starke's MS. biography of Calhoun, described on p. 65, *supra*. Col. Starke states that it is the earliest letter of Calhoun he has been able to find. The present editor has not seen the original. Alexander Noble, to whom the letter is addressed, was a kinsman of Calhoun, and a school-mate at Dr. Waddell's school.

superfluous to make an enumeration of all of them. After enjoying almost uninterrupted good health since my departure from Carolina, I was attacked in August last by a serious illness which had well nigh put an end to my life. At commencement I was so low, that I was unable to participate either in the pleasures or exercises of the day. The latter part of September I arrived in this place, where I had the pleasure of finding your Aunt's family. Newport is quite a pleasant place, but it has rather an old appearance which gives it a somewhat melancholy aspect. I have found no part of New England more agreeable than the island of Rhode Island. Agreeably situated, well cultivated and possessed of a good soil and delightful climate, it seems to possess all that can contribute to the pleasures of man. But as to the civil situation of this State and its manners, customs, moral and religious character, it seems much inferior as far as my information extends, to every other part of New England. Tomorrow I set off in company with your Aunt for Boston. We expect to make a short stay, not more perhaps than a week. I expect to return to Carolina by water, and in the same vessel with your Aunt and family. We do not expect to sail before the 10th or 12th of next month, as we apprehend from accounts received from Charleston, that it would be dangerous to be there before the middle of November. Your Aunt begs to be remembered to you.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

c. c.

Litchfield 22^d July 1805.

D^r MADAM, In obedience to my feelings, no less than to your request, I embrace the first opportunity of informing you of my arrival here. From New London, I took the stage to Norwich; and thence to Hartford, where I was detained part of two days, which prevented my reaching Litchfield before Saturday evening. I found M^r Felder¹ well, and anxiously waiting my arrival. He has been here 5 weeks and express himself pleased with the place. I was peculiarly fortunate in having Judge Reeves² the gentleman with whom I

¹ John M. Felder (1782-1851), a classmate of Calhoun, afterwards a prominent politician in South Carolina. See O'Neill's Bench and Bar of South Carolina, II, 325-336.

² Judge Tapping Reeve (1744-1823), of the Connecticut superior court, maintained at Litchfield from 1784 to 1820 a celebrated law-school.

here study, a passenger in the stage from Hartford to this place. I delivered my letter to him; and found him on the passage open and agreeable. I have every prospect of rendering my residence here very agreeable; and I return, I assure you, with much pleasure to the cultivation of Blackstone's acquaintance.

For two or three days, after I left New Port, I felt much of that lonesome Sensation, which I believe every one experiences, after departing from those with whom he has been long intimate. However by mingling and conversing with others, I have felt it much diminished; and by a few days application to studies, which to me are highly interesting, I have no doubt it will be entirely removed. At Norwich I met with Mr. Ward, and he informed me, that his health is still in a progressive State. I have not yet had an opportunity of speaking to Sterling.¹ He resides six or seven miles out of town; but Mr. Felder saw him a few days since. In conversing with him about going to the southward he observed to Mr. Felder, that he was desirous of instructing in a private family. I shall, however, see him before I write again; and let you know the particulars. Mr. Felder and myself room together; and both being sensible of the importance of application, at our age, have resolved to devote our time to solid and useful studies. With the assistance of providence and a continuation of my health I hope to carry this determination into full execution. Mr. Felder joins his respects to you.

[P. S] Rebe^r me particularly to M^{rs}, Miss and M^r Thurston; and to my acquaintance in N. Port generally. My love to Floride, John and James.²

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 12th August 1805.

D^r MADAM, On the 10th Inst. I received your's of 31st Ult, which, I assure you, both in the perusal and reception afforded me no ordinary degree of pleasure. I am sorry to hear of

¹ Micah Sterling, another classmate, afterward, 1821-1823, a Congressman from New York.

² John Ewing Calhoun and James Edward Calhoun, to whom many subsequent letters are addressed, were sons of Mrs. Calhoun, and brothers of Calhoun's future wife, Floride Calhoun the younger.

your indisposition; but hope, as it originated in a cold, it will be removed with the cause. I think, with D^r Turner, that the winter will be too severe for you, in your present feeble state of health. You requested me to enquire for a traveler for you; I know of none at present; but shall use all diligence, should you come to a determination to return, to obtain one for you. I cannot, but look on our choice in not going through Wilmington, as extremely fortunate. This is certainly another argument in favor of your general parable that "all is for the best."

I thank you much for your affectionate mode of address; which, I assure you, is much more agreeable to my feeling than any other. Your whole actions in kindness and affection have been to me, like a mother's tenderness. I know not how, I shall make sufficient returns; unless it is by acting in a manner worthy of your friendship and esteem; which, with the assistance of him who is the author of all good resolutions and actions, I hope to do.

I feel myself much absorbed by the pursuit of legal knowledge at present. In fact, in order to take the course of law lectures, not as they usually are, but as they ought to be, I find, I must devote almost the whole of my time to that purpose. I find M^r Felder a faithful and cheering companion in the dry and solitary journey through the exterior fields of law. We both console ourselves, that in a few years we shall acquire a pretty thorough knowledge of our profession; and then our time shall be more at our own disposals. Perhaps, this is but a pleasant dream; as every succeeding year comes loaded with its own peculiar cares and business. I have reason to be thankful for a continuation of my health. I think I am rather more healthy and stout than when I left N. Port. It is somewhat strange, I always feel myself in the best health, when studying closely.

Remember me affectionately to M^{rs} and Miss Thurston, to M^r T. and to my acquaintances in New Port generally. Give my love to Floride, Elizabeth, John and James. Tell James, the first time I write to Miss —— I shall not forget to request a kiss for him. The paper forces me to conclude. I wish you a speedy return of health; and will be extremely happy to hear from you when ever it is convenient to write to me.

[P. S] Mr Felder desires to be remembered to you all. I saw Sterling a few days since. He is desirous of instructing in a private family; but feels himself at a loss in fixing on a sum for tuition money. However should you be desirous of obtaining him please to let me know it with the particulars; also about what you think you will be willing to give; and I will engage him for you.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield Con^t. 9th Sep^r. 1805.

D^r MADAM, Immediately on the reception of yours in answer to my first, I hastened, to make a reply, to which, as I have received no answer, although it is now a considerable time, I apprehend it has never reached New Port. The mention, which you made of your indisposition, has made me extremely anxious to hear from you; regularly on the arrival of every Eastern mail, I have visited the post office, but have uniformly had the mortification of disapointment. Indeed, I know not when, I have been so unfortunate in hearing from my friends, as I have been, since my arrival here. I have received not a scrap of a pen from either Pendleton, or Charleston, although I have written to most of correspondents in both of those places; and my information from Abbeville is very slight, merely that they are all well, and the season has been pleasant. About two weeks since, M^{rs} Brown and Lady Houston and family were here on a visit. They spent four or five days in this place; and appeared to be much pleased with Litchfield. They both enquired particularly of your health. You mentioned that Markley had been in N. Port, and would, in a short time, be here; I am much surprised in neither seeing, or hearing anything of him since. Indeed this is rather an out of the way place; and, unless, it is now and then a southerner from college, we rarely see any one from our end of Union. This, although it diminishes something for our social pleasure, yet contributes considerably to our studious habits. I have always found, that just in the same proportion as the number of friends and acquaintances increases around me, and a consequent opportunity of various and interesting conversation, my attention to my studies has relaxed; but when I have only

three or four, so as to make an agreeable mixture of study and social intercourse, then my attention is the most fixed, and my exertion the best directed. I have made some enquiry for a traveler should you return this fall. I have heard of none except Sterling. He mentioned to me that he had a strong desire to see the Southern States; and should be very happy to accompany you, should you go and should it be agreeable on your part. I have given him no encouragement to expect; but I know not that you will be able to obtain one that will suit you better. He is the same young man of whom you have heard me frequently speak. Should you return and be able to find one more agreeable, please let me know, as soon as, convenient. Remember me to Mr^s and Miss and Mr^r Thurston, and all of my acquaintances in N. Port. Give my love to Floride, Elizabeth, John and James.

[P. S] Mr^r Felder joins his respects to you all.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 26th Sep^r. 1805

Dr^r MADAM, Two days since yours of 14th Inst was handed me, by a gentleman from N. Haven; which, I assure you, after so long an interval without hearing from you, afforded me no inconsiderable pleasure. You mentioned to me, that you have taken your residence in the country a short distance from N. Port; and that your health is much recovered. In this step, I think you have acted prudently; for I cannot but think the air of the country considerably more salubrious, than that of the town; more especially to one in your state of health. I hope the beneficial effect of the country air will effect a speedy and a full restoration of your health. You express your surprise, at the silence of Mr^r Pickens and others of your Carolina friends; I, on my part, feel an equal astonishment, for though I have written to most of my acquaintances there, I have as yet, received only two letters, and neither of them from Abbeville or Pendleton. How to account for this I am very much at a loss. A letter from Mr^r Desaussure¹ accompanied your last; with which I was much

¹ Henry William Desaussure, equity judge and chancellor of South Carolina from 1808 to 1837 (O'Neill, Bench and Bar, I, 243-232), and one of the most eminent of her jurists. He was Mrs. Calhoun's legal advisor, Calhoun studied in his office.

interested. He writes me in a very friendly and engaging manner; and expresses himself highly pleased with the account, which I gave him of his son at Princeton.

You express an idea of putting John and James with Mr Backus¹ at Bethlehem; and request my opinion on that Subject. I agree with you, that N. Port is not a very fit place for boys of the age of John and James; and, should you send them elsewhere, I know not a fiter place than Bethlehem, or a more suitable man than Mr Bachcus. The place is small and I am informed virtuous; with Mr Bachcus, I am not particularly acquainted; but he has [*torn out*] of exemplary religion and of extensive learning. You mention, as an inducement, that they will be near me; I do assure, that on my part I should consider it not only a duty, but a delight to pay them particular attention, Should you send them to Bethlehem.

Remember me to my acquaintances in N. Port and particularly to children. Mr Felder joins his respects to you and family.

[P. S.] A few days since Messers Danington, Cuningham and Markly passed through this place on their tour to the uper parts of New York State. I am at present in high health; and I think more fleshy than I was last fall.

To Andrew Pickens.²

Litchfield 24th No^r. 1805.

D^r ANDREW, My time is never more agreeably spent, than in the perusal of your always interesting and friendly letters. The pleasure received by yours of the 15th Sep^r. was not less than ordinary; but, on the contrary, after a long and anxious silence on your part, I felt myself more than usually interested. You do me injustice in supposing your letters intrude on my studious disposition; I am not so much in love with

¹ Rev. Azel Backus, of Bethlehem, Conn., carried on at this time a successful school there. He was afterward the first president of Hamilton College.

² Andrew Pickens, son of Gen. Andrew Pickens and Rebecca Calhoun, was John C. Calhoun's first cousin. He was graduated at Rhode Island College in 1801, and was governor of South Carolina from 1816 to 1818. For this letter and for subsequent letters addressed to Pickens and to his son, Governor Francis W. Pickens, the editor is indebted to Mrs. J. E. Bacon.

law as to feel indifferent to my friends. Many things I study for the love of study, but not so with law. I can never consider it, but as a task which my situation forces on me. I therefore, often lay it aside for the more delicious theme of the muses, or interesting pages of history; and always throw it away with joy to hear from my Carolina correspondents. But, I confess, from my aversion to law, I draw a motive to industry. It must be done, and the sooner the better is often my logick. You expected to be examined some time in this month. I wish you success; or rather, I hope, ere now I may congratulate you on your admission. Your ambition to be admitted at this time is both laudable and honourable. It is high time for those selfish usurpers on the publick opinion to be painted in their true light. It is a work of patriotism and justice, and all good men will wish you success; all wise men will approbate your motive. For my part, I never could think with complacency of some upstarts in that part of the State, whose thoughts and lives have been consumed in drawing down characters whose actions have afforded volumes of proof of integrity and wisdom. The work of destruction in [which these]

champions have enlisted requ[ired] . . .

—nante and assiduity, with wh[ich they]
are abundantly filled, for comple[te suc]
cess. They have had their day; [the eyes]
of the people will be opened.

Some late arrivals from Europe a[re interes]t-
ing. War between France and Au[stria] is
inevitable. Bonapart's speech before the senate on his depart-
ure from Paris to take command of the army on the Rhine;
and the Austrian manifesto are both published. The former
full of confidence in victory; the latter apparently moderate,
but resolute. What will be the event time alone can unfold;
but I distrust the fortune of the allies. The period is cer-
tainly eventful. My respects to M^r. Pickens and my friends in
Pendleton. [P.S.] Your seal I endeavoured to have engraved
at Phil^a but without success; I was told by a gentleman that he
had tried for some weeks to have his; but could not find an
engraver. It may be done in New York, but we stayed there
only part of a day. I have not had since I arrived here a safe
oppo^rty of sending it to N. York. It shall be done and trans-
mitted to you by the first oppo^rty.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchf^d. 23^d. Dec^r. 1805.

D^r. MADAM, Before receiving yours of the 12th Dec^r. which on many accounts has afforded me the highest pleasure, I had concluded in my own mind that you had returned to Carolina. For, not having received an answer to my last, which I wrote immediately on the reception of yours of the 14th of Sep^r., and hearing not a word by any other means I was induced to believe that you had left New Port. To be satisfied of this point I wrote to M^r. Thurston a few days since requesting him to inform me of your return to Carolina. Do attribute my long silence to this mistake, rather than to any negligence.

I take great interest in the restoration of your health; at this time of so much importance to your children, while their minds are to be instructed in those principles of piety and virtue, so necessary to their happiness and usefulness. I know your solicitude for their well being; and that it is your concern for them which chiefly makes you anxious for your own health. With due care, and the assistance of a kind providence, I hope you will find your constitution fully confirmed by spring. Nothing, I am sure, will afford greater joy to all your friends. How very mild the season has been; the climate of New Port must have been charming for some time back. A journey thither would, had I leisure, be extremely pleasant to me. I am attached to N. Port on many accounts, and desire much to see you all. I dare say, that James has forgot his jealousy and would be glad to see me. It is a happy circumstance, that M^r Patten has opened a school so convenient. He is a man I much esteem for his many virtues and amiable character; and I have no doubt will make an excellent instructor. I have had, since I wrote you last, several letters from Carolina. They contain nothing very interesting. I have enjoyed good health since my residence here; and hope to continue it by temperance and exercise. I take little amusement; and live a very studious life. This place is so much agitated by party feelings, that both M^r. Felder and myself find it prudent to form few connections in town. This, though somewhat disagreeable is not unfavourable to our studies. My love to the children.

M^r Felder joins his respects to you and the children.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 19th Jan^y. 1806.

DEAR MADAM, I am so impatient to hear how the very cold weather we have had for some time back agrees with you and your family, that I write this solely to hasten your answer to my last. I cannot think N. Port near so cold as this place, which has a very high open situation. If it is, I fear you have found, the winter very disagreeably cold. I however hope by due attention you will find your health much improved notwithstanding the severity of the season. If you have not found any serious inconvenience from the weather we already have had, I think, you need not fear the remaining part of the winter; as this is the coldest month usually. We have excellent sleighing here. I was out last evening for the first time this season; and found it very agreeable. It is a mode of conveyance that the people of this state are very fond of. If you have sufficient snow in N. Port, I dare say you would find it in good weather an exercise very conducive to your health.

Do write me how James and Elizabeth bear the cold. I dare say they have never been so rosy and full in the cheeks as this winter has made them.

I have had only one letter from Abbeville since I wrote you last. Brother James writes me that it had become very health after a very sickly fall. Himself and family have been very unwell; but have entirely recovered. None of our friends have fallen victims to the fall sickness. How thankful we ought to be to the author of good for this high favour. Brother William had a fine son a few weeks since. James will be on to New York in the summer. I had also a letter from Alexander Noble. He expected to leave Charleston in a few days for the uper country, and the next summer to take a trip through the western country to New Orleans, and then by water to New York. M^r Felder and myself are both in good health, and desire much, should we have leisure, to spend a few weeks in N. Port.

My love to the children.

M^r Felder joins in respects to you.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 3rd March 1806.

D^r MADAM. Your favour of the 11th Feb^y. came safe; for which except of my acknowledgements. I take much pleasure in the restoration of your health; which is so necessary to the well being of your children, and so interesting to your numerous friends. I confess, I felt much anxiety on your account during the very severe weather which we have had this winter. I hope by due care, to your health during the spring months you will find your constitution compleatly restored. You enquire if I have heard from M^r Waddel?¹ I have had one from him since the reception of your last letter. He has had much sickness in his family; but they are all happily restored. He writes me that his preaching has had much effect in the congregation which M^r Cummins formerly superintended. On this subject he says "I never before had so much encouragement to labour in the gospel as there at present." His hopes at his other congregation were flattering; but owing to an unhappy dissension between two of its principal members his success has not been so great.

I receive with gratitude your friendly advice and anxious solicitude for my welfare on the all important subject of religion. You do me injustice to apprehend that I should receive it otherwise than a mark of the purest and highest friendship. For surely we can give no higher evidence of our friendship, than in endeavouring to promote the best interest of the subject of it. Be assured that whatever you may say on this head will be kindly received. You observe that it would give you satisfaction for me to be with you in N. Port if I could pursue my studies with as much advantage there as here. Were this possible nothing would be more agreeable to my feelings. But in that case I should lose the law lectures here wholly; which would be incalculably great to me.

We have very cold weather at present. The change has been great in a few days. You will find great care necessary to keep from taking colds during the spring months, owing to the frequent and violent changes. More care will be necessary I apprehend than during the winter.

¹ Calhoun's brother-in-law, the famous Dr. Moses Waddell, whose school he had attended. See Col. Pinkney Starke's sketch, pp. 70-72, 77-81, *supra*.

[P. S.] Rember me to my friends in N. Port. Give my love to Floride, Elizabeth, John and James. Mr Felder joins his respects to you and our friends in N. Port.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 13th April 1806.

D^r MADAM, It is so long since I have heard from N. Port, that I begin to grow quite anxious to receive a letter from that quarter. Though, I have not received an answer to my last; I would again have written had I not expected and waited to hear from you by each mail. Since my last, I have had several letters from Carolina. They contain little particular or important. I suppose you have heard of the revival of religion in Charleston. I saw a short account of it in a New York paper by the last mail. It is an extract of a letter from a gentleman in Charleston; mentions that a very great seriousness and attention to religion had diffused itself over the city. What a happy change to that place; which in every thing was so extremely corrupt; and particularly so inattentive to every call of religion. I hope, and think it probable, that this happy change will extend itself from the city to the country. Surely no people ever so much needed a reform as those in the parishes near Charleston.

I believe, I mentioned to you that James will come on hither in the latter part of June. He is desirous of my returning with him; but I have not yet gave him an answer. However, as the course of lectures will not conclude till the fall I do not think it probable I shall. Do you think of returning in the fall? And, if you do, how by land or water? In case of your return, I should be happy so to calculate my studies as to suit your convenience. I would thank you to let me know as to those points in your next.

What a cold, disagreeable spring we have had. I fear that you have experienced some inconvenience from it. But, I flatter myself, that it has been more pleasant in N. Port than here; as this is a cold, high and open situation. We have not as yet any sign of vegetation. Colds have been common. I had a very severe one; but of it I am now happily freed. I would be happy, were it consistent with my studies to visit

New Port this spring. I make no doubt, I should find a visit very pleasant with my friends there. But every thing must yield to improvement at present.

[P. S.] Rember me to those of my acquaintance you may see. Give my love to Floride, Elizabeth, John and James. Tell James I wish to hear him read in the bible very much; and that I hope he will learn from it to be a good boy.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 2^d. June 1806.

D^r MADAM, Your last 9th May was extremely acceptable after so long an interval without hearing from New Port. You mention that your health had not been quite so good during the spring as it had been in the winter. This from the badness of the weather since Feb^y might have been expected; but, I hope now, that the summer is on, you will find, as you seem to intimate in the postscript, a full restoration of your health. I regret you cannot pay Litchfield a visit. Were it in your power, you would find the road hither good; and the country agreeable. This place is among the most pleasant towns I ever have been in. While the season is pleasant you cannot travel too much for your health. I am happy that you have obtained a private teacher worthy of discharging the important duties of education. I hope, you will find the children much benefited by his instructions. It is some time since, I had a letter from Carolina except from William. He writes nothing particular. Darington, a few days since, paid Litchfield a visit. He observed that the accounts of the revival of religion in Charleston which appeared in the papers some time since was unfounded. Every friend to religion and that place must regret it. You mention your expectation of seeing me at New Port. In August we have a vacation of three weeks; at which time, if nothing intervenes, I hope to spend a few days there.

I saw in one of the Charleston papers an account of the marriage of Miss Martin to M^r Blanding; the same I suspect who was attentive to her sister for whom you recollect she was in morning. We expect two students from Charleston in a few days; Stroble and Frazer; I believe you are acquainted with them. Reber me to my acquaintances in N. Port; and to the children.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 3^d. July 1806.

D^r MADAM; Since my answer to your last, I have received letters both from my brother James and Alexander Noble. They have relinquished the journey which they contemplated some time since to this place. James has thought it best to wind up his mercantile business in order to begin anew. This demanded his presence in Carolina; and consequently defeated his coming on to N. York. Alexander Noble has intirely relinquished the business of a merchant for that of a farmer. He is connected with his brother Ezekiel in the planting way. I cannot but approbate his choice; for, tho' less profitable it certainly is more peaceable and favourable to happiness. D^r Noble has purchased a plantation on Savannah river, with an expectation of leaving Charleston in a few years. Since my last, we have had the pleasure of seeing M^r. Dehone,¹ brother and two of his sisters. He was here on Sunday; and preached at the episcopal church. His Sermon was much admired. I have had some expectation of seeing you here, as I think you would find traveling conducive to your health; and as the road and country hither are agreeable. I have never experienced so cool a summer as this has been. We have not had a day disagreeably warm. Vegetation is now not much more forward here than when we left Charleston last year. This is owing somewhat to the elevated situation of the place. I have a favour to ask of you, which I do with reluctance owing to the many I have already received. James who has the management of my affairs and on whom I depend for remittance informed me in his last that owing to his concluding his business he will find it more difficult to meet the demands on him in Charleston and N. York during the summer than he expected; and would therefore find it some what difficult to make the summer remittance to me. If you can make it perfectly convenient to supply me till the fall you will oblige both my brother and myself. In case you could make it convenient, I will be able to return it during the course of the winter. Two hundred dollars will answer my present want. If it is not perfectly convenient I hope you will not put your-

¹ Rev. Theodore Dehon, minister of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I. He had preached in Charleston, and was afterward rector of St. Michael's there, and bishop of South Carolina from 1812 to 1817.

self to any trouble; but merely to let me know it so that I may write on to my brother as soon as possible.

[P. S.] Our vacation takes place about the 20th August at which time I expect to see N. Port. Rember me to the children; and to all acquaintances.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Litchfield 11th Sep^r. 1806.

D^r MADAM, After a tedious, and rather a disagreeable journey, I reach this place, without any material incident, Saturday evening. I had the pleasure of finding my friends here well; and felt a secret satisfaction on returning to a place, in which I have spent so many agreeable moments. How quickly we become attached to an agreeable residence. I assure you, I felt a considerable regret in leaving N. Port; and had I continued there much longer at this pleasant season of the year, and with so many pleasant acquaintances, I should [have] left it with great reluctance. I always endeavour to make the place I reside in agreeable; from a conviction, that it is necessary to every other enjoyment. I never yet observed a person to enjoy himself, who was in the habit of declaiming at the place, or at those round him. To be satisfied in this particular is something more than necessary to other enjoyments; it is itself a source of perpetual pleasure. By spreading delight on all the objects around us, it fills the soul with a secret and continual pleasure. I have no expectation of being at commencement, as the vacation is up and the lectures commenced. The present subject, on which the judge is lecturing, is an important one; and I think it my duty to make pleasure yield to interest. Rember me to all my acquaintances in New Port, particularly to M^r and M^{rs} Harvey, M^r and Miss Thurston, and M^r Ward.

[P. S.] Give my love to the children.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Charleston 22^d. Dec^r. 1806.

DEAR MADAM, Sensible that you are always desirous of hearing from me I can scarcely excuse myself In not writing till the present time. The day before I left Litchfield, I

answered your last, in which I mentioned my determination to set out in a few days for Carolina by land. I proceeded to Philadelphia in the stage, where I purchased a horse and finished the remainder of the Journey on horse back, through what is generally called the uper rout. In a tour so long, without a companion, and a stranger to the road I necessarily experienced many solitary hours. My reward was the perpetual gratification of curiosity in passing through a country entirely new to me, romantick in a high degree, and abounding with many objects of considerable novelty. On my arrival in Carolina I was happy to find all my friends and relations well, with only a few instances of slight fall fevers. After spending a few weeks in Abbeville I returned to this place, where I expect to continue in M^r. Desaussure's law office till June; at which time I expect to retire to the uper country for health; as it will not be safe for me with my northern habit to continue in Charleston. Your acquaintances here, as far as I know, are well. M^r. Macklehaney with his family spends the winter in S^t. Pauls. He was in Charleston a few days since but I did not see him. M^r. Pickens is at Columbia attending the session of the legislature. I have not as yet seen him. It is said he is shortly to be married; I think to a M^{rs} Barksdale; sister to Thomas Asby, who is dead. I suppose the report is true. Since my arrival here I have been very much of a recluse. I board with the French protestant Minister M^r. Detarguey in Church Street. It is a quiet house and answers my purpose well. At Columbia I saw Robert Anderson who was applying for admission to the bar at the constitutional court. He expects to settle at Grenvill court house. It is said, though I am loth to believe it, that his father treats him very harshly. He has given him, as yet, little or no property; and would not permit him to dwell with him in the same house, tho' his son had not then prepared himself with one. I was truly sorry to hear it both on account of the father and the son. Robert is illy qualified to bear such treatment; and it will tend to injure his father's reputation so much. It is attributed much to the insinuations of his mother in law. Since she is dead, I hope a good understanding will take place. I saw M^r Harvey a few days since he was well. Remember me to all acquaintances particularly to Miss and M^r Thurston.

[P. S.] I am anxious to hear how the second winter agrees with you. do writ me. Give my love to the children. Your friends here all fear you will desert them wholly.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

c. c.

Abbeville 1st Oct^r 1807.

D^r MADAM, You will believe me, that I feel not a little anxiety to hear from you and your family, when I inform you, that I have not had a syllable of intelligence concerning you since you left Charleston last spring. I attribute this wholly to the miscarriage of the mail; for sure am I, that you would not have permitted so long a time to have passed without writing to one, who is ever anxious to hear of your welfare. So little has ocured since my last to you, that I am at a loss in communicating anything new or interesting. This part of our State has been blessed with an extremely healthy summer. Not one of your acquaintances that I know of, that has not enjoyed good health. I have not had better health for many years. A few days since I heard from Seneca. Your friends there are all well. We ought to feel thankful for this; more especially as in some parts of the state it is said to be uncommonly sickly. The strangers fever is said to be unusually fatal this year in Charleston. Every paper from there brings a long catalouge of deaths. This is in part no doubt to be attributed to the nature of the climate; but a much greater part is owing to the misconduct of the inhabitants; and may be considered as a curse for their intem[p]erance and debaucheries.

I have spent on the whole a pleasant summer; and cannot but think this part of South Carolina very much improved of late; and that it still is in a state of progressive improvement. I hope in a few years, that for society, morals, and information it will be equal to any other part of the United States. Providence has given us a fine country, all that is lacking is our own exertion. It gives me real pleasure to find Simenaries of learning becoming so respectable and numerous. M^r Waddel still continues to keep a fine school. He is much pleased with the behaviour and progress of your Nephew.

He bids fair to make an excellent scholar. Not long since, I attended an examination at M^r Waddels with which I was much pleased, as the students appeared generally correct and well informed.

[P. S.] Give my love to Floride, Elizabeth, John and James; and remember me to all my friends in New Port. Your friends here would be much Pleased at your spending the winter with your family in this part of S^o Carolina.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

Newbury Court house 6th April 1809.

D^r MADAM, I regret exceedingly that I cannot carry into effect my expectation of visiting Charleston before your departure thence. I have received during the circuit a considerable influx of Chancery business; which as that court sets in June it will be impossible without a considerable neglect of my professional duties. I consider myself as not a little unfortunate in this disappointment; as while you were in the up country I had no opportunity excepting amidst the hurry of business to spend any time in your company. I should have been glad to have conversed with you on many points; but we must all submit to those duties which call friends to a distance from one another. It is perhaps one of the most disagreeable circumstances in our profession, that we cannot neglect its pursuit, without being Guilty at the same time of imprudence and a breach of confidence, reposed in us by our clients. I feel myself now and while I continue in the practice of the law almost as a slave chained down to a particular place and course of life. I have been very successful on the circuit in obtaining business; and doubt not in a short time to have as much as I can conveniently attend to; however I still feel a strong aversion to the law; and am determined to forsake it as soon as I can make a decent independence; for I am not ambitious of great wealth.

Do let me hear from you frequently; and I on my part will promise you not to be a remiss correspondent. I wish you a pleasant and safe voyage; and that you may find your family

¹ Mrs. Calhoun was now at Charleston.

in good health and progressed in their education. I should be glad to spend the summer northwardly were it possible; but must submit to necessity. Remember me to all friends.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

Abbeville 25th June 1809

D^r MADAM, After I left you at the plantation, I had a very pleasant, tho' solitary journey, to this place. I spent a night and a day with M^r Shackelford. He is one of those who improve on acquaintance; of a liberal hospitable character; he seems to live with great ease and happiness in his family. At Pine Vile, I spent two days. I had the pleasure of meeting D^r M^o Bride and a number of my acquaintances, which made my stay delightful. I never was in a place where there was more apparent equality and friendship among its inhabitants than in that. I did not see the object of the Doctor's affections, as she was gone to Charleston; which was of considerable regret to him and myself. She has the reputation, however, of being handsome; and, which to my mind is of much more importance, an amiable fine character. I felt a delightful sympathy at the prospect of my friend's happy establishment in life. It also called up strongly in my mind another subject of interest more important to myself. You know the one I allude to. It will be useless for me to conceal from you my increased anxiety on that subject. The more I reflect on it, the more indissolubly does my happiness seem to be connected with that event. If, I should finally be disappointed by any adverse circumstance, which heaven forbid, it will be by far the most unlucky accident in my life. I look for you next fall without any doubt, and at all events; and hope nothing but an impossibility will prevent you; at which time, I hope, at least, but still much more, to get rid of my anxiety. As to any disclosure if that may be necessary; I leave it wholly to your prudence; For I feel that nothing can shake my regard. On my return I found it universally report[ed] as I conjectured. In fact to me it is quite unaccountable how such an impression should become so universal.

Remember me to all my acquaintances to James and to ———

[P. S.] Do make no delay in writing to me. I expect to hear from you by the time you receive this.

¹ Again at Newport; and so, in the subsequent letters of this year.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Abbeville 18th July 1809.

D^r MADAM, By the last mail, I received your agreeable letter of the 18th Ultimo.

Except of my hearty thanks for the promptitude of your communication; which has releaved my mind from no small degree of anxiety. I can scarcely discribe my emotions, when I saw your well known hand writing with the New Port post mark. But the contrariety of emotions it excited of hope and fear quickly subsided into the most agreeable feeling on perusing its contents.

This language does not correspond with my former opinion upon this subject. I formerly thought that it would be impossible for me to be strongly agitated in an affair of this kind; but that opinion now to me seems wholly unfounded, since, as it were in the very commencement, it can produce such effects. Do let me know in your next, at what time in the fall I may expect you. The time will seem long, and, I hope, you will make your return as soon after the sickly season as possible. So unlimited is my confidence in your prudence and friendship, that to you I make the full and entire disclosure of the most inward recesses of my thoughts; while to all the world, even to my own brothers, I am quite silent. I have a strong inclination to lay open my intention to the object of my affection by letter; if this meets with your approbation, as proper, nothing will prevent me from so doing. Will you be so good, as to let me know your sentiment, on that point; and whether I may have your assent to such correspondence.

I dined with M^r Bowie yesterday. M^{rs} Bowie is somewhat better than she was. I saw your nephews on the 4th July. They were well. All your acquaintance here are in good health. M^r Pickens has not passed yet on his way to Pendleton. I saw M^r Dubon a few days since; he told me your Crop looked well tho' it had been dry. Remember me to your family and all acquaintances.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Abbeville 1st October 1809.

D^r MADAM, By the last mail I received yours of the first of September. How much am I indebted for that kind solicitude

which you have ever evinced for my happiness. In this, the true criterion of friendship, you have exceed all my friends; and have ever acted more as a parent than a simple well wisher. Never, shall I be able to make you suitable return, for so disinterested and generous conduct.

Oh, may I hope that the time is not far off, when I shall stand in a relation to you more congenial to my feelings, than which now exists between us. It gives much fond anticipation to learn from your letter that you will revisit us next winter; and as I hope to take up your permanent residence here. If you come by water, do inform me immediately on your arrival by letter. If it should be after the twentieth of november direct your letter to Columbia; as I shall be there at the last of that month. If you return by land it is likely you will come to the upper country first. At all events I expect to see you in november or early in december.

Your friends here are well, and except Wentworth have enjoyed good health this fall. He had an attack of the full fever; which I have no doubt he brought on by too much study and too little exercise. He is now well; and at Pendleton. Our country has been healthy generally. The mail is just going so I must conclude.

[P. S] Remember to John, James, Elizabeth and all friends.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Abbeville 20th Jan. 1810

D^r MADAM, Without pretending to decide whether that maxim from which you draw so much of your sperit of resignation to the various events of this life. "that all is for the best," is in every instance true, yet I am sure that in many instances things falling out different from what we would have ordered contribute to promote our happiness. This was my case the two last days I staid at the Ferry.¹ I spent them so pleasantly; and the reflection on them since has been such a copious source of gratification and delight, that I feel myself richly rewarded for the delay, had it been for weeks. I hope, I shall forever find cause to esteem them a fortunate and

¹ Bonneau's Ferry, where Mrs Calhoun had a plantation. This letter is addressed to Charleston.

happy period of my life. Should it contribute in any degree to an event, I have so much at heart, how happy a man shall I be. May He who governs all things cause it to eventuate so happily!—I had fine weather on my return; and my journey was only made disagreeable by reflecting on the increasing distance of those for whom I have so great a regard. The very day after my return proved very cloudy, wet and disagreeable. I found all of our friends well, except M^{rs} A. Pickens; who is at M^{rs} Bowie's in a very low state. I was there last night; and think she cannot survive many days. Her case is thought to be a consumption. I sent your letter to Wentworth the day after my arrival; and expect to be at Dr Waddel's myself in two or three days. I am anxious to hear from the [missing] and hope you have not missed the opportunity by M^r. Milligan. I am very desirous to know if you have had any conversation with M^r. E. P. and what he says. Tell my *much esteemed Floride* that nothing could prevent me from the pleasure of writing, but that there is so much suspicion on the subject, that I am fearful of the fate of a double letter endorsed in my hand writing. I hope to see you early next month; let it not be, if possible, past the middle. I would recommend the road by Gibham's. The road from the ferry there is as good and as near as from Charleston to the same place.

[P.S.] Tell Floride that no time, or distance can in the least abate my affection, but that absence only proves how much my happiness depends on her good opinions.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

Abbeville 12th June 1810.

Dr. MADAM, I regret much I could not find a private opportunity of writing to you before you sailed from Charleston. I enquired diligently but could find none; and, on enquiry, found the mail could not reach there before the 17th or eighteenth. I got up safely. I was much favoured by the weather. I would have had a lonesome journey, had it not been that my thoughts were so much absorbed by that subject so important to me; and so near my heart. How important

¹ At Newport

it is, on that occasion to have the full, and entire sanction of our reason; and how delightful it is, that the more I reflect, the greater cause I see, to thank that good providence who has directed my choice. I am not much given to enthusiasm; nor to anticipate future happiness. But, I cannot, now refrain my hopes of joy. On my part, I feel the most anxious solicitude for the happiness of one, to me dearer than all others; on her's, after a careful examination, I find none but those qualities in her character, which are suited to me; and are calculated to secure lasting enjoyment. Let me add, without the least imputation of flattery, that, to be so nearly related to yourself, is a fruitful source of happiness. I know not why, from my first acquaintance with you at New-Port, I have loved you as a mother. Sure am I, that I could not from a mother experience more kindness and tender affection. With the blessing of God I cannot but be happy; when every circumstance is so propitious. If possible, I will be in New Port next fall. I wish much that Floride would consent to that time. I will write to her about it, by my next. I think on many accounts it will be the best. If you know her sentiment I would be glad you would let me know in your next, for it will be a great inducement for me to go on, if she agrees to that time; and what is a matter of importance, will furnish a good excuse for my leaving my professional business at the fall court. Write me immediately on receiving this. I will be very anxious till I hear of your safe arrival. I start to Laurens tomorrow morning to attend the court of Equity there. Remember me to Elizabeth if she is with you, to James and John when you see him; also to all friends.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

Abbeville 30th June 1810.

D^r. MADAM, Yesterday I received yours dated the 16th instant; which I had been anxiously waiting for the last two mails. I am happy to hear of the health of yourself and Floride; the more so, as the season is far advanced, and must be attended with considerable hazard to both of you. I was apprehensive, that you would be detained till too late a period;

¹ This letter, addressed to Newport, was kindly lent by Mrs. J. F. Calhoun, of Clemson College P. O., S. C.

but it gives me pleasure to think that you have taken your passage direct to New-Port; and in the vessel you preferred. Your party cannot fail to contribute to the pleasure of the voyage; yet I greatly fear that you have had a very disagreeable and rough one. For, since the time you were to have embarked, the wind has been almost invariably to the east, accompanied with much rain and thunder. We have had near a week of incessant rain. Savannah river and most of the other streams have been out of their banks; which has done no inconsiderable damage.

I left D^r. Waddel's two days ago. M^{rs}. Boisseau and your two nephews were then well. Wentworth still continues to apply himself too closely. His constitution is not sufficiently strong for the exertions which he makes.

I am glad you mentioned the subject, so near my heart, to M^r. Desaussure. It always struck me it would be proper to do so, and I should have mentioned it myself, if you had not. I am convinced he is a friend to both of us. You mention that "he will have some conversation with me on the subject." This makes me doubly anxious to see him, for whatever has the least relation to it arrests my attention. Whatever comes from the judge shall receive from me a serious consideration. I am sure it will be the dictate both of friendship and prudence. I consider him a man of great discretion. I will write you as soon as we have had the conversation; which cannot now be long. I wrote to you inclosing a letter to Floride on the 12th Instant, which I directed to New-Port. I hope you will find it on your arrival. I am with every sentiment of esteem

Remember me to James, Elizabeth, if with you, and all acquaintances

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.¹

[Abbeville 18 July, 1810],

I have not yet seen the Judge, but by the last mail I had a letter from him dated at Columbia requesting me to meet

¹ The text of this letter is derived from Col. W. Pinkney Starke's manuscript biography of Mr. Calhoun, into which it was copied. The original is not now among the Clemson College MSS., and the present editor has not seen it. Mrs. Calhoun was at this date at Newport, R. I.

him at Greenville, but I was so unfortunate as not to receive it till the day appointed for the meeting. So that all the anticipated pleasure of travelling through so pleasant a part of our State and with so pleasant a companion was defeated. I expect the Judge here in a few days and shall be punctual in writing to you. I have been looking out for some weeks past for a place to purchase so as to establish myself permanently for life. I was desirous of purchasing on the Savannah river near my relatives, but I find only one place for sale there and that at a price nearly double its value. At present I have a place near my brother Patrick's.¹ It is a valuable one and as pleasant as any in that part of the State.² If I purchase I may commence building immediately, but perhaps it will be best to postpone building till some time next winter, for should the event I have so much at heart take place next winter according to present arrangements and I should be elected to Congress next fall, of which I suppose there is no doubt, both my own inclination and the health of Floride would require the following summer to be spent in travel. It would scarcely be worth while to commence housekeeping for so short a time, especially as I should not be able to return to Carolina till the summer after, owing to the session of Congress. By postponing building I shall be able to consult yours and Floride's taste. Let me know your opinion on this point.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*³

C. C.

Abbeville 27th July 1810.

Dr MADAM, I think you will not call me a negligent correspondent, as I have wrote to you regularly once a fortnight since my return to St. John's. I formerly was considered the most indolent in letter writing; all my friends have censured me for that fault. But, now it is my delight. I could write you by every mail, were I not apprehensive of fatiguing you by such frequent communications. Time hangs heavily on my hands; tho' I endeavor to make it pass as pleasantly as possible by close application. I have not read so intensely

¹ "The old Calhoun homestead." Note by Colonel Starke.

² "Bath." *Id.*

³ This and the next two letters were addressed to Newport.

since I commenced to practice law; as I have this summer. Yet it is impossible to divert my thoughts from her on whom they naturally concentrate. Nor do I desire so to do; were it possible; for tho', the thought of so long an absence and so great a distance makes me pensive; yet it is of a pleasant kind. It is a sweet pain. Could I suppose that she was of a fickle character I should be wretched. But there I am happy; my trust in her constancy is extreme. The more I dwell on her good qualities; and compare her with others of her sex, the stronger does my reason approbate the choice of my affection; the more devoutly do I thank that good providence, who has crowned my wishes with success. Heaven has been kind to me in many instances; but I will ever consider this as the greatest of its favors. I know much happiness, or much misery is the consequence of marriage. As far as the former can be secured by prudence, by similarity of character and sincerity of love, I may flatter myself with no ordinary share of bliss.

I had a letter from Dr Noble yesterday. He mentions your sailing at the time appointed. This surprises me the more, that I have not heard from you. A letter is only seventeen days from Newport to this place. You I fear must have had a long passage. How impatient I am to hear from you. The next mail, I feel, will bring me a letter. I have not yet seen Judge Desaussure. I know not what detains him. It may be he will not be here till Doctor Waddel's exhibition, which is on the 14th next month. Andrew Pickens was here last week. He left his daughter with M^{rs} Bowie. They are all well in Pendleton. All friends here are well. Remember me to James and tell him I will be glad he would write to me.

[P. S.] Dr Noble does not mention Elizabeth sailing with you. From that I suppose you left her. If she is with you give my best respects to her; and tell her if she will except of my offer to correspond I would take much pleasure in writing to her.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Abbeville 7th Sep^r 1810. .

DEAR MADAM, I join with you in expression of gratitude to that good providence, who has so mercifully preserved the

life of one so dear to our future hopes and happiness. The perusal of your letter filled me with joy and sympathy at the same time. Joy for her preservation; and sympathy for the pain she must have endured. How often and unmerited do we experience the kind interference of heaven! Had her life not been spared, how inconsolable would have been our condition! I know not where I should have look for relief. On her all my hopes concentrate. I hope by this time she has entirely recovered. No care, that a fond mother's solicitude could bestow, has been wanting, I dare say, to effect a speedy and entire cure.

By the last mail, I had a long answer from Judge Desaussure, to a letter I had addressed him as soon as I heard of his return to Charleston. He is pleased to express himself in very flattering terms of me; and to give his entire approbation to the contemplated connection. I am not only happy in the love and esteem of your daughter; but in the concurring assent of all our mutual friends. This swells the cup of bliss to the full. I, in every event of my life, seem to myself more fortunate, than I deserve. How shall I be sufficiently grateful? Judge Desaussure mentions the settlement of Floride's property. I know not, but that it will be indelicate in me to express my opinion on that subject. The fortune is her's. I am not directed in my choice by it. Yet, I think it a duty, that I owe to yourself and Floride to be perfectly candid on all points. From prejudice, or reason, I have been always opposed to marriage settlements. I think experience and reason prove them to be unfriendly to the happiness of the marriage state; and, that they tend to produce pecuniary embarresment. In that state there should be one interest, one happiness and one destiny. That entire confidence, which is reposed by a female in the object of her choice, in placing both her honor and her property in his custody give rise to the most sacred and tender regard. A marriage settlement implies a distrust. It is no safety against inevitable accident. It is a guard against the imprudence, or misconduct of the husband only. As far as children are concerned, it places them above the dependence of the parents. Nothing can be more unfriendly to their government, or character. As to property, it often tends to prevent farther accumulation; and prevent an extrication at the commencement of an embarresment. If successful in life,

there is no benefit in one; if unsuccessful, what more disagreeable than to have property, but not to be able to pay just debts? It would to me, be wretched. It would be splendid poverty. You have my candid sentiment; dictated, not by selfish views, but a regard to our mutual happiness. It is my duty to give it. I find it impossible for me to leave Abbeville before sometime in Nov^r. It will then be too late to visit New Port. It is a painful necessity to me. Do let me know immediately when you expect to leave N. Port; and whether you will return by land, or water. If you return by land and can make arrangement for me to meet you I will on my part be happy so to do. I hope you will return as soon as the season will permit. I never was so anxious to see Floride and yourself.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Abbeville 13th Sep^r 1810

DEAR MADAM, I know not how to express my gratitude for that almost maternal regard, which you have always exercised towards me. Such is the warmth of affection, which, I feel towards you, that I can scarcely refrain from addressing you by the endearing epithet of mother. I hope the time now will not be long, when I may with propriety use it. That day, which will put me in that endearing relation towards you will be the happiest of my life. In yours of the 20th of August, which I received yesterday, you observe, "that should it be the will of the Almighty to unite me to Floride that you only wish, she may make me as happy as I deserve". In that event it will be mine to make her happy. Should I always remain with my present feeling, which I trust in God I may, no task will be half so sweet to me, as to make her, as happy, as the conditions of this life will permit. I have no doubt, Floride will be actuated with similar feelings towards me. This mutual love must constitute the joy of the marriage state. To be united in the sacred bonds of matrimony; to regard one another, as companions mutually united for mutual happiness, for each to place their greatest joy in the happiness of the other, is to my mind the most enviable condition on earth. O that our married life may so commence so continue and so

end! And that you, our dear mother, may long continue to live, to enjoy and participate in our happiness. Your account of the almost entire restoration of Floride from the effect of her bruises was very welcome. I felt much anxiety on that subject. I was fearful, particularly, that she would not recover the use of her finger. This would have been a great misfortune to us both. Your letter before the last gave me the first information of the accident. To that letter, I wrote an answer by the last mail. I mentioned in my last, that it would not be possible for me to visit N. Port this fall. My regret at this necessity is still the greater since you mentioned in your last that it is Floride's wish to return by land. Neither convenience, nor profit should prevent me from going; but I found, as court approached, that my duty to be here to discharge the trusts reposed in me by my clients was imperious. I hope that it will meet with your's and Floride's approbation. If I were to advise you, I would recommend you to return by water. As I shall cease issuing business after this fall, I shall have leisure to accompany you by land hereafter. Which ever way you determine, I hope you will be here by the middle of Nov^r. If you conclude to come by water I shall be in Charleston by the 20th of that month, at farthest. Your friends here are all well. It blows almost a storm at this moment. I fear much damage is done on the coast. Remember me to M^{rs} Banister, D^r. Dehone¹, John Ewing if with you, and James. Also to all friends.

To Miss Floride Calhoun.²

[Abbeville, S. C., 28 Sept., 1810.]

I rejoice, my dearest Floride, that the period is fast approaching when it will be no longer necessary to address you through the cold medium of a letter. At furthest it cannot be much longer than a month before I shall behold the dearest object of my hopes and desires. I am anxious to see you and my impatience daily increases. May heaven grant you a safe

¹ Mr. Dehon had been made a doctor of divinity by the College of New Jersey in 1809.

² The text of this letter, addressed to Mr. Calhoun's future wife, then at Newport, R. I., is derived from the manuscript biography by Col. W. Pinkney Starke, into which it was copied. The original is not now among the Clemson College MSS., and the present editor has not seen it.

return. What pleasure I have experienced in your company, what delight in the exchange of sentiment, what transport in the testimonies of mutual love. In a short time this with the permission of heaven will be renewed, and I shall be happy. To be united in mutual virtuous love is the first and best bliss that God has permitted to our natures. My dearest one, may our love strengthen with each returning day, may it ripen and mellow with our years, and may it end in immortal joys. It gives me much satisfaction that time and absence make no impression on my love for you; it glows with no less ardour than at the moment of parting, which must be a happy omen of its permanent nature. When mere personal charms attract, the impression may be violent but cannot be lasting, and it requires the perpetual presence of the object to keep it alive; but when the beauty of mind, the soft and sweet disposition, the amiable and lovable character embellished with innocence and cheerfulness are united to the attractions of personal beauty, it bids defiance to time. Such, my dear Floride, are the arms by which you have conquered, and it is by these the durability of your sovereignty is established over your subject whom you hold in willing servitude.

I am much involved in business at present. Court commences in two weeks, and in a week the election for Congress will take place. My opponent is Gen. Elmore of Laurens,¹ but it is thought that I will succeed by a large majority. As soon as the result is known I will inform you. Write me before you leave New Port. I wish you a pleasant journey home. May God preserve you. Adieu my love; my heart's delight.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*²

C. C.

8th May 1811 Charleston.

Dr MOTHER, I wrote you a few days since from Columbia; and now, agreeably to my promise, I make this farther communication. It must be your first desire to know how Floride does; I therefore hasten to state that on my return from Columbia a few days since, I had the pleasure to find her in good health and spirits. She looks I think better than when you

¹ Gen John A. Elmore, a Revolutionary officer, father of Franklin H. Elmore.

² Addressed, like the next, to New Haven, Conn.

left us; and feels less sickness than what I believe is usual in her condition. We return to the country to morrow by way of Christ Church. May and Jane Brighton both accompany us. I shall return myself to this place about the 20th when I hope at farthest we shall hear from you. M^r Pickens and family arrived in town last evening. They are well. The last evening Floride, M^r Brighton's family and M^r Pickens and Elizabeth went to the theatre. Floride is not at all pleased; and feels no inclination to renew her visit there. I was pleased to see that her good sense prevented her from being dazzled by the glare of novelty. I hope my dear mother you had a pleasant voyage; and that you on your arrival had the pleasure of finding your son quite restored. We anxiously expect your return this summer.

Floride gives her love to you and John Ewing. Remember me to him and all acquaintances.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.¹

23^d May 1811, Charleston.

MY DEAR MOTHER. Since my arrival here I have had the pleasure of perusing yours of the 11th instant to Floride. Your safe arrival at New-Haven and the restoration of John's health both afford the sincerest pleasure. His recovery is almost a miracle. Few have been restored to health from so low a condition. The very kind attention which he seems to have received while in his sickness must be highly pleasant to you. Your daughter still remains in good health and spirits. I left her at M^r Pickens. we shall start for the upper country in a few days. M^{rs} Sterling goes with us. We expect to go by the way of Pine-Ville and Columbia. The division of property in the lower country has been made. It will also be made in the upper as soon as M^r Pickens goes up. I dined with Judge DeSaussure yesterday he informed me he would transmit \$600 to you today. You do not mention at what time we may expect your return; we hope as soon as possible. The rice dam gave away a few days since near the old breach. The breach is a very bad [one], and will be difficult to stop. I write in haste. Floride joins her love to John Ewing. Remember me to all my acquaintances who enquire after me.

¹ Original lent by Mrs J. F. Calhoun.

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

Washington 21st Dec^r 1811.

DEAR MOTHER, I received last week your affectionate letter of the 20th of the last month. It came the same day with Florides; tho' hers is dated on the 26th. It contained the first direct information I had from home; and relieved me from a load of anxiety. I left Floride and our little son at so critical a period, that I almost felt an alarm at hearing from home for fear that all was not well. I feared that her anxiety of mind at my leaving her might injure her health; situated as she was; and I am sure I have great cause to be thankful that she has entirely recovered. I am as comfortably fixed here as I could be; and have nothing to render me uneasy but my solicitude for those I have left behind. Our society is delightful. This place is quite gay, during the session; but I do not participate in it much myself. You know I never had much inclination to such enjoyment. I am invited to a ball to the French minister's² on monday next; and to dine with him on Christmas day; but for political reasons have declined his invitation. I do not think at this time when a war is expected with England that much intimacy should exist with the minister of her rival; particularly as our oponents accuse us with partiality towards France.

I hope you will impress on Floride the necessity of taking sufficient exercise when the weather will permit. Nothing is so conducive to health; and I think she is rather disinclined to it. Let me hear from you often. I shall not be backward in answering tho' I have a great many letters to write. Remember me to the family and all friends.

*To Mrs. John C. Calhoun.*³

C. C.

Washington, 1st March 1812

You will no doubt, my dearest Floride, be much gratified and surprised to find the bearer of this letter in St. Johns. Mr. Cooper called on me this morning in company of Mr. Talmage and informed me that he was on his way to the south-

¹ At Charleston.

² J. M. P. Serurier.

³ Addressed to Mrs Calhoun at St. Johns, S. C.

ward. I was very glad to see him, as I had taken up a favourable opinion of him from the kindness which he had bestowed on your brother when sick.

I wrote you but a few days since, and have nothing farther to communicate now. The weather is very mild and spring like this morning.

I Dreamed all night the last night of being home with you; and nursing our dear son; and regreted when I awoke to find it a dream. I was in hopes that the morning's mail would bring me a letter from you; but was disapointed. It is near a month since I had one. I learned by a letter from Mr. Pickens a few days since that you were all well.

Rmber me to our mother and John

*To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.*¹

c. c.

Washington 23^d. Nov^r. 1812.

DE^r MOTHER, I am induced to write to you more from that sentiment of respect and affection which I hope ever to entertain for you, than any particular information which I wish to communicate. My esteem for you has rather been strengthened, than abated, by the present intimate tie which through our dear Floride and little Andrew subsist between us. Your deportment long before our connection was such as to merit my warmest affection. Floride's letter to me mentions the fine health of Andrew and his disposition to feed. I think it would be advisable for her to wean him as soon as possible. You however will be the best judge. I fear to continue him longer at the breast will be neither for his or her health.

If Floride bears my absence as badly as I do hers, she must occasionally be very impatient. I know you will not fail to keep her as cheerful as possible. I often look forward with impatience for the time of my return.

I expect we shall have a warm and important Session. We shall have to encounter every impediment that opposition can throw in the way.

If rice is a good price I would advise you to sell. The present prospect is in favour of its keeping up and being high; but the commercial world is at present so uncertain, that no one can anticipate the change. I would be glad to hear from you.

¹ At Charleston

To Mrs. John C. Calhoun¹.

C. C.

Washington 7th Feb. 1814.

MY DEAREST FLORIDE, By Dr Casey's letter of yesterday, I had the pleasure to hear of your safe delivery of a daughter; and that you had comparatively easy times. I had been waiting anxiously for mail day in expectation of such an event; and you may imagine the relief and joy it afforded me to hear not only of your safety, but the addition to our family. For both of your safety, I have all the fond wishes of a parent and an husband. I hope your mother till you are sufficiently recovered, will be punctual in writing every mail; as my anxiety will be encreased to hear from you.

As to the name, any one that you and your mother think proper will please me. It is a subject on which, I have no great choice; but my inclination would be to call her by the name which you and your mother bear.

I think there will be an early adjournment; and am satisfied at least that the session will not be a long one. I hope Nance continues faithful to his duty, both about the house and plantation. I am glad to hear that the apple trees are planted.

Do let M^cGehee have his money as soon as possible.

Andrew appears to be forgot. None of the letters home for some time mention a word of him. I hope he is doing well. Kiss him for me. Rmber me to our Mother and all friends.

To Patrick Calhoun.²

Washington 4th Jan 1814 [1815].

DEAR BROTHER, I was very glad to hear from you by your letter of 17th Decr. My acquaintances generally do not write me sufficiently often and I may bring the same charge against you and the rest of our brothers.

I think the price of cotton will again rise. There is no doubt of a great failure on the Mississippi. The consumption of cotton in our own factories is estimated at 100,000 bales, which must be more than one third of the quantity produced.

¹ Addressed to Willington, S. C.

² Original lent by Mrs J F Calhoun The date evidently should be 1815, for the *Wasp* was not lost or thought of as lost till after October 9, 1814, Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 382.

The fall in England seems to me to have risen from temporary causes. On the whole if you do not wish the money, I would advise you to wait the spring market.

I wish you would mention to James to enter my sulky for me. I value it at \$100. The plated harness costing \$20, making \$120 which I gave for both.

The opinion of the naval offices is that the Wasp is not lost. They think that the reported engagement between her and the British frigate that went into Lisbon in so shattered a condition cannot be true; as she was not at that time in those seas. Their impression is that the engagement was with a privateer and that the Wasp is in the Pacific ocean. I trust it may be true. There is a good deal of talk of the next President. The New Yo[rk]ers wish to start Tomkins;¹ but I [think] they cannot succeed. My [im]pression is that Monroe wi[ll be] the man. My respect to Nancy and family and all acquaintances].

*To John Ewing Calhoun.*²

C. C.

Washington 26th Feb 1815

DEAR JOHN, I regret that your departure from this place was so sudden as not to give me an opportunity of seeing you; and tho', it has afforded me extreme delight that the just and necessary war which we have been compeled to wage with England has been brought to a termination so advantageous and glorious to our country, yet I would have been much pleased if you could have had an opportunity of acquiring that honor which I am confident you would, had the war taken another campaign. The most active means had been put in operation to reduce the Canadas the next summer, and I believe, with such officers and soldiers as we have they would have succeeded.

As to your future course; my advice would be not to continue in the army during peace, but I would not resign. The probability is that the military establishment will be much reduced; and it is proposed to give every captain who will be

¹ Daniel D. Tompkins, at that time governor of New York, Vice-President from 1817 to 1825.

² Son of Calhoun's first cousin Senator John E. Calhoun, and brother of Mrs. Calhoun. He was now a captain in the U. S. Army.

thrown out by such reduction 640 acres of land and three months pay. If you should resign, you would loose this compensation, which the country thinks fit to give to those who have served her. You had better write to the Secretary at War that you had entered the service of the country, with an intention to render what service you could during the war, and that it was not your desire to continue in during peace, and that you would desire to be ranked among those officers, who would be put out of service by the reduction of the army.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Bath [S. C.] 9th April 1815.

MY DEAR MOTHER, Floride wrote to you by M^r Shackleford that all were well. We at that time little calculated that in three days, we should experience the heaviest calamity that has ever occurred to us. It is no less than the death of our interesting and dearest daughter.¹ She was in the bloom of health on Wednesday morning the 6th inst. and was a corps the next day. She was taken with a vomiting and fever very suddenly about eleven o'clock and died about an hour by sun the next morning. We suspected no danger till about midnight and even then except a wildness in her eyes the symptoms were not very distressing. We became much alarmed about day; and sent off a dispatch for D^r Casey but he was gone to Augusta. Everything was done which we thought could be of service but in vain. Thus early was [snatched?] from us in the bloom of life, our dear child whom providence seemed, but a few hours before, to destine to be our comfort and delight. So healthy, so cheerful, so stout; every prognostick of health and long life. She had just begun to talk and walk; and progressed so fast in both as to surprise every one. She could hardly step when I returned on the 20th of March and before her death she could run all over the house. But why should I dwell on these once flattering appearances? She is gone alas! from us forever; and has left behind nothing but our grief and tears. So fixed in sorrow is her distressed mother that every topic of consolation, which I attempt to offer but seems to grieve her the more. It is in vain I tell

¹ Floride, Calhoun's second child, born in January, 1814.

her it is the lot of humanity; that almost all parents have suffered equal calamity; that Providence may have intended it in kindness to her and ourselves, as no one can say what, had she lived, would have been her condition, whither it would have been happy or miserable; and above all we have the consolation to know that she is far more happy than she could be here with us. She thinks only of her dear child; and recalls to her mind every thing that made her interesting, thus furnishing additional food for her grief.

We will expect you up as soon as your business will permit. Floride desires her love to you. Our respects to all friends.

To Mrs. John C. Calhoun.¹

C. C.

Washington 29th Nov^r. 1815.

MY DEAR WIFE, I arrived at this place yesterday, having performed the journey in a shorter time than what I expected by several days. At Raleigh in North Carolina I met with John Taylor² which as it afforded company made the journey more pleasant. The last 53 miles is performed by a steam boat; nothing can be superior to that mode of conveyance whether we regard the safety, ease or expedition of traveling. You are moved on rapidly without being sensible of it. I hope by another session there will be one from Charleston to the place.

The more I reflect on it, I am the better satisfied you ought to go to Charleston at the time of your labour. St. John's appears to me to be very inconvenient. I will write to Dr. McBride to attend to you; and I am certain that he will omit nothing that his skill and attention can contribute to make your time safe and easy. I hope Andrew has lost his fever. I should feel much anxiety for him if it should continue after the Winter fairly sets in. I would fear that he would not get clear of it till spring. Do not fail to write by every mail. I am anxious to hear from you all. Remember me affectionately to your mother and brothers. Kiss our dear son for me and tell him how much his father loves him.

¹Addressed to Charleston.

²John Taylor, who served in Congress from 1807 to 1817, and was governor of South Carolina from 1826 to 1828, was at this time a member of the Senate.

*To James Edward Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

Bath [S. C.] 27th Oct^r. 1817.

DEAR JAMES, It afforded myself, your sister and all of your friends great pleasure to hear of your safe arrival at Norfolk. Your being on board the Congress gave her cruise a great additional interest with us all; and the occasional notice which the papers took of her were read with much avidity. You have indeed been fortunate, both in getting on board of a frigate, and being placed under the command of so accomplished a seaman as Cap Morris.² I hope and believe that your personal merit has in some degree contributed to put you in so eligible a situation. I called on your Uncle Norris on the subject of remittance, as I know you must feel a considerable anxiety in relation to it. He thinks it unsafe to send by mail as there are so many miscarriages by it; and as it is uncertain whether you would be at Norfolk by the time the remittance might arrive; and therefore thinks it more advisable to send the money by me. I will be at Washington by the first Dec^r. and you can draw on me for it, or if you can get a furlough come on to Washington. Your sister and the children go with me. They have both been unwell but are now better. Our State has been very unhealthy this autumn; but no deaths have taken place among your relations; except Col. Calhoun and General Pickens.³ The latter died suddenly of an apoplexy in August last. No other changes have occurred. Your mother and M^{rs} Miller are with us and are both well. Your mother is much hurt that you have not mentioned her in your letter; and she and M^{rs} M. desire to be mentioned to you affectionately. As I expect to see you at Washington in a short time I will abstain from writing a long letter. Andrew says he wishes to see you very much; and often talks of your fighting John Bull. Your sister says you must be sure to come to Washington, as she is very anxious to see you. Your Uncle Norris and all of your friends desire to be remembered to you. Give my respect to Cap^t. Morris. There is none of

¹ James Edward Calhoun was the son of Calhoun's first cousin, Senator J. E. Calhoun, and a brother of Calhoun's wife. He entered the Navy, but resigned in 1829, and lived to a great age on his plantation in South Carolina.

² Capt. Charles Morris had been lately in command in the Gulf of Mexico.

³ Gen. Andrew Pickens of Revolutionary fame died August 17, 1817.

our naval officers for whom I have a greater esteem. You must exert yourself not to disappoint expectation, which is high in your favour.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Wilmington 1st Nov^r 1817.

DEAR SIR, By the last mail, I received your favor of the 10th of last month. I am impressed with the importance of the trust which you have tendered to me; and in determining to accept of it, I am governed by a sincere desire to add to the prosperity of this country, and the reputation of your administration.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Chester Ct. house 15th Nov^r 1817.

DEAR MOTHER, We arrived here this evening; and as I am certain you would be anxious to hear from us frequently, I cannot admit the opportunity of the Columbia mail going out in the morning without writing. We have thus far met with not the least accident; and the children stand traveling much better, and are far less troublesome than we expected. The child's health is evidently better; and Andrew's chill to day was not so severe as the preceding one; tho I think his fever was nearly the same. His appetite seems to be improving. We have made thus far 30 miles a day with ease, both to ourselves and the horses, tho the roads, particularly to day, are much the worst on the whole journey. The horses prove very true, except Jake, in going down hill, where it is very steep, is some times a little unruly. We are much better pleased with Hector as a driver than what we expected to be; in fact Floride's confidence in his driving is completely restored. I hope the children's health will be daily improving and the rest of the journey will prove as safe as the past. Floride joins in expression of affection both to yourself and M^{rs}. Miller, whose kindness we will long remember. Remember us to John E. the Gov^r. and all friends.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, Washington. The letter is a reply to one from President Monroe, offering Calhoun the position of Secretary of War. Text from a copy furnished by Mr S. M. Hamilton, of the Department of State.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

War Depart. 26th Dec^r. 1817

DEAR JOHN, I have been waiting for some time to hear from you, but suppose that you are so much engaged with your new settlement that you cannot find leisure. I shall wish the collection for our Sal^r.¹ lands to be as considerable as possible, for I find that living here will be much more expensive than what I expected. I am but temporarily fixed yet, with M^r. Lowndes.² In the Spring I must make my arrangement for permanent residence here. Hiring Servants and buying furniture will take a very considerable sum. I will be out with my family in the latter part of spring, and must put myself in funds to meet the expenses. My crop this year from a great variety of causes is greatly shortened. I do not make a half crop. If you can get what you may consider a good offer for my share of the land I would have no objection to sell.

James has sailed in the Congress with our commissioners.³ I did not see him, but had a letter from him. He is well and is much pleased thus far with the sea.

The children have at length quite recovered.

I wish you to call, as soon as you can, at the Southern Patriot's office and settle my bill there and discontinue my paper. Let me hear from you soon. Your sister desires her love to you. Andrew says he wishes to see you much. Remember me affectionately to your mother and M^r. Miller, if they should be in the lower country and to D^r. Noble and all friends.

*To Thomas Jefferson.*⁴

War Dept. 13th Jan. 1818

SIR, I have examined the case of Mr. Poirey;⁵ and find

¹ Saltcatcher

² William Lowndes (1782-1822), M. C. from South Carolina from 1811 to 1822

³ Cæsar A. Rodney, John Graham and Theodorick Bland, sent out by President Monroe to investigate conditions in revolted South America, set sail from Hampton Roads in the Congress on December 4, 1817.

⁴ From the Jefferson Papers, Department of State.

⁵ Poirey, secretary and aid to Lafayette during the Revolution, revived by petition in 1817 a claim for compensation which he had presented in 1796. Jefferson transmitted his papers to Calhoun by letter of Dec. 31, 1817, to which this is a reply. See American State Papers, Claims, pp. 188, 605, 606; Bulletin of Bureau of Rolls and Library, No. 6, p. 62, No. 8, p. 459.

that the report of Mr. McHenry (which I transmit) contains all of the information in relation to it, to be found in this office. Among the papers of Mr. Poirey, which you transmitted to me, is a petition to Congress, which I have put into the hands of Mr. Lowndes, to be presented. It appears to me that his claim is a just one; and that Congress will probably grant him the relief prayed for. I will retain his papers till his case is acted on. Every care will be taken of them. I avail myself of this occasion to express the high esteem and veneration, which I entertain for your publick [services ?] and private character. It is my sincere wish, that you may long continue in the full possession of your health and faculties to enjoy the gratitude of the nation.

*To John Williams.*¹

Department of War, 5th Feb^y. 1818.

SIR, I have given to the enclosed resolutions of the Senate, all of the attention which their importance demands, and my other engagements would admit. Feeling as I do the importance of a well organized staff, I regret that want of minute knowledge in relation to it, which would enable me to state my ideas with greater decision, both as to the present system, and such amendments as it may be susceptible of.

If the Committee should think that so much of the act of 1816, as creates the offices of Hospital Surgeons and Hospital surgeon's mates, and judge advocates, ought to be repealed, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of creating in lieu of them, the offices of Surgeon general and Judge Advocate general. I have already offered to you my ideas in relation to them, in conversation, and now will only briefly restate them. The medical staff at present is without responsibility; and must, I conceive, remain so 'till its duties are brought to a centre. To introduce responsibility it should be the duty of the surgeons of the Army, to make quarterly return of the manner in which they have performed their duties. These returns ought among other particulars, to contain a list of the sick, their disease, the prescriptions and issues of medical stores.

¹ Hon. John Williams, chairman of the military committee of the Senate. From the "Reports to Congress" in the Department of War, No. 1; text from a copy furnished by the Department.

It must be apparent that there ought to be a medical character of eminence, to report to the Head of the Department on these returns. It is thus that the character of each surgeon in the Army will come to be known, and important checks imposed on the improper consumption and waste of the medical stores. It is not to be doubted that the public sustains great losses for the want of such a system. The Judge advocate general would be the adviser of the Department, in all cases touching martial laws; and would in important trials be ordered to act as Judge advocate. It seems to me, the importance of such an office is apparent when we reflect, that points of the most difficult character are involved in the decisions of courts martial, and that those decisions may involve the life of a fellow citizen.

The Quarter master's Dep^t. may, I conceive, be rendered more simple and efficient. I would suggest the propriety of one quarter master general, with one deputy for each division, and as many assistants as the same may require. No branch of the general staff is more important or difficult to be managed than the quarter master's; none requires more eminently the controul of a single and responsible head. I would also respectfully suggest, that in the dispersed condition of the Army, the chaplains might be dispensed with, without injury to the service, except the one at West Point. I know of no farther retrenchments, that would not impair the efficiency of the Staff.

To Thomas A. Smith.¹

Department of War, March 16th, 1818.

SIR, In order to extend and protect our trade with the Indians, it has been determined to establish a permanent military post at the mouth of the Yellow stone river. You will take immediate and efficient measures to carry it into effect. The strength of the detachment,—the means of transportation,—the supplies of provisions, are left wholly under your controul. You will consult with his excellency governor Clark,² in relation to the country, with its capacity to supply

¹ Col Thomas A. Smith of the rifle regiment, brevet brigadier-general commanding the ninth department, addressed at St. Louis, Missouri Territory. Letter from Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War, text from an official copy.

² William Clark, governor of the Missouri Territory, famous for his connection with the Lewis and Clark expedition.

the wants of the detachment, the navigation of the river,—the force and disposition of the tribes of Indians in that quarter, in order to enable you to make your arrangements in such manner as may be best calculated to effect the object in view. To enable you to make the detachment required, without weakening too much your other posts, orders have been given to march at least two hundred recruits enlisted in Pennsylvania and Ohio, for the 3^d and 5th. These will be transferred, on their arrival at St. Louis, and attached to the rifle regiment. The details for the service will be communicated to you through the adjutant and Inspector general. The ordnance department will be directed to furnish four pieces of light ordnance, with such munitions and military stores as the expedition may require. The general of division is advised of these measures, and you will allow of no delay for further orders thro' him.

It is probable, that the lateness of the season will prevent the detachment from reaching the post contemplated, this summer; and in that event, as intermediate posts will probably be required, it will take post at the Mandan village,¹ or at such other point as may be thought advisable.

The post contemplated being very remote, and on that account, exposed in its supplies, to many accidents and dangers, it will be necessary after this year, that it should have the means of supply within itself. The reported fertility of the country in that neighbourhood, and the abundance of game, will render this measure, dictated by prudence, very easy. You will draw on this department for such expenditures as the nature of the service may render necessary.

You will instruct the officer who may be detailed to command the detachment, to use every means to conciliate the Indians, and impress on them the belief, that our intention is friendly towards them. It is expected the English traders will take unusual pains to make a contrary impression. They have great advantages in controuling the savages thro' their commanding station on Red river; and as our contemplated establishment at Yellow Stone, will greatly curtail their trade towards the head of the Missouri, we must expect every opposition from them. No pains must be spared to counter-

¹One thousand six hundred miles up the Missouri River, where Lewis and Clark wintered in 1804-05 and built Fort Mandan, near the present Bismarck, N. D.

act such efforts, and to do this, you are authorised to purchase such goods at St. Louis, as may be thought proper, not exceeding in value three thousand dollars, to be distributed in presents to the Indians.

The remoteness of the post will, in some respects, render it unpleasant to those who may be detailed for the service; but I am persuaded that the American soldier, actuated by the spirit of enterprize, will meet the privations which may be necessary with cheerfulness. Combined with the importance of the service, the glory of planting the American flag at a point so distant, on so noble a river, will not be unfelt. The world will behold in it the mighty growth of our republic, which but a few years since, was limited by the Alleghany; but now is ready to push its civilization and laws to the western confines of the continent.

*To Charles J. Ingersoll.*¹

War Dept 4th August 1818

DEAR SIR, I understood from the President previous to his leaving this, he had written to you on the subject of our Florida affairs. The operations of General Jackson, in that quarter, presented some very complicated and delicate questions. It, however, affords much pleasure to observe the acquiescence of publick opinion, in that course, which the Administration thought it its duty to pursue. My opinion always has been that an open, manly, and honest attachment to truth and justice is the safest basis, on which any administration can place even its popularity. It is delightful to reflect, how, among a people enlightened and experienced upon political subjects, the strait and devoted line of duty becomes to the public functionary that of interest also. When I began, I intended to say nothing but in relation to some private business, but was insensibly drawn away to subjects which were calculated to excite much publick interest.

I am necessitated to give you some trouble on my private account. During my late absence, one of my domesticks with-

¹ Charles Jared Ingersoll (1782-1862), M. C. from Pennsylvania from 1813 to 1815, and from 1841 to 1849, and an eminent lawyer and public man. See his life by Mr. W. M. Meigs, to whom the editor is indebted for the loan of Calhoun's letters to Ingersoll printed in this volume.

out any just provocation left me; and as I have not been able to hear of him since, I am inclined to think, that under the seduction and aid of some free blacks near me, he has made for Philadelphia. I have been advised, that the best mode to obtain him is not to advertise, but to employ some active constable, or agent accustomed to that business. As I am unacquainted with any suitable character, the object of this communication, is to ask your aid to obtain one to make an active and diligent search for him. I will make any compensation, which you may deem reasonable. My domestick's Name is Hector, but it is probable he will assume the name of Johnson by which he sometimes calls himself or some other name for concealment. (He left home on the 9th July last). He is about 25 years of age, very black, under the middle size, compactly formed; he speaks slow with a feeble voice, and his upper eye lids hanging very much over his eyes give him a dull and sleepy appearance. Should he be discovered, I do not know the process by which I can secure him, and will expect your instruction in relation to it. I regret to give you this trouble. Accept the assurance of my esteem.

*To James Monroe.*¹

War Dept 22^d August 1818

DEAR SIR, . . . Col Gibson the Commissary General has not yet arrived; and as I cannot postpone any longer the proposals for supplying the troops the next year, they will be issued immediately. The law authorizes you to make, if you should judge proper, changes in the rations; and I have ventured on the supposition of your approbation, to make some changes. So the South Bacon and killed [kiln] dried corn meal is substituted to a certain extent in the place of Pork and flour. Twice a week fresh meat, (Beef) and pease or beans, or rice is substituted in lieu of the regular ration. There will be in the whole a saving to the gov^t, and an addition to the health and comfort of the Army.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

*To Andrew Jackson.*¹

Department of War, 22d Augt. 1818.

SIR, From the frequent failure of packages to and from Fort Hawkins, the last winter and spring, it is possible that you may not have received a copy of the instruction to Genl. Smith, in relation to the contemplated post at the mouth of the Yellowstone river.² I now enclose a copy to you. From information since received, I am inclined to think the principal post ought to be at the Mandane village. It is the point on the Missouri nearest to the British post on the Red river, and the best calculated to counteract their hostilities against us, or influence with the Indians. It appears to be very important, that a strong post should be taken at the mouth of the St. Peters³ on the Mississippi. It is the great thoroughfare of the British trade with the Indians within our limits. That and Fort Armstrong are said to be the most commanding posts on the upper Mississippi. The Michigan territory has been extended to the Mississippi. The Northern Division has received a similar extension. In order to relieve the Southern Division, which by the extension of the posts up the Missouri, has so long a line of the frontier to protect, I am inclined to think the Mississippi with its waters above the mouth of Rocky River ought to be annexed to the Northern Division. It would not even then have equal duties to perform with that of the South. Should no substantial objection occur to you, that arrangement of the divisions will be made. I am very desirous by taking strong and judicious posts to break the British controul over the Northern Indians; and, for this purpose it appears proper, that a much larger proportion of our military establishment should be posted on the Mississippi and its waters, which the arrangement proposed would admit of, without any derangement of your command.

¹ Major-general commanding the Division of the South From Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy

² See the letter of March 16, 1818, to Gen. Thomas A. Smith, *supra*. The present letter should be read in the light of the discussions with Jackson respecting direct orders from the Secretary of War to subordinate officers, as set forth in Parton's Jackson, II, 371-376

³ *I. e.*, Minnesota River For the history of Fort Snelling, see Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, VIII, 427-448.

*To James Monroe.*¹

War Dept 29th August 1818

DEAR SIR, Mr. Adams left here yesterday; and requested me to open and read the dispatches from abroad; and to forward to you such as might have any interest. Yesterday's mail brought the enclosed from Mr. Rush and Mr. Irvin;² and they are forwarded agreeably to Mr. Adam's request.

Cap Gadsden³ arrived yesterday and has brought the copies of the dispatches from Gen^l. Jackson, the original of which miscarried. He also brought letters from Gen^l. Jackson, of which one is addressed to you and the other to the Department. I enclose both, with the request that the one to me may be returned after you have perused it, as I have not yet answered it. The copies of the proceedings of the court martial in the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrester with the other dispatches, I will transmit to you as soon as I have perused them. Cap^t. Gadsden is under the necessity of going on to New Haven; and cannot go on, at least till after his return, to Albermarle, as you wished when you left here.

You will see by Gen^l. Jackson's letter to me that Col Haynes is about to resign; and that he is anxious for Cap^t. Gadsden to be appointed in his place. He is a valuable officer and I would be sorry to loose him from the Engineer Corps; but as it is his wish and as he no doubt would be well qualified for the place held by Col Haynes, I think it would be proper to confer the appointment when the vacancy occurs.

P. S. The act relative to the flag (of the last Session) has not been acted on by the War and Navy Departments. I send for your selection two patterns. The only difference is in the distribution of the Stars. Those distributed in the form of a square is the most simple, but the other is more emblematical of our Union. As it is necessary to act in relation to this subject soon, I will thank you for the determination as soon as it is made.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State,

² Erving; George W. Erving was minister to Spain.

³ James Gadsden (1788-1858), of South Carolina, afterwards president of the South Carolina Railroad and negotiator of the Gadsden treaty of 1853, was at this time aid-camp to General Jackson in Florida. For the history of Jackson's letter of January 6, 1818, see Dr. James Schouler's article "Monroe and the Rhea letter," in the *Magazine of American History*, XII, 308-322.

*To William Rabun.*¹

Department of War, 3d September, 1818.

SIR, By direction of the President, I have sent a commission to the Hon: Wilson Lumpkin,² to run, provisionally, the line between the U. States and Florida, from the Appalachicola to the head of the St. Marys. Genl. Gaines will be ordered, on the requisition of Mr. Lumpkin, to furnish a sufficient force to guard against an attack from the Indians; but it appears to me, as the Indian hostilities will probably cease in a short time, and as much expense would be avoided by dispensing with so large a guard as would now be necessary, that the running of this line ought to be postponed, unless the interest of your state should render it improper, 'till after those of the late cessions from the Creek nation be ascertained. Mr. Lumpkin will, accordingly, be instructed to ascertain those first, unless your Excellency should suggest the opposite course. He will be instructed to consult you in relation to it. As Mr. Lumpkin's post office is not known to the Department, the letter to him has been put under cover to you, with a request, that you will have it properly directed and forwarded.

*To James Monroe.*³

War Dept 5th Sept. 1818

DEAR SIR, I transmit to you a letter recd by yesterday's mail from Gen^l Scott. A work of the kind, I am informed, is very much needed; and it is said, that none of your officers are better calculated to execute it, than the General. If you should approve of his project, I think it would be advisable to order him to this place, in order to agree upon the details, and the conditions upon which it is to be undertaken. Will you be so good as to return me the letter and favour me with your wishes in relation to it. Accept of the assurance of my sincere respect and esteem.

¹ Governor of Georgia from 1817 to 1819. From the Military Book No 10 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy

² Afterwards a prominent statesman and a friend of Calhoun, several of whose letters are printed in this volume

³ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. The reference is to Gen Winfield Scott's manual of infantry tactics, subsequently published (N Y 1835) See Scott's Autobiography, I, 206

To James Monroe.¹

[Sept. 6, 1818.]

I have received your letters of the 31st of August and 1st of Sep^t.

Agreeably to your suggestion, I will direct the Commissioner appointed to run out the lines under the late treaty with the Creeks, (M^r. Lumpkin) to run provisionally the line from the Appalachicola to the head of the S^t Marys. Would it not be proper for M^r. Adams to inform the Spanish Minister of the object of the Government in running out of the line? I have directed M^r. Baily of the State Department to furnish the widow of General Montgomery with a copy of the correspondence which she requested.

Nicholas P. Trist² would have been appointed a Cadet as you requested but there is no vacancy at present.

I called on M^r. Wirt this morning after receiving your letter, and he expected to be able to report in two or three days in the case of Maj^r. Hall.

Letters of a late date have been received from M^r Gallatin and Irvin,³ which you will find enclosed. They are more important than those previously sent. I would not be surprised if Spain should agree to the proposals lately made to Don Onis. It is so obviously her interest; and the fear which France seems to have of the recognition of the Independence of the Spanish provinces, if our differences with Spain should remain unadjusted, will have I hope its weight. . . .

To James Monroe.⁴

War Dept 19th Sep^t 1818

DEAR SIR, I enclose for your approval regulations for the Medical Department. They have been drawn up with care; and I believe are as good as can be devised for the commencement of the system. Time and experience may no doubt suggest important alterations. If they meet with your approbation, I will thank you to return them with your approval

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

² A relative of Mrs. Madison, afterwards noted in the U. S. diplomatic service.

³ Gallatin was minister to France, George W. Erving to Spain

⁴ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy

endorsed on them, as soon as convenient, as it is desirable, that they should be issued to the medical officers at an early period.

Mr. Poinsett's letter and journal was lent to Mr. Forsyth by Mr. Adams;¹ and as Mr. Forsyth is not in the city at present, it cannot be transmitted to Mr. Poinsett until he returns; which it is understood will be in a few days. It will then be sent immediately. I have written to Mr. Adams in relation to the subject, agreeably to your request.

I read your letter of the 17th Ins^t this morning. I cannot doubt the power of employing Gen^l. Scott in the manner which he proposes. The case of Cap^t O Conner (as well as many others) is in point. But I agree with you that his compensation ought not to be in the shape of his brevet pay and emoluments, as it would probably give offence to Congress and the Army. It is usual, for Extra Service to be rewarded by extra compensation; and in this case it may be specifically agreed on by the Dept and the Gen^l. The better course it appears to me will be to order the Gen^l to this place in order to agree on the plan the compensation and whatever other particulars would be necessary. I will write to him and state, that after your return to the city an order will be given him to repair to this place, for the purpose which I have stated; and in the mean time, Gen^l. Brown² can be informed, of the wishes and the object of the executive. Accept of the assurance of my sincere respect and esteem.

To Edmund P. Gaines.³

Department of War, 23d September, 1818.

SIR, Your two letters of the 8th instant, enclosing a copy of a letter from a Savannah correspondent, whose name you have omitted, in relation to the strength and hostile feelings of the Seminoles, have been received.

Caution is certainly necessary in all military affairs, and in this case, we ought to assume the number of hostile Indians and negroes at the highest reasonable estimation; but it appears to me from reference to the country which they inhabit,

¹ For Joel R. Poinsett's travels see the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XII, 129-164.

² Jacob Brown, major-general commanding the Division of the North.

³ Gen. Gaines at this time commanded the southern department under Jackson. The letter is addressed to him at "Savannah or Ft. Hawkins." It is derived from Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

from the statement of persons who have resided among them many years, and from Captain Young's report, that the entire force cannot, on the most liberal estimation, much exceed one thousand warriors. I do hope that the chastisement which they have received, will prevent a recurrence of hostilities, and unless you have information on which you can rely, that such are their intentions, you will not renew them on our part. If it should become necessary, hostilities ought not to commence until we are fully prepared to strike an effectual blow. To be prepared to act in case it should be necessary, you ought to concentrate your troops as much as possible at St. Marks, or if that should be occupied by a Spanish garrison under the instructions given to you, at Fort Gadsden, on that side of the Peninsula, and on this at Amelia Island or St. Mary's. The troops at Pensacola would be much more efficient at St. Marks, or fort Gadsden, than where they now are, or than they would be at Fort Crawford, or any other point to the West of the Appalachicola river. By being at the former places, they would be ready to strike a decisive blow at once, should it be necessary; but at the latter they would be of little efficiency.

About 450 or 500 recruits have been ordered on from Baltimore and Boston, to Mobile, which, added to the force at Pensacola, Fort Gadsden and St. Marks, would, if collected at either of the two last places, give you a respectable force to hold the Indians in check; or to chastise them, should they feel disposed to commence hostilities: And in order to increase your means in that quarter, it would be proper to notify Genl. McIntosh (the Creek Chieftain) to hold a sufficient force in readiness, should it be necessary, either to cover the frontier or to act against the enemy.

It is thus the expense and vexation attending militia requisitions, will be entirely avoided in that quarter.

Should it be found necessary to order forces from the Northn. Division, they will be sent to Amelia Island, to operate by the way of the St. John's river, which, if correctly laid down on our maps, presents great facilities, either to act against the Seminoles, or to cut off their intercourse with St. Augustine. Should it be necessary you will occupy some suitable post on that river.

You will report to me immediately after receiving this letter,

any additional facts, which may have come to your knowledge, as to the strength and intentions of the Seminoles, accompanied with your opinion whether another campaign will be necessary; so that orders may issue, if necessary, to detach a suitable force from the Northern Division.

If possible the militia must not be called out. Economy and the honor of the Army require that, in the farther prosecution of the war, this should be avoided. Major Mason, of the Quarter master's department, is now here, and will be ordered to report himself to you before he repairs to Nashville. If hostilities should be probable, you will retain him to take charge of the Quarter master's department in your operations; but if not, you will order him to report to the Major Genl.¹ without delay.

Genl. Ripley² is informed that, should it be necessary, you are authorized to give any orders the service may require, to Capt. Hunt, or any other officer of the Qr. Mrs. Department at New Orleans. You will consider this as your authority in that event. Should you be compelled to commence hostilities, your supplies must be drawn principally from New Orleans and Savannah or Charleston. Ample notice ought to be given to the contractor, if supplies should be wanted.

I transmit a duplicate of my order of the 1st September 1818.³

In the event of hostilities, you will consider the order of the 16th Dec^r 1817,⁴ as still in force.

You will not construe this letter, so as to affect my order of the 14th of August,⁵ so far as it regards the restoring of St. Marks and Pensacola to the Spanish authority.

To Edmund P. Gaines.⁶

Department of War, 30th Septemr. 1818.

SIR, I have recd. your letter of the 16th inst. and am happy to infer from its contents, that we will probably have not much trouble from the Seminole Indians for the present.

¹ Jackson.

² Commanding the eighth department, at New Orleans.

³ For which, see American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 745, or Niles's Register, XVI, 81.

⁴ For which see American State Papers, Military Affairs, II, 689; Indian Affairs, II, 162; Niles's Register, XV, 303.

⁵ See Niles's Register, XV, 303.

⁶ From the same source as the preceding.

The arrangement contained in my letter to you of the 23d instant, had reference to a probable renewal of hostilities, and, as I am informed by a letter from Colo. Clinch this morning, that you had ordered the recruits under him at Norfolk, to be sent to Amelia Island, that part of the arrangement, which proposed to send them to Mobile, will not be carried into effect. They will proceed according to your orders.

In relation to the negroes which have been surrendered, or which may hereafter be, and which belonged, or were in possession of the hostile Indians, you will order those belonging to persons resident in Florida, to be restored on satisfactory proof of property, the claimants paying to the officer in command, a sum equal to the expense of maintaining the negroes, while in the possession of the United States, and the reward for bringing them in, and other expenses, should there be any other.

The officer will report the negroes so restored, and to whom, with the sums paid on the restoration (for which he will be held responsible) to this Department. The negroes belonging to the Seminoles, you will order to be held for future orders. Those claimed by our own citizens, should there be any such, will be reported to this Department, accompanied with the proof of ownership, and such circumstances in relation to the claim, as may be in the knowledge of the officer, with his opinion on the case. This precaution is intended to prevent speculation and the introduction of negroes into the U. States contrary to the act of Congress.

The officers in command will, from time to time, report the negroes who may be surrendered.

To Edmund P. Gaines.¹

Department of War, 2d Oct., 1818.

SIR: I have rec'd this day your two letters of the 8th ult.; one of them containing a report of the strength of your command.

I enclose you an extract of my letter to Mr. Lumpkin, by which you will perceive that it was not expected that he would proceed to run the line between Florida and Georgia; and

¹ From the same source as the preceding.

that the extent of his guard was to be fixed after consulting with you.

I infer from your return, that you do not estimate the 4th Regiment under the command of Col. King. The last report at the office of the Adj't. and Insp'r. Gen'l states it was 470 strong, which adds considerably to the strength of your command. Your force, including the 4th and the troops at Forts Gadsden, Scott, St. Marks, and the recruits which will probably be added to them, will not fall much short of one thousand strong, on that side of the Peninsula. This force, strengthened by such friendly Indians as you may call to your assistance, will render you, I hope, sufficiently strong, should hostilities commence, on that side, without calling in the militia.

The information, which you have communicated, appears too uncertain, to order, on the strength of it, a movement from the North. I wait to receive a report from you on your arrival at Savannah, where you will perceive by my letters of the 23d and 30th of Septemr. the view which is taken of this subject. I am solicitous, if hostility is to be commenced, that it should begin on their part. The country and the world ought to be satisfied, that we are not actuated by motives of aggrandizement, in waging or carrying on this war. That our object is not Florida, but protection.

I confess, I have great distrust as to the reports of the great force and universal determination to renew the war on the part of the Indians. There are many, and in some instances, I fear, disgraceful motives for these representations. I give you a statement of their force, according to Capt. Young's statement, which you will perceive amounted then but to [*illegible*] and which must, by surrender and other cause, be considerably reduced since.

Should your report, however, render it probable that hostility will be renewed, a force, not short of 700 rank and file, will be immediately ordered from the Northern Division; and as they will be taken from along the coast, there will be but little delay in concentrating them at the point which you may designate. In the meantime, the post at Tradersville on the St. Mary's ought to be guarded with vigilance, in order to cover the frontier. A resort ought not to be made to the militia, but where it can not be avoided. By foresight and prudence, you

will be able to prevent an accumulation of expense, should hostility be renewed, and, at the same time, effectually guard the lives of our citizens.

To William A. Trimble.¹

War Dept., 16 Oct., 1818.

SIR, I have laid your letter of the 17th of September offering your service, to explore the country between the Sabine and Red river, on the East, and the Rio del Norte, on the West, before the President. He duly appreciates the spirit of enterprise, and the laudable zeal, to enlarge our knowledge of a country so little known, and desires me to say to you, that if the state of our relations, at this time, would have justified it, it would have afforded him pleasure to confide so important an undertaking to one, on whose perseverance and capacity for sound observation, he reposes so much confidence. Although in the opinion of the President, it is not proper, at this time, to explore the country in question; yet it is very important that you permit no opportunity to escape you, to enlarge your knowledge of it. Should more accurate or fuller information be had of it, you will communicate the results to this Department. It is a matter of considerable importance to prevent the encroachment of our citizens on lands belonging to the Indians on our South Western Frontier; and to prevent our people from passing into the Buffalo Country, either for the destruction of game or to traffick with the Indians without license. You will report your opinion on the best mode of arresting these evils which may ultimately lead to unpleasant consequences, and in the mean time you will to the utmost of your power, prevent its further growth.

To Jacob Brown.²

Department of War, 17 Oct., 1818.

SIR: The complete protection of our Northwestern frontier, and the protection and enlargement of our trade with the In-

¹ Colonel of the Eighth Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, and subsequently, 1819-1821, United States Senator from Ohio. The letter is derived from the confidential letter books of the Department of War; text from an official copy. Colonel Trimble had been stationed at Natchitoches. The letter is addressed to him at Lexington, Ky.

² Major-general, United States Army, commanding the Division of the North. From Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

dians, in that quarter, have rendered it necessary to take measures to advance our posts on the Mississippi and Missouri to points much more remote than what they now are. To effect this object, your Division, as you have already been informed by the Adj't. and Insp'r. Gen'l, has been extended to the Mississippi above Fort Armstrong, inclusive. The two principal positions on the Mississippi will be at the junction of the St. Peters, and Fort Armstrong. The latter position is on an island in the river, and is said to be, by nature, very strong.¹ The former, from its remoteness from our settlements, its proximity to Lord Selkirk's establishment on Red river of Lake Winipeg,² and from its neighbourhood to the powerful nations of the Sioux, ought to be made very strong. The force sent in the first instance ought to be as imposing as it can be rendered. With this view, it is thought advisable to occupy the posts on the Mississippi, with an entire Regiment; the whole of which, with the exception of what will be necessary to garrison Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, ought to be moved up to the St. Peters. The occupation of the last mentioned place will render Fort Crawford of minor importance. After the post at St. Peters is fully established, it is in contemplation to establish a post at the head of navigation on that river, so as to form a communication over land, with the projected fort at the Mandan Village; and another at the head of navigation on the St. Croix, which empties into the Mississippi on the East Side, a little below the St. Peters.

I transmit to you a sketch of the country according to the best information in the Department, by reference to which it will be seen, that the positions will completely command the country, and prevent the introduction of foreign traders. These positions, with those at Green Bay, Chicago and Saut of the St. Mary's, will render your command, in that quarter, imposing.

It appears to me that you will be able to effect the occupation of the posts on the Mississippi, with the greatest facility and least expense, by marching the 3rd regiment across the Prairie du Chien, as soon as the season in the Spring will

¹ For the history of Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, see *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, I, 602-618.

² Lord Selkirk had in 1817 reestablished his colony at Kildonan, in what is now Manitoba.

admit of it, with no other supplies than what will be necessary for them to reach that post; to which place the supplies in the Qr. Mr's, Ordnance, and Commissariat Departments, necessary for the establishment and maintenance of the posts, may be transported from St. Louis. You will communicate to me your ideas on this point, so that correspondent and early arrangements may be made, thro' the respective departments.

It is contemplated that an Engineer and an Asst. Topographical Engineer will accompany the regiment.

No effort must be spared to conciliate the Indians, particularly the powerful bands of the Sioux; and to afford every extension and protection to our trade with the Indians. The post at the St. Peters will be made the seat of an Indian Agency.

I trust that your arrangements will be made to effect these important objects, as early next summer as may be practicable.

By the direction of the President, I transmit a copy of the opinion of the Attorney General in the case of Major Hall.

*To Ferriss Bell.*¹

Dep'm't of War, November 24, 1818.

SIR: Your letter of the 19th inst: offering to dispose of, on the part of the State of New York, the fortification owned by it in the harbour of New York, has been received.—In conversation on the same subject last winter I stated to you that the opinion of the Officers of the Corps of Engineers who were charged with the survey of the coast with a view to its effectual and permanent fortification would be taken in relation to the work in question and that until their opinion was known, a definitive answer could not be given. I enclose a copy of a report from General Bernard² and Col. McRee,³ by which you will perceive that they will not be able to furnish the information required till the survey and plan for the defence of the city of New York are completed.—In the meantime I can only repeat what has already been stated in conversation. It

¹Addressed "To Col. Ferriss Bell, New York." From the same source as the preceding.

²Simon Bernard, lieutenant-general of engineers under Napoleon, chief engineer of the United States Army, war minister under Louis Philippe.

³William McRee, lieutenant-colonel of engineers.

is conceived that from sound policy and a just regard to the principles of the Constitution, the General Government ought to assume the burden of the general defence of the Country; and that in conformity with these views should the report of the Officers be favorable, the government ought to purchase the fortification at a fair price. This however cannot be effected by applying a part of the annual appropriation of \$830,000 for fortifications, but an application to Congress for a specifick appropriation for the purpose would be necessary. Should the report be favorable the Dep't would unhesitatingly make the necessary recommendation to Congress for the appropriation.

*To Andrew Jackson.*¹

Department of War 28th Decr. 1818.

SIR, I have received your letter of the 28th of November, with the enclosed papers. Experience has proved, that the opinion which you had formed of the movements of the Spaniards on our South western frontier, is correct. After breaking up the French Settlement on the Trinity, it is stated, that they retired. In fact, a hostile movement, in that quarter, on the part of Spain, would at present, be absurd, and the apprehension which is said to have been produced appears quite unaccountable. Should farther Military operations, against the Indians and outlaws in Florida, become necessary, or should Congress authorize the occupation of the Country, the operations which you propose, would, certainly, be the most effectual and prompt mode of putting down all hostilities, and it could be effected with almost no additional expense.

I concur with you in opinion that the situation of Florida, at this moment, is very peculiar, and that it requires the early attention of Government. Its acquisition, in a Commercial, Military, and Political point of view, would be of great importance to us.

You, no doubt, are aware of the great importance I attach to the expedition to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and as much of its Success will depend upon the Commander, I

¹ From the confidential letter-books of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

have to request that the ablest and most experienced officer of the rifle regiment, be selected for that Command. The remoteness of the position, surrounded by Indians, and in the neighbourhood of the British Fur Company, requires the greatest prudence, in the Commander to effect the objects of the expedition. Capt. Martin of that regiment is now in command of the expedition. As I do not know his merits, I leave it with you to determine whether he combines the requisite qualities for such a command.

*To Andrew Jackson.*¹

Department of War, 5th Jany. 1819.

SIR, I have received the letter of Colo. Chambers addressed to Colo. Butler which by your order has been transmitted to this department for instruction in relation to the subject to which it refers.

By a letter of the 28th ult. from this Department you were apprised of the arrangements which had been formed through the Qr. Master to transport the detachment intended to occupy the Mississippi with its supplies by Steam Boat, and that the arrangements would be completed early in April. In order to meet Indian hostilities the boat will be prepared with strong bulwarks and will want a few light pieces on her deck. If the Mississippi will admit of such navigation, all resistance from the Indians, even if aided and instigated by British traders will be easily overcome. In the meantime it appears to me that it would be imprudent for the detachment at present to risk any thing. Its further advance at present if not already arrested by the ice, would be of no importance, as it would not in the least expedite the ultimate object of the expedition.

I regret that the Indians have in this early stage of the movements evinced a hostile disposition, and trust that every degree of moderation and firmness will be exercised by Capt. Martin, to prevent the hostility from extending itself or becoming settled. The command requires great prudence and skill. Jealousy on the part of the Indians ought to be expected and soothed; and the instigation of the British

¹ From the confidential letter-books of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

traders from interest and enmity ought to be counteracted by seizing on every occasion to gain the confidence of the Indians, but as I have already in my letter of the 28th expressed my opinion on these facts, I will not extend these observations. Every thing will depend on the character of the commander of the expedition. . . .

*To Winfield Scott.*¹

War Department 5th March 1819.

SIR, The very great pressure of business, to which the Department is subject towards the termination of a session of Congress has delayed my answer to your letter of the 22nd February till this time.

I have laid your statement before the President in order to take his direction in relation to it; and it is his opinion that any relaxation in the order of the 21st February 1818² would in this case be improper. Publications of the kind prohibited are always injurious to the reputation and interest of the army and Country; and when they come from officers of the standing and reputation of yourself or Gen. Jackson they cannot but have the most injurious effects. In this case I cannot but think, that those who are opposed to the army would seize on the publication and wield it with effect against our military establishment. Whether Genl. Jackson has done any act in violation of the order in this case I am not apprized but admitting he has the Department would find in such violation a reason for enforcing and not for rescinding or relaxing the order.

*To Andrew Jackson.*³

Department of War, 6th March 1819.

SIR: You are already informed of the motives of the President and of the arrangements which have been made to occupy

¹ Brigadier-general, U.S.A., commanding the first and third departments under Major-General Brown. From the confidential letter books of the Department of War; text from an official copy. The letter evidently relates to that controversy between Scott and Jackson, over Jackson's "divisional order" of April 22, 1817, which is described in Parton's Jackson, II, 371-382, and which Jackson had allowed to appear in the newspapers.

² An order of the War Department prohibiting all publications relative to private or personal transactions between officers. See Niles's Register, XVI, 121-127. Jackson was said to have shown the correspondence extensively.

³ From Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War.

in force the contemplated posts on the Missouri. It is believed that our principal post ought to be at the Mandane Village or in its neighborhood; and for the present, no attempt ought to be made till it is strongly occupied, to ascend the river to a more remote point. The Missouri there approaches nearest to the establishment of the Hudson bay company on Red river, and holds in its descent to the Mississippi from that point a more Southerly direction, both of which will render the position permanently important. You will accordingly give orders to render it with the means which may be in possession of the detachment, as strong as practicable. Whether an attempt ought to be made to push our troops during the next summer to this remote position will depend on circumstances to be judged of by the officer charged with the command of the Department. Should it be deemed practicable, without exciting Indian hostilities, to occupy the position so as to afford time to render it sufficiently strong and to construct the necessary buildings to protect the troops against the inclemency of the winter in that high latitude, it ought to be attempted; but should a contrary impression exist some strong position less remote ought to be occupied. The Council Bluff or the Great Bend will probably afford such positions, and as one or both of these will probably have to be permanently occupied in considerable force, the labour which may be bestowed to render the troops secure will not be lost. It is hoped and believed that with proper caution the contemplated movements may be made without exciting Indian hostilities; yet it will be necessary to be so prepared at all times should they be excited as to experience no disaster. To effect these important objects much will doubtless depend on the character of the officer charged with their execution. The selection of Col. Atkinson has been made with much reflection. It is believed that he possesses all the requisite qualities. You will however inculcate on him the necessity of the greatest caution and vigilance. No pains ought to be spared to conciliate the various Indian tribes, by kind treatment and a proper distribution of presents. Gov. Clark¹ will be directed to furnish the means of making the presents. Mr. O'Fallon² the Agent for the Missouri will accompany or pre-

¹ Wm. Clark, governor of the Missouri Territory.

² Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian agent for the region of the Missouri River.

cede the expedition. He is represented as eminently qualified for his office.

Maj. Long with his command accompanied by several citizens eminent for scientific acquirements will ascend the river about the same time in a steam boat of light draught, in order to acquire a more enlarged and accurate knowledge of the country between the Rocky Mountain and the Mississippi.¹ You will give orders to afford to the expedition under him every aid and protection, which may be practicable. Strict orders will also be given to treat with kindness and justice such citizens as [may] be permitted by the government to carry on trade among the Indians. Should the necessary protection be afforded to our traders, it will in addition to the profits of the fur trade, afford the means of greatly extending our influence over the various tribes within our limits.

*To Winfield Scott.*²

Department of War, 11 March 1819.

SIR, I yesterday received your letter of the 8th inst., and have stated its contents to the President.

The President concurs with me in opinion that any relaxation of the order of the 21st February 1818, as it relates to the correspondence between yourself and Genl. Jackson, would be improper. The reason of the order applies with particular force at this time to the correspondence referred to; and its publication could not fail, as I have already stated to you, to produce most unhappy effects. No one can regret more sincerely than I do the unfortunate misunderstanding between you and the General. It is to the President also a source of much regret; and he felt very solicitous if any opportunity had presented itself, to have healed the difference between you. In refusing to yield to your solicitation on a subject in which you take so much interest, I am satisfied your candour will see in it, no other motive, but a sincere desire to promote the

¹ Maj. Stephen H. Long, of the topographical engineers. See James's Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Philadelphia, 1823. Secretary Calhoun's instructions to Long are printed almost entire on pp. 3, 4 of Vol. I.

² From the confidential letter books of the Department of War; text from an official copy. See the letter of March 5, 1819, *supra*, and footnotes Scott was, at the time of both letters, at Richmond.

interest of the Country and the Army. How far General Jackson may have transcended the letter or the spirit of the order of the 21st February would be premature in me to decide at this time, but I cannot but remark that there is a wide difference *in effect* in reading the correspondence, or even furnishing copies of it to individuals, and going before the public through the public prints. Whether such qualified publication, if such it may be called, is a breach of the order or not, I do not think any argument in either view can be drawn from it to justify a relaxation. The breach of an order is a good reason to enforce it, but is very far from being a sound reason for suspending it. On the contrary supposition, that such publication is consistent with the order, the means of vindicating your character would be equally open to yourself and General Jackson. As to the insinuations of the newspapers they have but little effect with the community, and are of such a nature that it is difficult to render the authors amenable to any tribunal civil or military.

*To Jacob Brown.*¹

Department of War, 11" March, 1819.

SIR: I enclose a copy of the order to Maj. Gen. Jackson in relation to the expedition on the Missouri, which were drawn up in conformity to the direction of the President after the deliberation with yourself and the General in relation to it and the expedition on the Mississippi. The same principle will govern both of the expeditions which have the same objects, the complete security of our frontier and the extension of our trade with the Indians. If the expeditions are conducted with prudence it is believed that there will be no hazard of Indian hostilities. Suitable presents will be sent up the Missouri in the steam boat and one of the Agents, probably Mr. Forsyth at Fort Armstrong, will be directed to accompany the expedition for the purpose of distributing presents and preparing the Indians for the establishment of our post at the mouth of the St. Peters.² Whether that position can be safely occupied the next summer will depend on

¹ From Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War

² Fort Snelling.

circumstances to be judged of by the officer charged with its establishment. It is conceived to be the most commanding position on the Upper Mississippi and ought to be rendered proportionally strong. It was intended to order an Engineer to accompany the expedition but the engagements of that corps is so extensive at present that no officer of that corps can be spared from other duties.

Should an Indian war take place the Regiments on the Missouri and the Mississippi ought to cooperate; and to produce the effect you will in that event order the commandant of the 5th Regiment to report to and receive orders from the officer in command of the 9th Military Department.

To Morris S. Miller.¹

Department of War, 27th March, 1819.

DEAR SIR: I enclose you a commission from the President of the United States to act as agent of the Government in a treaty which the proprietors of the Seneca reservations in the State of New York propose to hold with that nation. I also enclose a copy of a letter from the Hon. David Ogden, one of the proprietors, which communicates their wish to hold a treaty this summer with the Senecas and appointment of Commissioners on the part of the State of Massachusetts. It is thought, that the United States as the general-protector of the Indian tribes, ought to be present at the treaty, to represent to them the views of the government, and to see that the proceedings are just and fair. You have been selected by the President for this purpose. It is understood to be the wish of the proprietors to concentrate the Senecas on the Allegany reservation and to convey it to the President of the United States for the time being, in trust, for the Seneca Nation. The reservation is said to contain upward of 80,000 acres, that the soil is almost without exception remarkably good, and that it is so surrounded by mountains as in a considerable degree to prevent the intrusion of the white people. You will enquire into the truth of these statements and if you are satisfied of their correctness you will give a decided support to the proposition to concentrate them on the Allegany reservation

¹ Of Utica, N. Y. From the same source as the preceding.

on such terms and conditions as you may deem just and fair. Their present scattered condition is equally unfriendly to their and our own interest. It renders them more exposed to the effects of violence and injustice; and renders all efforts to better their condition more difficult and expensive.

It is represented that it may be the desire of a part of the Senecas to join that portion of their nation who reside at lower Sandusky. Gov. Cass is of the opinion that it would not be objected to by the neighboring white population, and that the reservation at Sandusky is sufficiently large for a considerable addition of their number. With these facts, you may represent to them that all who may choose to emigrate to Sandusky, and who can obtain the assent of their brethren, they will be permitted to do so.

You are also authorized to state that if the Seneca nation or any portion of them should choose to form new settlements, and can obtain the consent of any of the Indian tribes residing on the territories of the United States to form such settlements on lands belonging to such tribes, Government will readily give its assent to their removal there.

Whatever measure may be adopted must be with their free assent, and you will make such representation to them of the propositions which may be presented by the proprietors or their agents as that they may fully comprehend their meaning.

The treaty, except your pay as commissioner, will be held at the expense of the proprietors. Your compensation will be \$8 per day for the time actually engaged, which will be ascertained and paid on your certificate.

*To Lewis Cass.*¹

Department of War, 27 March, 1819.

SIR: I enclose you a commission from the President of the United States to treat with the Chippeways for the country upon the Saginaw bay.² It is understood by representation from yourself and others that a treaty for the cession of the land referred to could probably be formed at no great expense and on reasonable terms. Before however, you open the negotiation and incur the expense incidental to an Indian treaty

¹ Governor of Michigan Territory. From the same source as the preceding.

² The treaty, negotiated by Cass at Saginaw on September 24, 1819, may be found in the American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 194-195.

To Henry Atkinson.¹

Department of War, 27 March 1819.

SIR: It is a subject of much regret that my departure from Washington will take place before your passage through it to take command of the 9th Military Department. Your command is considered of the first importance and responsibility. The establishment of the contemplated posts on the Missouri have two great objects in view, the enlargement and protection of our fur trade, and the permanent peace of our North Western frontier by the establishment of a decided controul over the various tribes of Indians in that quarter. These objects will indicate the policy which ought to be pursued. To such of our citizens who may conform to the laws and regulations in relation to Indian trade and intercourse, you will extend kindness and protection. In relation to foreign traders who by the Act of Congress are entirely excluded, your conduct in the first instance must be governed by a sound discretion to be exercised in each case. No decisive step ought, perhaps, to be taken till your posts are fully established; and till you feel yourself secure against the effects of hostilities; at which time notice ought to be given that after a fixed period, you will rigidly exclude all trade by foreigners and such as are not authorized by law.

Of the two objects in view, the permanent security of our frontier is considered by far of the greatest importance, and will especially claim your attention. If practicable you will gain the confidence and friendship of all the Indian tribes with whom you may have any intercourse. The Agent for the Missouri has had special instructions in relation to his duties, of which I enclose you a copy.

It will be a great point gained, if the posts can be established without Indian hostilities, and such I confidently believe may be the case with discretion. Undoubtedly the Indian ought to be fully impressed with our capacity to avenge any injury which they may offer us; but it is no less important that they should be equally impressed with our justice and humanity. Should you succeed in convincing them of both all difficulties will be removed. In the event of hostilities the Commandant of the 5th Regiment on the Upper Mississippi

¹Colonel, afterwards brigadier-general, United States Army. From the same source as the preceding.

is ordered to receive your orders. The distance between the Mississippi and Missouri is not too great for cooperation and the country is said to be very open and may easily be past over.

I enclose the copies of the orders to Generals Brown and Jackson, as connected with your command, which will more fully apprise you of the views of the Department, and also a copy of the order of 10 May 1816 and 11 September 1818¹ in relation to Indian Trade and the issue of rations to the Indians. The Quartermaster General has been instructed to purchase a set of the acts of Congress for your use.

You will keep an exact journal of all of your proceedings and report to this Department at short intervals the progress of your movements and such events as may be of importance to be known.

*To Andrew Jackson.*²

War Dept. 10 August 1819.

DEAR SIR, I send you the last report of the Surgeon General to this department. It is not my intention to make this an official communication, but merely to call your attention to the state of the Medical Department in your Division. You will perceive on reading the report, that in many particulars the orders and regulations of the Department have not been complied with. No report has yet been received in conformity with the Department order of the 21st April 1818 and the orders of the Surgeon General of the 24th of the same month and the 4th of September ensuing, from the Assistant Surgeon General; and Surgeons Harvey, Ball, Randall, Lawson, Merrill, Gale, Marshall, Maupin, Mercer, Russell, Lea, Davidson, Heustis and Walmsey have not made their quarterly reports even for the quarter day ending 31st March last.

It would seem from the letter of Doctr Gale to the Surgeon General that the cause of this delay has been, at least in part, a Division order by which such reports are ordered to pass through the Assistant Surgeon General.

By adverting to the regulations (which have been sanctioned by the President) you will see, that the reports referred to, are ordered to be made directly to the Office of the Surgeon

¹ Printed in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 269.

² From the confidential letter-books of the Department of War.

General. In my letter to you of 22 December last in relation to the case of the arrest of Col. Clemson, I stated very fully my view in relation to the character and the nature of the permanent regulations of the Department, and I have seen no reason since to change the opinion then formed. It certainly would be perfectly agreeable to me to order all reports to pass through the Headquarters of the Divisions, were it not for the delay which would in many instances result; and, which as experience proves in this case is inconsistent with the proper management of the department. It is certainly important that the Commanding General as well as the Government should be kept promptly informed of whatever effects his command; but this can be effected consistently with the correctest principles, by ordering a duplicate of such reports as may be thought advisable by the Commanding General to be made to his headquarters.

It is thus that delay would be avoided and the Government and the General kept promptly informed.

I hope you will acquiesce in this view and modify your Division Order referred to (if indeed such a one exists) accordingly. In fact were it not that Doctr Gates states the existence of such an order positively, I would suppose there was some mistake, as the General Order of the Department of the 10th of September last directs all Division orders of a general nature to be reported to the office of the Adj. and Inspector General and none of the description referred to has as yet been received. In the report to the office of the Adj. and Insp: General Doctr Bell's absence is accounted for by orders from the Asst. Surgeon General for a specific duty. Really I am at a loss to know the meaning of such vague reports, or to conceive to what the specific duty can refer.

I would call your attention to the orders of Genl. Ripley detailing two Surgeons for the Bay of St. Louis, the necessity of which I cannot conjecture; and, also the case of Surgeon Lawson. You will perceive that he has been frequently detailed to perform the duties of a Judge Advocate. Such details when inconsistent with staff duties ought not to be made except in cases of necessity. The conduct of Doctr. Carter will also claim your attention. His neglect of duty has been long continued for which no reason has been rendered.

Both the publick interest and humanity towards the Army require an efficient medical staff, but it is not possible to render it efficient, unless by a rigid adherence to the laws and regulations.

I am persuaded that no one is more deeply convinced of the truth of this proposition than yourself, and that it is only necessary to call your attention to the irregularities which I have stated to relieve me from the necessity of determining whether I shall permit the orders of the Government to be habitually neglected, or resort to the proper means of enforcing them. Should the alternative be presented I will not hesitate to do my duty.

You will see in the form which I have given this communication my conviction that to call your attention to the subjects referred to, is to have them corrected; satisfied as I am that we have but a common object to discharge our duty with fidelity to the publick and preserve the reputation of the army unsullied.

You will as early as practicable apprise me of any measure which you may take in relation to the subjects to which I have called your attention.

*To Jacob Bronn.*¹

Department of War, 5 Sep., 1819.

SIR, The views which you express in relation to the intercourse between the Indians residing within our limits and the British Posts in Upper Canada concur entirely with my own. It ought and must be stopped. We owe it to policy, humanity, and our dignity, not to permit it; and the President has already directed Mr. Adams to bring it before the British Government through our Minister at London. It can hardly be doubted that orders will be given on their part to suspend the intercourse and distribution of presents. It is better it should be stopped on their part, than ours, but, should the British Government not act, there appears to me no room to doubt but that we ought to avail ourselves of the advantage of our position, and suspend by force, if necessary, all inter-

¹ From the same source as the preceding.

course. In this view, the occupation of the strait of St. Marys would be important.

You will furnish to this Department, as far as your information extends, before the meeting of Congress, the number and distribution of the British troops in Canada and the adjacent provinces; and the position and extent of the fortifications which the Government is now erecting in those provinces.

Since my circular the Quarter Master's disbursements have evidently diminished, and, I hope, with the zealous cooperation of the officers of the Army, to get through without much embarrassment. The economy and despatch with which the 5th regt. moved over to Prairie du chien meets with my entire approbation. The contrast is great between this movement and that of the rifle regiment in 1816.

*To James Monroe.*¹

War Dept 14th Sept 1819

DEAR SIR, I, this day, received your letter of the 13th Inst, with the accompanying papers.

It was impossible to make a station for the collectorship at Charleston, which would not have given offence to the rival candidates and their friends. There can be no doubt of Mr. Pringle's sound political principles; and tho, Mr. Hunt has some warm and active friends, I cannot doubt, but that his appoint[ment] would have given great offence to the solid and reflecting part of the community. His connections are tories, and his father is a judge in the Bahama Islands. The selection for the vacancy in Alexandria is accompanied with considerable embarrassment. It seems to me, however, it will be difficult to avoid the selection of Gen^l Mason.² The uniform political principles of himself and his family, their great weight in society, with his acknowledged competency for the office offer strong claims. It is certainly painful to do an act, which may leave the family of the late Collector in want, yet the tendency to the hereditary principle from this very cause in the inferior offices of our country merits great

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

² Thompson Mason was soon after appointed collector of customs at Alexandria, in the place of Charles Sumner, deceased. Exec. Jour. Senate, III, 185.

consideration. What is humanity now, may in the course of one or two generations ripen into a claim on the government.

I have some papers to lay before you, but, as I hope, that you may be in Washington, before my departure for the South, I will not transmit them for the present.

I have sent your letter to Mr *Andre*: and will request Mr Meigs to transmit the patents for your signature.

I am happy to hear that M^{rs} Monroe's health is better, and hope it will continue to improve.

*To John Quincy Adams.*¹

Depmt. of War 22 Decemr. 1819.

SIR, In reply to your note requesting any information in this Department relative to the enquiries contained in a copy of a letter of the 10th inst. from the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Representatives which accompanied your note I have the honour to make the following statement.

This Department has no certain information in relation to the number of Spanish Troops in Florida; but it is believed that it does not exceed 800. On the reoccupation of Pensacola and St. Marks in February last the number of troops which accompanied the governor was about 500 which were distributed between those posts. The Department has [no] information of the arrival of any reinforcement since, and it is probable that the number now at those posts is rather less. The information as to the strength of garrison of St. Augustine is less certain but from the last information it is thought that the number does not exceed 300. To these may be added the Seminole Indians; who since the non-ratification of the Treaty by Spain have evinced some hostile feelings and may probably be excited to open hostilities, but the number does not at present probably exceed 500 warriors.

The number of troops in the Island of Cuba is not known with any certainty. It is believed that a considerable number probably not much less than 3000 arrived there some time last

¹Addressed "The Hon. the Secretary of State." From the confidential letter books of the Department of War; text from an official copy. Spain having delayed the ratification of the Florida treaty of February 22, 1819, President Monroe, in his annual message of December 7, had suggested an act of Congress permitting the Executive to carry out the provisions of the treaty as if it had been ratified, and to occupy Florida. As to the present letter, see Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, IV, 480.

Summer; but they are said to suffer so much from the diseases incidental to the climate that they are reduced one half since there arrival.

The fortification of St. Augustine is the only considerable one in either of the Floridas. It is very strong both from the position and art and although not in a complete state it may in a short time be put in a good condition. Those of Pensacola and St. Marks are slight works. Some efforts are making both at Pensacola and St. Augustine to improve the condition of the fortifications and to augment the supply of provision.

If a law were passed for the purpose, it is believed that a sufficient regular force could be ready to enter Florida in the latter part of February or certainly in March next, and that with the aid of a sufficient naval force, would complete, with the exception of St. Augustine, the military occupation of the country in a few weeks after it was entered.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the time it would take to reduce St. Augustine. If well defended with a sufficient garrison it could only be carried by a regular siege.

The most suitable season of the year to occupy the Floridas would be from November to May. After the latter period our troops would be particularly those from the North much exposed to the diseases of the climate.

*To Andrew Jackson.*¹

War Depmt 24 decr 1819

SIR, Before my return to the City the President had directed preparatory arrangements for the military occupation of the Floridas if such should be the pleasure of Congress, which were communicated to you on the 22nd ulto. by the Chief Clerk of this Department.

As it is probable Congress will direct such occupation during the present Session, I have farther to require your early report of the number and distribution of the troops of your division, which may be promptly carried into such a campaign; as those together with the light artillery and 2nd Infantry of the North Division, it is believed will furnish a

¹ From the confidential letter books of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

competent force to accomplish such object, and the President is not disposed to employ militia if it can be avoided.

You will furnish a plan of the campaign, designating the point of Rendezvous for the troops of the north division (an efficient force of more than one thousand men with [] must be transported by Water) as well as the points of concentrating those of the 7th and 8th Departments, if it is deemed proper to occupy more than one station. All your views and estimates are necessary and it is desirable to have them as much in detail as convenient, that the subsistence, ordnance and quarter masters department, may be directed to hold all supplies in readiness for the most prompt and efficient cooperation, under the further orders of this Department.

You will see the necessity of your early report, as we shall here be apprized of the measures of Congress two or three weeks before orders can reach you, and that time will be improved by the subordinate departments, in placing the supplies at the points that may be designated.

To Henry Leavenworth.¹

Department of War, December 29, 1819.

SIR: On my return to the Department your letters of the 10 September and 24 October last, were laid before me. The delay in answering them has arisen from my confinement by severe illness from which I have not yet wholly recovered.

I am much gratified to find that your movement has been made without opposition or hostility on the part of the Indians, and the promptness and judgment with which it has been executed, is highly satisfactory to the Department.

I now proceed to give, agreeably to your request, such instructions as appear to me to be necessary for your government, observing however that much must be left to your prudence and discretion, in which great confidence is placed. . . .²

The Indian agent at St. Peters, Lt. Lawrence Taliaferro, has had special instructions in relation to his duties, of which I enclose you a copy. He will leave this tomorrow to take

¹ Brevet colonel, United States Army, commanding at St. Peters, afterwards Fort Snelling. From Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

² The omitted instructions are almost identical with those sent to Col. Henry Atkinson March 27, 1819, *supra*.

charge of his agency. Until his arrival you are requested to attend to the duties, from which you will then be relieved by him.

To prevent hostility on the part of the Indians, they ought to be fully impressed with our capacity to avenge any injury which they may offer us; and it is no less important that they should be equally impressed with our justice and humanity. These points gained, your course will be plain and without difficulty. By direction of the President Lt. Taliaferro has been instructed to consult with you, on subjects connected with his duties as Indian Agent, and inform you of all his proceedings. I have no doubt, you will find him an able assistant in all your operations.

The President also directs that you will, whenever you think the public interest may be promoted by it, hold treaties of friendship with the tribes within our limits, in which treaties you will establish such general rules for the intercourse between them and those under your command and such of our traders or citizens, who may visit them, as you may judge expedient. It would be a proper mark of respect for the Indian Agent, and would probably be attended with good effects, if you were to associate him with you in the negotiations whenever it can conveniently be done.

For such funds as you may require for your command, you will draw upon the Cashier of the Bank of Missouri, at St. Louis, until the Quartermaster's and Subsistence Department shall be regularly supplied with funds by their chiefs.

As it is desirable to impress the Chiefs of remote tribes with our power and resources, you will permit such as express any desire to visit the President to do so, assuring them that their expenses will be paid by the U. States and will furnish them with a guide and interpreter.

P. S. A copy of the laws of the U. States will be furnished by the Q. Mr. Gen'l. for the use of the Post at St. Peters.

*To Andrew Jackson.*¹

War Depmt. 31st Decr. 1819.

SIR, Your letter of the 11th inst: is received.

In the event of Congress authorizing the occupation of Florida every necessary preparation originating at the sub

¹ From the confidential letter books of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

ordinate offices of this Department will be made in time, and ample funds will be transmitted to the officers of the staff for field operations.

Whether the Lt. Artillery and 2nd Regiment of Infantry will be adequate to reduction of St. Augustine will depend upon the force of its garrison and the condition of its fortress. The present force of the garrison is estimated to be about 300. If that estimate be correct and a reinforcement be not made to it, the two regiments above named will be adequate to its reduction. But on this point I shall be better prepared to decide after I receive your plan of the campaign.

In this anticipated campaign, I feel a strong desire to avoid the employing of militia of any kind if practicable; and will therefore, add more troops to the light artillery and second infantry from the north, if it should finally be thought necessary.

In the present state of this business nothing more can be done than to effect a concentration of your forces at such points as in your plan of operations you may deem prudent. These movements and preparations ought not under the contingent upon which they are made, to involve any considerable expence. Whenever the troops act the Navy will cooperate.

*To Henry Atkinson.*¹

Depmt. of War, 7 February 1820.

SIR, Your letters from the 14th of August last to the 2nd of January the date of your last have, from my absence from the Seat of Government, the low state of my health after my return and the continued pressure of public business since its restoration, remained unacknowledged.

The movement of the important expedition under your command has thus far been entirely satisfactory; and I have every reason to hope that the same caution, prudence and industry which you have evinced will continue to characterize your conduct in the part of the expedition which remains to be performed. I felt no solicitude that you should proceed

¹Colonel, U. S. A. From Military Book No. 10 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy. See the letters to Gen. Smith, March 16, 1818; to Gen. Jackson, March 6, 1819, and to Col. Atkinson, March 27, 1819.

farther than Council Bluff the last season, even had it been in your power. So large a force stationed there during this winter cannot fail to make a favourable impression on the various Indian tribes in that neighbourhood which heretofore have known nothing of us but through the unfavourable medium of Indian traders.

Your progress the next Summer will be governed entirely by your judgment. It is not intended to extend the expedition, at least 'till we are fully established there, beyond the Mandane Villages, but whether it will be proper to advance so far as that point the next season you must judge under all of the circumstances of the case. It is more important that the post at the Mandane Villages should ultimately be peaceably and firmly established should it take another year than to encounter any considerable additional hazard by too rapid a movement this year. An intermediate post about the great bend will probably be necessary. Of this, however, you will exercise your judgment. Your posts ought to be rendered as secure as possible so as to present from hostility no hope to the savages.

The Quarter Master General will apprise you of the arrangement for the transportation this year. The provisions are by contract to be delivered at St. Louis by the middle of April, of which, one half of the supply is to be furnished by Govr. Worthington and the other by Col. Johnson.¹ The latter gives every assurance which I hope facts will hereafter justify, that his delivery will be made at, or previous to the time stipulated. In fact he expresses great anxiety to make his delivery of provisions at a much earlier period and to be permitted to proceed up the Missouri so soon as the ice shall leave the river. Should he be prepared before the whole of the provisions are delivered, it perhaps would be the best arrangement to permit him to proceed with his portion of the provisions, so that the expedition might move from the Council Bluff for its destination on his arrival there without waiting for the residue of the supply.

Of this, however, you will exercise your discretion.

¹ Thomas Worthington, ex-governor of Ohio, and James Johnson, of Kentucky, brother of Col. R. M. Johnson. For a report by Calhoun on his transportation contracts for the Yellowstone Expedition see *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, II, 68-69.

² Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, afterwards Vice-President.

By the arrangements which have been made, the means of transportation will be subject to your inspection and approval both as to the kind and quality. Whether Steam Boats ought to constitute any portion of that means, your knowledge of the navigation of the Missouri will enable you to form a correct opinion. The employment of one or two steam boats if there is a reasonable prospect of their success would be advisable as it would give much more interest and eclat to the expedition and would probably impress the Indians and British with our means of supporting and holding intercourse with the remote posts on the Missouri. The expedition however ought not to be jeopardized and the expence greatly increased by their employment if after your experience you should be decidedly opposed to the use of them in your transportation.

The survey of the route from Council Bluff to Chariton which accompanied your last letter is very interesting and has added considerably to our knowledge of the geography of the country.

I much approve of the plan of opening the projected road between those posts as well as those which you have projected from the Arkansaw to the Missouri and from Council Bluff to the post at the mouth of the St. Peters. The troops cannot be more usefully employed than in such works.

Col. Gibson has been ordered to furnish the stock of which you gave a list in your last. With a little care and industry the meat and bread part of the ration will in a short time be furnished at the respective posts, which will add greatly to the certainty of the supply while it will diminish the expense.

To give an interest to the officers the order to raise provisions has been so modified as to allow 15 per cent, on the provision furnished at the respective posts to the Company officers.

On the subject of the Indian trade your view appears to me well founded. Carried on as it is, it, at the same time, endangers our peace and debases the Indians. The remedy is in the hand of Congress; and I hope they will apply an adequate one. I reported on this subject at the last session of Congress¹ but the report was not acted on; and it is now pre-

¹ Report in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 181-185.

ferred to vest the power of granting licenses wholly in the President. If no more can be done this will give to the government much more effectual power over the Indian trade than what it now possesses and with prudent management, will go far to cure the evil of the present system.

To Andrew Jackson.¹

Depmt. of War, 15th March 1820.

SIR, I enclose the report of the committee of Foreign relations of the House of Representatives to whom was referred that portion of the Presidents message which related to our Spanish affairs.²

You will perceive on its perusal that it takes strong grounds; which, I hope will be supported by Congress. I would have transmitted it to you immediately, but was desirous to learn what would be its probable fate. The general impression is, that it will not be adopted, and that nothing will be done by Congress in relation to it this session; and I am myself inclined to think it is very doubtful as to what will be done.³ In this state of uncertainty the President is of the opinion, that it would be improper to take any military measure now, in contemplation of the passage of the bill reported by the committee, which would involve any considerable expence; and he is more confirmed in this opinion from the belief that the season will be too far advanced to operate in Florida 'till the fall, even should the bill be taken up and passed without delay, which will not be the fact. There is an additional reason for not incurring farther expenses till the passage of the bill becomes certain, which ought to have much weight; I mean the amount, which it is proposed to appropriate for the military service of the year. Each head of appropriation has been reduced to its lowest amount, and it will require much economy and good management to meet the ordinary expenditure of the year. You will accordingly take no measure, in the present state of

¹ From Military Book (new) No. II, in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

² Report of March 9, 1820.

³ In fact, nothing was done this session.

the business which will much increase the expense of your Division.

Whenever the fate of the bill and report can be ascertained, you will be informed and will receive farther instructions.

I received yesterday, a copy of your letter to Col. Atkinson, and I take a pleasure in saying that he well deserves the approbation which you have expressed of his conduct.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

War Dept 23^d March 1820

DEAR SIR, Your mother was very happy to learn by your letter of the 3^d ins^t. that you had made so good a disposition of the Ferry. She says, that there is no one to whom she would prefer having to M^r. Deas.

We have had a letter from James dated from Canton in Nov^r. last. They have had some very rough weather; but he was well, and pleased with the voyage.

We have had the misfortune to loose our youngest child. She died last night at 10 o'clock after a most painful illness of 16 days, the last ten of which we had but little hope of her living. She was taken appearantly with a cold, which fell first to her right eye, and then on her lungs and bowels. Her suffering was very great, which so completely exhausted her, that she died without a groan.

About the same time Com^{re}. Decatur departed this life, in consequence of a fatal wound received in the morning in a duel with Com^{re} Baron. The cause of the duel is said to be of a long standing, having grown out of the affair of the Chesapeake. His death has here caused the deepest grief; and will doubtless be considered by the whole country as most mournful event.

Your mother and sister desire their love to you. Andrew and Anna Maria often speak of you; and they say I must give their love to you and tell you they want to see you very much.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

War Dept. 7th May 1820

DEAR JAMES, Your letter from Canton of the 8th Nov^r has been received, and it has afforded much pleasure to us all to hear

of your safe arrival and good health. Your relations and acquaintances are very solicitous about you; and entertain high hopes of your attaining one day the highest honor in your profession. I am sure, that you will not permit expectations so honorable to you and apparently so well founded to be defeated.

Your mother is residing with us and appears to be very well satisfied. She will not return to Carolina this summer; and I hope she will make up her mind to take up her permanent residence with us. She has very prudently rented her ferry place which will free her from much vexation. We had the misfortune to loose our youngest child, Elizabeth, a few weeks since. She was born in Octo^r and had enjoyed excellent health till taken with the disorder of which she expired. Your sister and the children are in good health. Andrew and Anna Maria¹ have grown very much and are very hearty. Andrew learns very well and is found of his book. Anna Maria talks very distinctly and is very sprightly. They both often talk of you, and say they wish to see you much.

Many of our friends in Carolina have emigrated to Alabama. Col. Pickens, Joseph his brother and Ezekiel with M^r Simpson and his family, D^r Hunter and his family are among the emigrants from Pendleton. From Abbeville they are no less numerous, M^r Bowie and family, D^r Miller and family and D^r Casey and his family are among those that have already or will shortly emigrate. Patrick Noble since you left here has been elected Speaker of the house of Rep in our State legislature. M^r M^cDuffie is a candidate for Congress in M^r Simkins² place, and has no opposition. These are most of the changes, which have occurred of a domestick character since you sailed. I forgot to say that your brother John is still a bachelor; and I believe is likely to remain so. In the political world great changes have occurred. The death of George the third and the assassination of the Duke of Berri in France will probably be attended with important consequences in both countries. The publick in each is much agitated from those and other causes. The most important change has, however, occurred in Spain. There has been apparently

¹ Calhoun's oldest son and oldest surviving daughter.

² Eldred Simkins, M. C., 1818-1821.

there a thorough revolution. It commenced with the army destined for South America, and has spread over the whole Kingdom. The Cortes has been restored, which will probably end in the complete overthrow of Ferdinand. There has been very little blood shed; and the whole appears to have been conducted with much system. Our relation with Spain is still unsettled. The treaty has not been ratified, and it is probable that we will have to take forcible possession of Florida. Whether a seizure would lead to war is uncertain. I think it would not; but any opinion in relation to it must be conjectural.

Com^{re} Morris has returned from his cruise extending as far as Buenos Ayres. He spent a few days here. His health is improved; but he still appears far from stout. He made very particular enquiries after you. It is fortunate to obtain the good opinion of such excellent officers. The melancholy death of Decatur has spread a gloom over the whole country. His hold on the affections of his countrymen was strong. His place in the Navy board has not been yet supplied. Com^{re} Stuart is spoken of for the place.

Your mother intends to write by this opportunity and will doubtless supply any omission, which I may make in the domestick occurrences since you left the U. States.

Your Sister desires her love to you and Andrew and Maria say you must hasten your return.

*To James Monroe.*¹

War Dept. 14th July, 1820.

DEAR SIR; I have to acknowledge your favor of the 6th inst, with its inclosure, and regret to learn that the very warm weather, which we have experienced, has had an unfavorable effect on the health of Mrs. Monroe. We have this morning had a very agreeable change in the temperature of the weather. It is now cool and pleasant, which cannot fail to have a very beneficial effect on the system exhausted by the previous heat.

Mrs Calhoun and myself are much obliged to you for your kind suggestion and offer in relation to the springs near your residence in Loudon. I have heard them very highly spoken

¹Text derived from a copy furnished by Fred M. Steele, of Chicago, possessor of the original. Another copy has been received from the Department of War.

of, but traveling, after my long confinement to business, would, I apprehend, be of more service to me than anything else, and if I can find leisure, I prefer to take an excursion as far as West Point, or perhaps as far as Niagara. It is however very doubtful whether I will be able to command the time, as the review of the Revolutionary pensions which throws much responsibility and discretionary power on this department, will I fear engross the whole of my time. I find that almost every pensioner under the first act will apply under the last, and that it is quite impossible to establish any general rule, as to the persons intended to be comprehended by Congress. Each case has to be decided under all of its circumstances. I have judged it proper to construe the act rigidly; although it is probable, that it will excite much complaint.

The examination at West Point is completed, and the board of visitors speak in the highest terms of the condition of the institution generally. I enclose for your consideration a report of the Academical Staff, which contains the names, acquirements and character of those cadets, who in their opinion are unworthy members of the institution. It is made in conformity to regulations. It probably would be the best course to give the whole of them an opportunity of resigning, and to order their dismissal, only in the event of their not availing themselves of that indulgence.

I also enclose a letter from Mr. Noah,¹ as the agent of the corporation of New York in relation to Castle Clinton,² with an extract of the report of the board of fortification. You will see by the extract, that it does not enter into the general defence of the City. There is an act authorizing the sale of only military sites, and I would suggest, as the most advisable course, to make a sale to the corporation of the site, at a valuation to be fixed on by the Executive, or ascertained by disinterested persons mutually appointed, the work to be demolished whenever the contemplated work at New York is so far advanced as to authorize the step. The object of the corporation is to obtain the position as a gift, on the ground, that it was transferred to the general government, without any pecuniary consideration, but this I conceive can only be done by Congress, and in the mean time before the work would be ordered

¹ Presumably Major Mordecai M. Noah.

² A fort at the Battery; afterward Castle Garden.

to be demolished, an application might be made to Congress by the Corporation to effect the object which they have in view.

I transmit the proceedings of the court martial in the case of private Farrell, for the crime of desertion. He has been ordered to be shot, but presuming that you would order a pardon, I have one drawn up for your signature, which is enclosed. I enclose for your perusal several letters from Col. Johnson.¹ His brother's transportation contract will probably about square with the advances, but his brother will fall greatly indebted to the government on his provision contracts for 1815, '17, '18. His present object is to obtain the transportation contract for West Point for his brother. I would be glad of your opinion in relation to it.

My present impression is that to avoid all censure, the contract ought to be made on publick proposals. Will you be good enough as to return his letters, when you are done with them.

General Jackson has agreed to act as a commissioner in the pending Chickasaw treaty. A commission has been made out and transmitted to him. I will write to Gov. Miller in relation to the appointment of Hagan as a Brigadier of Militia in the Arkansaw territory. My best respects to Mrs. Monroe and your family,

To Andrew Pickens.²

War Dept 9th Aug^t. 1820

DEAR SIR, I yesterday enclosed you a commission with a letter of instruction to treat with the Creek Indians. Gen^l Flornoy is associated with you, but, you being first named in the commission are, according to usage, considered at its head. Your powers are made very full; and it is not doubted, that if the land can be acquired by energetick but fair measures, but that you will be successful. The State of Georgia is very anxious for the acquisition, and will regard the result of your negotiation with great interest. It is expected that the whole,

¹ Col. Richard M. Johnson; for his brother's contracts, see American State Papers, Military Affairs, II, 68.

² Original lent by Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C.

or nearly so, of the acquisition, if one should be made, will be within her limits, as the appropriation was made on the application of her legislature. I am fearful that the Creeks are not disposed to make a cession; but it is hoped that they will yield ultimately to the wishes of the government. It is neither for their interest, or ours, that they should occupy so much more land than is necessary for their use.

Your Commission would have been made out sooner, but the President is absent from the city, and some delay took place in hearing from him.

We have nothing new from Spain; but must soon hear in what manner the Cortes views the affair of the Floridas. The Spanish government, expresses much friendship, but it may be fairly doubted, whether it will go far for the present. I do sincerely hope for the interest of both nations, that by doing justice, it will terminate an affair, which has been kept too long open.

Myself and family are well; and M^{rs}. Calhoun and her mother join their love to you and our relations in Pendleton. I set out next week on a tour to Niagara; and will not return till the middle of Sep^r.

To David B. Mitchell.¹

Department of War, 9th August, 1820.

SIR, I enclose an extract of a letter from Col^o. Hayne, by which it appears that the road from Georgia to Alabama, will yet require considerable labour upon it to put it in good condition.

Congress appropriated, in 1816 \$5000, and in 1818 \$5000 to be expended upon this road, and an additional appropriation of \$3300 was made at the late session, for the same object making together the sum of \$13,300. The two first sums were remitted to you, at different periods, shortly after they were appropriated, to be applied as contemplated by Congress; and I cannot direct a further expenditure upon the road, until I am informed whether there will be a sufficiency left of the

¹Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, New York. The original is in the Ford-Morgan collection in that library. David B. Mitchell, who had twice been governor of Georgia, was at this time United States Agent to the Creek Indians.

appropriations, (including the last, which has not been remitted to you) to cover it, after paying all the expenses which you have already incurred. You will report to me, as early as practicable the precise amount of your disbursements, the amount of accounts yet to be paid, and the balance which will probably remain of the whole appropriation of 13,300. If it should appear that there will be a sufficient sum remaining to make the improvements upon the road required, it will be remitted to you immediately, that the work may be done while the weather continues favorable.

I enclose an extract of a letter from Mr. Merriwether, respecting his claim for opening a part of the road before mentioned, and he has been referred to you for payment. If you should not have funds sufficient to pay Mr. Merriwether, you will inform this Department of it, and the sum necessary for the purpose, will be remitted to you.

P. S. I have received your report of the evidence in defence of your conduct in relation to the introduction of African slaves into the U. States.

To John Erving Culhoun.

C. C.

War Dept^d 23^d Oct^r 1820

DEAR JOHN, It is a long time since we have heard from you. You, I suppose, have been so busily engaged with the people, as not to afford you time to correspond with your friends. Setting jesting aside, I am glad, that you offered for the legislature; and hope sincerely, that you have succeeded; altho', I should suppose, in such a district as Pendleton, your success would be doubtful. The place will suit you well. It will give you opportunity for improvement, while you may be of essential service to the state. I, in fact, deem it the duty of every man of education and leisure, to bring himself forward, in publick business. It is thus dignity will be given to publick affairs and the state usefully served.

I had a long and a very pleasant and useful excursion to the North. I extend[ed] my journey to Niagara, Sacketts harbour, Montreal, Plattsburgh and Boston. The travelling was rapid and delightful. My reception every where was of

a most flattering kind; and with little exception, I found the military posts in excellent condition.

Your mother wishes you to make arrangements at Clergy Hall for another year. She thinks, if Clark has done pretty well, of which she leaves you to judge, that he had better be retained at the same terms on which he was employed this year. If his conduct has been such as not to make it advisable to retain him, she leaves the employment of another and the terms on which he ought to be employed wholly to your discretion. She would prefer to engage by the month and to pay in money to giving a part of the crop. Believing that you would not be in the lower country in time, she has requested John E. Bonneau to attend to her ferry place, and requested him to offer the place to M^r. Deas for another year. If M^r. Deas has expressed any desire to you on the subject, she would be glad that you would let John E. B. know of it.

We have nothing interesting from Europe but what you will see in the publick papers. The last accounts from Spain represent that the Cortes had the Florida question before them. The result is not yet known. We have not heard from James since he left Manilla. Andrew and Anna Maria have grown much and often say they wish to see you. Your mother will not be in Carolina before next summer; and she and your sister desire their love to you.

To John Fwing Calhoun.

C. C.

War Dept 26th Novr 1820

DEAR JOHN, I would have answered your favour of the 15th Oct^r at an earlier date; but being uncertain whether an answer would reach you before your departure from Pendleton to Columbia, I have delayed till your arrival at the latter place. I am heartily glad, that you have been elected a member of the legislature. I think it the duty of citizens of property and information to serve their country in that station. I find it the opinion of some of your friends, that you might have been elected to Congress with ease; and I hope at the next election you will turn your eyes to a seat in that body. The post will suit you well, while you remain single. It will extend the sphere of your usefulness, improvement, and enjoyment.

may be practicable, to the cantonment of Mountpelier, where as has been communicated to you in your instructions, you will receive notice of the arrival of Col. Forbes at Pensacola.

The Deputy Quarter Master Majr. Stanton has been ordered to the same place, who will receive and execute your commands, as connected with the Quarter Masters Dept., and the enclosed copies of orders from that and the Commissarys Departments will inform you of the arrangement, which has been made, as to transports and provisions. Major Cross will be ordered to Amelia Island to superintend the arrangements in that quarter, and I trust that on your arrival at the cantonment you will find these arrangements so far matured, that you will be ready to take possession in a very short period, should the Spanish authorities be prepared to give it. It was deemed advisable to issue the orders here, to avoid any possible delay.

Genl. Gaines has been ordered to this place, where he will be by the 10th of next month, to aid with his advice and information in the reduction of the Army; and it is doubtful whether he will return to his Head Quarters in time to take possession of St. Augustine should you in the exercise of your powers select him for that purpose, and I would therefore suggest in that event, that you should at the same time give provisional power to some other officer to act in his place, should he be absent.

The 4th Regiment of Infantry and the Company of Artillery at Mobile will occupy Pensacola and the Barancas; the Garrisons of Fort Gadsden, which will be evacuated, will occupy St. Marks, and the two companies of artillery, sent from Boston to Amelia Island, St. Augustine. They will be governed in their movements for that purpose by your orders. The companies ordered to Amelia Island, with the provisions which have been ordered by the Commy. Genl. to that place for the transportation of the Spanish Garrison at St. Augustine to the Havannah, will go in the transports to St. Augustine.

Your command as Major Genl. will not, under the Act of Congress of the 2d instant reducing the army terminate, till the 1st of June next, to which period your pay in that capacity will continue.

To Jedidiah Morse.¹

Department of War, 2d April 1821.

DR SIR, I have to acknowledge your letters of the 26th February, and the 3d and 21st of March with the portions of your report which accompanied them, and to offer you an apology for the long delay in making my answer. A continued and uncommonly severe pressure of business which did not admit of being postponed must be my apology, and when I inform you that I have not had one days relaxation since I saw you in Washington and that the weight of business such as you then witnessed has diminished but very little, I think you will make some allowance for the delay.

To begin with your favour of the 26th February; the informant of your correspondent certainly laboured under a mistake in supposing that there was the least disposition on my part to withhold any portion of the information to be derived from Major Youngs remarks on Florida. On the contrary, I am anxious to give every publicity to the geographical and topographical information contained in the Department for the benefit of the community, excepting only such portions of the latter, as may be connected with the immediate defence of the Country, and you of course have acted in accordance with the views of the Department in using freely such as you had obtained.

The President has perused with care the portions of your report contained in your two last favours, and I have his directions in returning them to you, to express his wish that you should draw up your report on all points as fully as you may judge advisable, and according to your views of the policy which ought to be adopted in our relations with the Indians. Much of the value of the report will depend on its presenting the entire and individual views of one, who has reflected so much on the subject on which it treats, and who has taken so much pains to be correctly informed. On a subject which has already excited much interest, and which will

¹ From Military Book (now) No. 11 in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy. Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse, the celebrated geographer, was now residing in New Haven. The instructions from Calhoun, February 7, 1820, under which he made his tour of observation of the Indian tribes, may be seen in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 273. His Report to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes was published at New Haven in 1822.

probably hereafter excite still more, it would be improper for the Executive to express any opinion till after it has made itself fully acquainted with all the facts. With this view without forming or expressing an opinion on any portion of your report it is the wish of the President that you would make it as full and ample as you may desire. All of the facts and reflections which it may communicate will aid in furnishing the means by which the government may ultimately adopt a correct policy in relation to the Indians.

The President doubts the propriety of publishing your report at this moment. The subject of which it treats will probably claim the attention of the next Congress in which event should the department be called on as is usual to furnish the information which it may possess, it might make an unfavorable impression to lay before Congress a report already published by the sanction of the Executive. The proper course at present would seem to be to obtain all of the light which may be practicable in relation to the Indians, and the existing intercourse with them, to digest the whole with care, and be prepared to present to Congress should these subjects claim their attention, a well digested body of facts, and a system which would be fully sustained by such facts. It was with a view to this in part that you were originally employed by the President, and he doubts not that the fruits of your researches and reflections will contribute materially to a correct decision.

With the view which the President has taken in relation to your report, it will not be necessary to designate such parts as ought to be confidential, or private, as you suggested in your letter of the 21st March. Should it be communicated to Congress it would then be the proper time to make the designation, if any portion of it should be of a nature not proper to communicate, which however I do not presume will be the case.

I hope that your health will improve with the return of warm weather. I am not surprised that you should have felt the severity of last winters cold so severely, when it was such as to render it very unpleasant to the best constitutions.

Mrs. Calhoun and her Mother desire their best respects to yourself and Mrs. Morse.

*To Timothy Pickering.*¹Washington 29th April 1821.

—DEAR SIR, My time was so constantly engaged during the last session of Congress in meeting the incessant calls on the War Department for information, and since the adjournment, in bringing up the portion of business, which I was compelled to neglect, and in reorganizing the army, that my private correspondence has been almost wholly suspended. Among my unanswered letters, I find your esteemed favour of the 26th Dec^r,—and tho' late, you will permit me to express the great satisfaction, which I experienced from your approbation of my report on the reduction of the army. The approbation of the wise and virtuous is what I court; and I trust, that on all occasions, that my conduct shall evince, at least a desire, to deserve it. To speak the truth boldly, tho' not always pleasant, is, I conceive, one of the first of the duties of a publick officer, and in performing that, which you have been pleased to approve, I was determined to adhere rigidly to that duty. It is mere deception to place our militia on the footing of regular troops, and the reference to the militia of Rome, or Swit[z]erland to establish the superiority of ours is an unworthy sophism to maintain that deception. In our sense of the word, they were not militia. These countries ought to be considered as cantonments, and their inhabitants the garrison. This state of things could only be produced, or continued by that constantly impending danger to which you so justly refer, as its cause. No nation occupy a situation so much the opposite, as ourselves; and if we think soundly, we must expect the opposite effect. It is true, that much space, great personal freedom and plenty give to our people individual valour; but they cannot give organization, or discipline, which are the elements of military power. In coming to this conclusion, I am by no means disposed to set the militia aside. Let them be armed and organized into companies and regiments; let them be mustered, to see that their arms are in a good condition; and let the use of fire arms be proved, where necessary, by the awarding of premiums to

¹Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Dr. Samuel A. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The original is in the library of that society. Timothy Pickering, famous as Secretary of War and of State under Washington and Adams and as a Federalist Congressman, was now living in retirement at Wenham, Mass.

the best marksman. This may be done; beyond it, in the present state of our country, it will be difficult to proceed. A militia thus prepared will answer all of the purposes for which they ought to be intended, either for the defence of the country, or the preservation of our liberty. The country would thus be taught to look to their real use, instead of assigning duties to them, to which they are wholly inadequate; and in which the only results, which can be justly anticipated, are defeat and an enormous augmentation of the public expenditure.

On the defence of the eastern portion of our northern frontier, I substantially concur, with the exception of works to command lake Champlain. After I came to the Department, the works on that frontier, with the exception of those at Rouses point, were stoped. Those have been since suspended, from the belief, that they would fall on the Canadian side of the line.¹ I felt disposed to give some importance to those works, under the idea, that lake Champlain ought to be considered in the light of a canal, and that the cheapest mode of preserving its entire and unmolested use, was by fortifying its northern extremity. The completion of what is called the northern canal in New York, connecting the waters of the Hudson with this lake, gives to this channel of communication great importance; and would justify a very considerable expense to close it wholly against our neighbour. In addition to this, I am inclined to think the military road from Plattsburgh to the S^t Lawrence, from the peculiar character of that portion of the frontier, not without its importance. In addition to the labour of the troops, it will cost but little.

Doubtless our attention ought to be drawn mainly to our maritime frontier. For its defence, we must unquestionably look first to the navy, and next to a judicious system of fortifications. Both of these have, and continue to claim, much of the attention of the government; and if persevered in steadily and judiciously must, in a few years, greatly increase our capacity either to defend ourselves, or to assail an enemy.

I hope that you continue to enjoy good health, and I pray you to accept of the assurance of my respect and esteem.

¹ The boundary at Rouse's Point was not settled till 1842; see Moore's *International Arbitrations*, I, 119, 151.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 6th May 1821.

DEAR JOHN, We were quite disappointed in not hearing from you while in the lower country. I had directed one, or two letters to Charleston addressed to you, which, I expected, you would receive on your arrival there, but not having heard from you, I fear, that they may have been forwarded to you at Pendleton. We have not heard from James for some time. The Congress has been expected for several weeks, and her arrival can not be much longer delayed. As soon as he arrives, your mother, I expect, will set out for Pendleton. Her health is very good again. I expected to visit Carolina this season, but have declined it, *for the want of time* as you used to say. The reduction of our military establishment, would detain me here till near the last of this month which would make it too late to go south. Our spring is very cold and backward. The forest is still more brown, than green. I enclose your notifications of warrants in the case of the James'. The heirs will endorse on them where they wish the location and transmit them to the commissioner of the Gen^l. land office.

Our last arrival from Europe has brought us important intelligence. We may not only hope, but have some confidence, that the allied powers will be baffled. The movement in Piedmont is most important, and if maintained, must drive the Austrians out of Italy. Europe seems on the eve of a great revolution. Feudalism is gone, and its effects on the state of society nearly vanished. She can no longer be governed by the reverence, which it created for certain families. Either force or right must govern, and we may, with a good deal of confidence, expect that it will be the latter.

Should Col Pickens be in Pendleton remember me to him most affectionately. Your mother and sister with the children desire their love to you. Our little Irishman, Patrick, grows finely. Andrew goes to school in the country, but it is now vacation, and he is at home. M^r Hillhouse passed through Washington to Phil^a a few days since. He is well.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

War Dept 13th May 1821

DEAR SIR, Your favour of the 22^d of April came to hand a few days since, and I infer from it, that my two last letters to

you have failed, as you do not mention, that you received any from me while in the lower country. I wrote to you a short time since very fully, which letter, I hope, you will receive.

I have not yet heard from Dr Simonds, from which, it would seem, that Rice has not made good his promise to take up his bond. I wrote to the Doctor to day, to inform me whether there was any prospect of his payment.

We have had very late news from Europe. The Neapolitans have acted most cowardly. They yielded all without resistance. The result is very mortifying to every friend of freedom. They were unworthy of their cause. Had their resistance been such, as it ought to have been, it would have given a new face to the political state of Europe.

Cotton has improved considerably; so, if you have not sold, you may realize the truth of the maxim, that there is luck in leisure. Your Mother wishes hers sold and the proceeds placed in the hands of Cantalous and Co in Augusta (my factors) in order that, I may draw for it. You will please to inform me of the amount, as soon as you have sold, as she needs the money. It is still uncertain when she will return. The Congress has not yet arrived, nor has she been heard of for several months. Her arrival must soon take place, when your mother says she will return immediately to Carolina.

We are all well; and all desire to be remembered to you in the most affectionate manner.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Department of War 18 June 1821

Dr SIR, More recent information from the Havannah has rendered it unnecessary, in the opinion of members of the administration, to come to any decision on the points presented by your letter of the 13th instant. No further delay is feared in passing the possession of the Province² into our hands. I return the copy of the letter to Mr Adams as you requested. I have received the proceedings of the Court Martial in the case of Col. Chambers, which I herewith enclose. He has been found guilty of the charge preferred against him, and

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

² Of Florida.

has been sentenced to be suspended for one month, which however, the Court recommends to be remitted. The sentence would seem to be very inadequate to the Offence; and altho' there are mitigating circumstances, I doubt not, the punishment will be thought to be very inadequate by the community. I regret, that so correct an Officer, as Genl Smith was thought to be, should have set the example of such illegal and odious punishment; and that a knowledge of it had not then reached the Government, so that our immediate check might have been put to it. The truth appears to be, that the Officers of the Army, at the end of the War, had a very erroneous mode of thinking, as well on this, as many other points, which took some years to correct. I believe the establishment is now thoroughly reformed of most of the faults, which grew out of the incidents of the War. I propose however, to order a Summary Statement of all proceedings of Courts Martial and punishments inflicted on the soldiers to be transmitted to the Office of the Adjutant Genl. so that the government may at once check any abuse which may appear. I do not doubt, but that the example of Genl Smith, and the supposed necessity of the case were the real cause of Col Chamber's improper and illegal conduct.

I enclose for your information the Illinois Intelligencer, which gives an account of the proceedings of the Court in the case of the two Indian Murderers, who have been lately convicted. While in the custody of the civil authority, they seem to have been most shamefully treated. M^r Adams is inclined to think, that their sufferings have been so great, as to make a question, whether a respite ought not to be given to both, with a view to examine into their case. You will remember, that the younger has already been respited. I am inclined to think, that it would be dangerous not to execute at least one. Since the murder was committed for which these Indians have been tried, another has been perpetrated by the same tribe, and the murderer lately delivered up for trial; and yesterday's mail brought the account of the murder of Doct. Madison of the 3^d Regiment, on his way from Green Bay to Chicago. An example would seem to be necessary.

I herewith return the letter of M^r Adams in favor of Doct. Waterhouse.¹ The Doct. certainly has claims on the govern-

¹ Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge (1754-1846), a noteworthy promoter of the study of natural science and medicine in New England.

ment; and I regret the service did not admit of his retention. The grounds for omitting his name in the New Register were, because he had not the confidence of the Officers at the post, as a Physician; and the reduced number in the Medical Dept. under the last Act, has made it necessary to station the Surgeons and their assistants at the more important posts, and to employ Citizen Physicians at the others. The Post at Watertown, to which the Doctor had been assigned before the reduction, is comprised in the latter description, and a Citizen Physician has been accordingly employed there, at a cost not equal to a fifth part of the pay, to which the Doctor would have been entitled had he been retained for the post. The first objection which is stated to his retention was, I understand, so strong, that the Officers were in the habit of employing a private Physician at their own expence, rather than to trust to him. The fact seems to be that tho' a man of talent and science, from some cause, he has not made himself a good practical Physician.

I enclose for your consideration two letters one from Genl Jackson, and the other from Col. Butler which I received this morning. The latter asks for instruction as to the Indians near St Augustine, but I suppose he had better be referred to Genl. Jackson, who has been fully instructed; and be informed if the Indians should apply for his advice to refer them to the General.

I regret to find by Genl Jackson's letter that he had not received his instruction as to the Indians in Florida, but I think it probable that the Sub-Agent has arrived before this time, and from the instructions to him, he will have a pretty full view of the policy which it is thought proper to pursue in relation to them. A copy will be sent forthwith of the instructions to Genl Jackson.

*To Joel R. Poinsett.*¹

War Department 3rd July 1821

DEAR SIR, I received your favour of the 20th June and I am very sorry to learn by it that the state of your health is

¹Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original Joel R Poinsett (1779-1851), famous as a traveler and publicist, had recently been elected to Congress, in which he represented South Carolina from 18'1 to 1825. From 1825 to 1829 he was minister to Mexico, and in 1832 was the principal leader of the Union Party in South Carolina. See Dr. C. J. Stille's interesting biography of him in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XII, 129-164, 257-303.

so bad. I sincerely hope that your voyage to Europe may completely reinstate your health, and that you may realize your intention of returning November. Your absence from your seat in Congress would be a subject of deep regret. Though the state of the country in a political point of view appears quiet, yet questions of very considerable magnitude will probably be agitated at the next Session. I fear too, that the temper exhibited by so many of the members of the House of Representatives at the last Session to prostrate the whole of our establishments, will again reappear in that body. Should such be the fact, it is very desirable that it should be promptly resisted and put down.

I am much obliged to you for your kind offer of service; and the Secretary of State requests me to say to you that he will avail himself of your offer by putting in your charge dispatches to our ministers abroad, if they can be prepared in time. I am also requested by the President to inform you that he has received your letter, which he has been prevented from answering as yet, by indisposition, but hopes to be able to write to you in a day or two.

The desire to make a transfer on the part of Capts. Burd and Morris had been made to the office of the Adjutant General and I had directed him to inform them, that there is no objection to it, but the condition which Capt. Morris requested to be annexed, of being continued in command at St. Marks, for one year. There is scarcely a doubt but he would be continued for at least that time, but the Department never assents to conditions in such cases.

I will be very happy to hear from you while in Europe.

I wish you a safe and pleasant voyage.

*To James Monroe.*¹

War Dept 20th July 1821

DEAR SIR, I enclose for your consideration, and direction in relation to it, a letter from Gen^l Scott of the 16th Ins^t, by which you will perceive, that the work, which has been entrusted to

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

his execution, is completed, and that he claims a farther compensation for his extra services in completing it.

In order, that you may have a full view of the claim, I enclose for your information the correspondence, which has taken place between him and this Department in relation to his compensation, and a copy of a statement of the amount, which has been paid him through the office of the 2^d Auditor, which together with the sum of \$900 that was paid to him by the order of M^r Edwards, in my absence to the South, of which I was not informed, when I ordered the payment to him through the 2^d Auditor, makes his compensation already allowed amount to \$2328.

It does really appear to me, that the allowance has been very great, and that any additional allowance, must cause hereafter much excitement. I should even think, that if the General should succeed next winter to obtain the decision of the attorney Gen^l in favour of his brevet pay, for the same period, a deduction ought to be made for the sum already allowed.

Should you, however, take a different view, and be of the opinion, that a farther allowance ought to be made, I must ask your direction, whether the sum, which you may order for an allowance should be paid to him, or be only carried to his credit, as he stands a debtor to the Government to a considerable amount at the Treasury.

I enclose for your consideration a Treatise on Artillery by General Lollemond,¹ and recommend, that so much of it, as is comprehended in the work, beginning with the Exercise of Field Artillery and ending with mechanical manoeuvres, including school for the Battle (field) piece, school for the field batteries, school of the batteries, Evolution of Batteries, Exercise and Management of Siege, Garrison and Sea coast guns, be adopted for the service of the U. States.

The Treatise has been examined with care by several of our most distinguished artillery officers, all of whom concur in recommending its adoption.

¹Baron Charles Lallemand, a lieutenant-general under Napoleon, took part in the establishment of the Champ d'Asile in Texas in 1817, and published the book alluded to at New Orleans.

To James Monroe.¹

War Dept 28th July 1821

DEAR SIR, I have received your note of yesterday enclosing a letter from D^r Waterhouse, which I herewith return.

As the Doctor does not seem disposed to leave Boston, or its neighbourhood, I do not think, it will be possible, through this Department, to make any satisfactory arrangement for him. Doctor Mann² is the only surgeon employed by the Department in the vicinity of Boston, excepting the citizen surgeon at Watertown, who receives but \$100 annually; and from the long service of D^r. Mann and his high standing, I do not think, that he could with propriety be removed from that to any other post. He is, I believe, a native of Boston, and has been stationed there ever since the peace.

I enclose, for your consideration, letters recommending certain persons to be appointed to fill vacancies in the Militia of Alexandria. The character of M^r Jones, who is recommended for the principal vacancy, is so well known to you, as to require no observation from me.

To James Monroe.³

War Dept 18th Aug^t 1821

DEAR SIR, Col Gadsden having accepted the office of Adj^t Gen^l it has become necessary to select some one to fill the place, which he occupied. The applicants for the place are Maj^r Archer Col Jones, and Col Levensworth, to whom may be added Col Eustis and Col Butler, who, tho' they have not made application formally, yet it is understood, through their friends, that they would be much gratified with the appointment.

You are, I believe, personally acquainted with all of these officers, which will render unnecessary many observations on

¹From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Massachusetts, is referred to. See the letter of June 18, 1821, *supra*.

²James Mann, assistant surgeon at Boston Harbor.

³From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. James Gadsden, Inspector-General of the U. S. Army, was appointed Adjutant-General August 18, 1821, but the Senate, at its next session, refused to concur. Samuel B. Archer was appointed Inspector-General November 10, 1821. *Executive Journal of the Senate*, III, 266, etc.

my part. I am under the impression, that the place to be filled is among the most important in our military establishment, particularly in a period of peace. On the skill, the industry, firmness and impartiality of the Insp^r General, the discipline and condition of the troops must, to a considerable extent, depend. If he is known to possess the requisite qualifications, very few officers would venture to neglect their duty, and if they did, it could not pass long unobserved. Among the officers named, I am inclined to think, that, as it regards mere qualifications, separate from extraneous circumstances, the preference ought to be given to Col Eustis and Maj^r Archer; and of these two, I am inclined to think the latter. As far as my information extends, I should suppose, that, in many respects, they are equal; but I should put greater reliance in the rigid impartiality (unbiased by any consideration, but a regard to truth and duty) of Maj^r Archer.

If connected circumstances, in addition to merit are to be taken into consideration, it appears to me that this view of the subject would confine the selections to Cols Eustis and Jones and Maj^r. Archer. Cols Leavensworth and Butler are now full L^t. Colonels, and senior to all others in the infantry of the same grade, and consequently may at no distant period expect to be full colonels. They both, it is true, have lost a little by the reduction, but I think they have no cause of complaint.

As it regards the other three, their claims are very strong, under the view, which I am now taking. You are so fully acquainted with Col Jones, that it will not be necessary to say anything of his. It is very strong; but, I am sorry to say, that, I think he has weakened it by the impertinent, and objectionable manner, in which he pressed his claim as Adj^t. Gen^l. Among other expedients to which he resorted, I am told, he threatened Genl Brown, that he would use [h]is influence to excite the Virginia delegation to lopp off the office of Mj^r. Gen^l. at the next session. I do not doubt, but that such rash and inconsiderate declaration is to be attributed to passion, but still it indicates a want of proper military feelings, and it makes it more difficult to bestow on him the special notice of the government, as it might be attributed to improper motives. The case of Mj^r. Archer I believe is fully known to you. His success in the late war, his long continuance in the

same grade, without any hopes of rising from it soon, and his not having received the same notice from the government, that others, with whom he acted and with whom he was equally distinguished on the frontier. With the exception of the brilliancy of the service, Eustis' case is no less strong, than Mj'. Archer's. He was a Maj'. before the late war and is still but a Majr., tho he is the senior Maj'. and will rise with the first vacancy. He is very sore, it is said, at Towson's appointment, and at his being transferred from Boston, his former station, to St. Augustine, which, considering that he has a family of five or six children, will operate severely on him.

It is proper to observe as it regards Mj'. Archer, that he was informed during the late reduction when Towson received his appointment of Colonel, that the Gov^t. was fully apprized of his merit, and regretted that it had not had an opportunity of giving him any proof of it; but that when it could be done with *propriety*, it would afford it much pleasure.

The dispatch is just about to depart, which compels me to conclude and send my observations as they have been hastily put down.

I expect to leave here on Monday and M^r Hagner,¹ whose health is not good, is desirous of accompanying me, and has requested me to ask permission for him. His business, he informs me, is so arranged that he may be absent a few weeks, without any serious inconvenience.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 27th Sep^t 1821

DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 10th Ins^t was received on my return from an excursion to the Bedford Springs in Pennsylvania. We had a very pleasant excursion and returned in high health; but found the city so sickly, that my family left it immediately to spend some time with a friend a few miles out of town, whose neighbourhood has been exempt from the prevailing fever. The sickness is not peculiar to this place, but spreads with little exception over the whole country quite into the Mountains. I found the fine valley between the Blue

¹ Peter Hagner, auditor.

Ridge and the North Mountains, in which Carlisle is situated laboring every where under bilious fever. James set out on a tour to Niagara, Montreal, &c about six weeks ago, but has not yet returned. As soon as he returns, which is now expected every day, he and your mother will set out on their return to Carolina, So that you may expect them not long after this letter. They will give you all of news, which will except me from the necessity of giving you a long letter. I was much pleased with the agriculture in the parts of Maryland and Penn^a through which I passed. They work to much more advantage than what we do. I spend a day with a friend of mine, a farmer, near Harrisburgh, and examined with care every part of his farm. His land is not so good naturally as that in Calhoun's settlement, yet he makes much more to the hand than what we do. He rents most of his farm for half of the product. The part that he cultivates is of considerable extent, yet he hires steadily, but one negro fellow at 5\$ per month. He informs me that he raises independently of what he gets from his tenants, in average years, about 800 bushels of corn, 500 of wheat and nearly the same quantity of oats and rye, besides grass. He hires, in harvest, additional labour; but this source of expenditure he thinks does not exceed \$20; and himself and his son in law, who lives with him aids his labourer particularly in harvest and planting, but the whole of the ploughing, harrowing, and the attending to his horses, cattle and hogs is done by the single labourer. I know my friend to be a man of the strictest veracity, and the statement may be fully relied on. To us it must appear all most incredible; but when we come to examine his mode of cultivation our surprise will cease. Take for instance the Indian corn. He prepares the ground thoroughly for it before it is planted, but after that, instead of ploughing, as we do 4, 5 or 6 times, he gives it but one harrowing and one ploughing. I saw his field so cultivated. The corn had been injured by the drought, but still I think it would give 30 bushels an acre. I think there are three causes why they can raise corn with so little labour. The ground being deeply ploughed and the surface thoroughly turned down, much of the weeds' and grass' seeds do not sprout the next summer; the clover cultivation expels both the grass and weeds to a great extent; and the corn is planted so close, about 3 feet apart both ways, as

to overshadow and prevent the growth of grass and weeds. The two first causes may be introduced with us, and the last by making our ground rich and obtaining our seed corn from the north might also be, I should suppose.

Were I in your situation, I would not hesitate to obtain an overseer from about Hagerstown where the farming appears to be equally good. Your society could not, I am satisfied, give so great an impulse by any other means to your agriculture, as by yourself or some one of your members by obtaining an overseer from there, or Loudon in Virginia, where I am told the same mode of farming is introduced. This might be done by giving a premium to the person who would obtain one from either of these places who should be well recommended. Were I on my farm, I would not loose one year in obtaining an overseer from one or the other of those places. You will see by this letter that my passion for farming is not abated. In fact I consider my absence from my farm among my greatest sacrifices. I must request you not to bring this letter before your society, for in looking over it, I have interlined in so many places, I would be ashamed of it.

The children often speak of you and express a great desire to go to Carolina.

To James Monroe.¹

Department of War, 28th September, 1821.

DEAR SIR: I returned from my excursion, on the 19th inst., and had the pleasure to find that the business of the Department had not suffered in my absence; and I have since my return dispatched nearly the whole which had been suspended during my absence. Being informed, that you would not return to Loudon till the end of this week, I have delayed writing to you, and transmitting such papers as would require your direction till this time.

The condition of the Seminole Indians in Florida is such as to require the immediate attention of Government. They have been shamefully imposed on, and barbarously treated by unprincipled individuals and by the Creek nation of Indi-

¹ From Letters to the President, Vol. No. 2, new No. 303, in the archives of the Department of War; text from an official copy.

ans; as the inclosed papers from Gov. Jackson, Capt. Bell and Mr. Penicotes, the Sub-Agent, will fully illustrate.

General Jackson having stated to me in a private letter, that he would leave Pensacola about the 1st of next month for Nashville, and deeming some immediate measure necessary for the security and tranquility of the Indians I have thought it advisable to vest Captain Bell with temporary authority to act as agent, and have directed him to repair immediately with the sub-agent to the nation, and to explain to the Chief the friendly disposition of the Government, and to assure them of its protection, if they should continue to demean themselves peaceably. He is also authorized to adopt such measures as he may deem proper to correct the existing abuses, particularly by ordering off without delay such individuals living among them as are of notoriously bad character. As connected with this subject I have written to the Creek Agent, and informed him, that the Government views with marked disapprobation the excursion of the Creeks into the Seminole Country for the purpose of plundering, and that should they repeat it they will be held responsible for the consequence. The Seminole Indians ought certainly to surrender slaves, who have absconded from their masters, but it ought to be done by regular demand, through the proper authority, and on sufficient proof of the facts. You will see by the letter of Mr. Crowell, the Creek Agent, a copy of which I enclose, that about 50 of the captured negroes have been delivered to him and that he purposes to advertize them in order to deliver them to the owners, should they appear, and if not, to sell them for their benefit. I have directed him to hold them till the subject has received your consideration and order. The course which the Agent proposes would appear proper, but still, I fear, when it is considered how little prospect there is of many of the owners in that Country, so destitute of papers and roads, being informed of what has become of their slaves, and that should they be sold, there would be at the Agency almost no competition, that great frauds may be practised, unless the orders under which sales may be made should be very particular. . . .

To James Monroe.¹

War Dept 14th Oct^r 1821

DEAR SIR, I have received your several communications of the 5th 10th and 11th Insts. and will lose no time in carry your instructions into effect. . . .

I enclose for your instructions a letter from Col Brooke and one from Gen^l. Brown² to the Adjut. Gen^l. in relation to it. You will perceive, on the perusal, that the subject involves the extent of the military powers of the Governor of Florida, and is one of some delicacy. Gen^l Brown seems not to be aware of the extent of the power vested in the Gov^r. and of course decides the point submitted to him without any hesitation. I also enclose a letter from Cap^t. Deloha in relation to his rank and pay with a report of the Adj^t. Gen^l. on his application. I do not think that his request can be granted on either point. As to his claim of Brev^t. pay it appears to me quite clear, that it cannot be granted under existing laws and regulations. If the point, which he makes as to rank, had not been settled under the former reduction, ~~should~~ I should be strongly inclined to think his claim well founded; but it appears to me, to establish a rule, at this time, different from the one formerly adopted, would have such extensive effects in changing the relative rank of officers long since established and acquiesced in by them, as to render it wholly unadvisable.

I am much disposed to take the same view of the occurrences in Florida³ with that which you have presented, tho' I have by no means bestowed on them that minute attention, which is necessary to a satisfactory decision. The occurrence to which Mr Jefferson refers may be of great importance in the light of a precedent, and I will not fail to look into it, without connecting it with the name of Mr. Jefferson.⁴ I am not inclined to think that an ultimate decision on the occurrences ought to be postponed longer than is necessary to obtain correct information. I have always found that much is gained by the executive coming to a definite conclusion at an early period, on all important subjects, on which it has

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy

² Major-General Jacob Brown, commanding the U S Army.

³ The troubles between Governor Jackson and Callava, for which see Parton, II, 614-639.

⁴ The editor finds no trace of the letter of Jefferson here referred to.

ultimately to decide. It has great power to direct the judgment of the publick by a correct statement of facts, and a presentation of strong and just views. But whether it may be thought advisable to leave the publick, for the present, to investigate and come to a conclusion by the lights, which are already, or may be brought out on these occurrences, yet there is one view of the subject, which would seem to me to call, at least for an early decision. That conflict of power, which has already taken place must continue till the executive power determines the limits which belongs to each the Gov^r. and the judges, and should any unpleasant event hereafter occur in consequence of it, the responsibility would attach immediately to the government, if the point in controversy should be left undecided. I make these suggestions with great deference, as you appear to be disposed to take a different view.

I must call your attention to the appointment of an Inspector General and the extra compensation, which has been allowed to the officers detailed to perform duties in the several Depts, at the Seat of Government. An early decision is not of so much consequence in the latter, but it is desirable, that the Inspection should be made at an early period in the Southern Department of the Army. In addition to what, I observed formerly on the selection to be made, it is proper to state that Col Butler and his friends are dissatisfied with the place assigned him in the late arrangement of the Army, tho' I think without just cause and that he has intimated to Col Gadsden his intention to resign. I believe his case is the only cause of discontent remaining in that Dept of the Army, the transfer of Col Linsay to the Artillery, which prevented Taylor and Woolley from being raised, and Cobb from being discharged has removed all of the others of which Gen^l. Jackson complains. Whether the appointment of Col Butler to the place of Insp^r. General would satisfy him and his friends, and whether if such would be the effect, it would, under all of the circumstances of the case be advisable to appoint him, may be worthy of some consideration.¹

It was impossible to make a reduction without exciting some discontent, at the selections, but I believe, in the main,

¹ Samuel B. Archer was appointed inspector-general Nov 10, 1821.

that no arrangement could have been made, which would have caused less; and of that which has been excited very little has been from just views of the subject.¹

I shall exercise every possible economy, feeling that it is of the highest importance, that there should be no loan at the next session. I have no special information as to the present prospect of the Treasury, as Mr Crawford's sickness has prevented me from making enquiries about it, yet, I should think from a general view, that putting the publick land pretty much out of the estimate, that the income from the impost alone ought to equal, or nearly so to the present disbursements. The appearance in the early part of the year is necessarily more discouraging than in the latter, as the disbursements are then much more considerable. I should suppose at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole disbursements of this Dept for the year is already made. But whatever may be the prospect for next year, it appears to me it ought to be early ascertained, as the estimates, whenever they can, ought to be regulated by the state of the Treasury.

I enclose the Southern Patriot, which I have received since writing what relates to the occurrences in Florida. It appears to me that the statement which it contains confirms the opinion that there is some hazard in delaying a final decision.

To John Faring Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 19th March 1822

DEAR JOHN, I have no other apology to offer for my tardy correspondence, than the want of time. The winter has been a very oppressive one; but I hope that the pressure is at last in a great measure passed by.

You have not informed us of your marriage, but we have learned by letters from Charleston that the event has taken place. I congratulate you most sincerely on the occasion. I hope that your Union may be long and happy. Every one speaks in high terms of your selection and I doubt not that she will make you a most amiable and affectionate companion.

¹ The reduction of the army had been accomplished by act of March 2, 1821.

As soon as Congress will give us leave it will afford me great pleasure to make my congratulations in person.

I must refer you to the Intel^l. for the passing occurrences here. The Presidential election continues to be much spoken of, but does not yet produce much political excitement. My friends think my political prospect good, in fact better than any other who is spoken of. There is no doubt of Pennsylvania, which must go far to decide the contest. I do not think that Mr L¹ is much spoken of. He has few opponents but still fewer ardent friends. My own opinion is that the contest will be between Adams, Crawford and myself.

We are all well except your sister. She has been quite indisposed, but is now better. She and your mother join their affectionate regard to you and Mrs Calhoun.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 14th May 1822

DEAR JOHN, You will call us very fickle when I inform you that we have declined our journey to the South. On the adjournment of Congress, I found so much business on hand that, on calculation, I could not complete it and get off before the Middle of June, which we consider too late to make so long a journey with our family. It is a source of deep regret to us, as we anticipated much pleasure in seeing you all. But I must surrender my considerations to the duties of my office. The sacrifice is great but it must be made, particularly as my friends the radicals have selected me as the object of their peculiar favour, as you no doubt have seen by the papers. I must be prepared for them. They have gained nothing yet but defeat, and I am determined that they shall gather no other harvest. You see how easily I slide into politicks, but I will resist the tendency, as you will through McDuffie learn all that is interesting here. I will only add that I hope that you will send us Davis from Pendleton at your next election and some sound good member in the place of Judge Smith for the Senate. Wilson appears to be an honest good man but we require something more at present, and Smith, I fear, is

¹ Doubtless William Lowndes of S. C., who died Nov. 22, 1822

united with the faction in Congress.¹ This, however is for yourself only, and must go no farther.

Your Mother says she intends to go South this summer, but it is very uncertain as she has not fixed the time. She wishes you, however, to have clergy hall put in order for her reception.

We have been projecting an arrangement for you and M^{rs} Calhoun next Winter, to which we hope you will make no objections. It is for you to make a visit to Washington after the adjournment of the Legislature and spend the Winter with us. If you will do so, we will certainly return it by spending the ensuing Summer with you in Pendleton. We are so intent on this arrangement, that we will not let you off on a slight excuse; and altogether interdict before hand your old one, "that you have no time."

Your mother and the family join their love to you and M^{rs} C. We are all well.

To Micah Sterling.²

Washington 18th June, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR: The mail of this morning has spread joy over the city. Our friend McDuffie is not only alive but believed to be safe. He so considers himself in a letter written four hours after the affair. The ball entered the small of the back obliquely. I trust so valuable a life is spared to the country. Never did my feelings undergo so great a change in [so] short a time.

¹John Wilson, M. C., was not replaced by Warren R. Davis till 1827. Judge William Smith, U. S. Senator from South Carolina from 1817 to 1823 and from 1826 to 1831, the leading opponent of Calhoun in these days. See O'Neill, Bench and Bar of South Carolina, I, 108-120. Hayne was at this time elected in his place.

²Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Adrian H. Joline, of New York, the possessor of the original. The reference is to a duel with Colonel Cumming, which inflicted upon McDuffie a wound, the effects of which showed themselves in a peculiar irritability during all the rest of his life. George McDuffie (1788-1851), one of the most eminent of all Carolinian statesmen, was at this time a member of the House of Representatives, in which he served from 1821 to 1834. He was governor of South Carolina from 1834 to 1836, and Senator from 1843 to 1846. See O'Neill's Bench and Bar of South Carolina, II, 463-468.

Micah Sterling, a classmate of Calhoun at Yale College, was at this time M. C. from New York.

To John Ewing Culhoun.

C. C.

Washington 1st July 1822

DEAR JOHN, I have received Your favour of the 17th June and am very happy to hear that You have so flattering a prospect as to your corn and cotton crop. The information from every part of the South concur in representing the prospect of those two leading articles to be very promising, so that, if the price is low, there is at least ground to hope, that the product will be abundant. I am sorry to see, that you are so deeply disgusted with political life. It is the duty of those, who have the means and capacity, to serve the country; and we ought to resist that tendency to disgust which is so apt to be excited by the many proofs, which we daily see of the want of Candor and integrity. You would be wrong to decline at present. The next legislature will be very important. It will take all the good sense and moderation, which can be brought forward, to prevent the state from being distracted. Under these circumstances, I hope, you will not hesitate to continue in public life. I am glad to see a disposition to leave Smith at home. I do not think that he fairly represents the state. He is narrow minded and I believe wedded to the Georgia politicians. If reelected I doubt not that he will come out openly, which would do much mischief. Hayne is the man that ought to be elected. He has talents and eloquence and will honour the state. It would be imprudent however to utter these sentiments as coming from me.

You do not mention whom you intend to send to Congress. I hope it will be Davis. Wilson is a good honest man, but certainly very little calculated for the post which he occupies. I send you the prospectus of a new paper to be edited here.¹ It will be conducted with Zeal and abilities, and I hope will be well supported. We have need of such a paper, You must subscribe for it, and get as many others as you can conveniently. By putting it into the hand of Joseph Gresham, or some other active person at the court house, I dare say many subscribers might be obtained. Should any be obtained care must be taken to have the list returned.

¹ The Washington Republican. See J. Q. Adams's Memoirs, VI, 47, 48, 60.

We are all well. I sent your letter to Andrew who is at school in the Country. He has grown much and is very stought and hearty. I have not heard from James who is at Philadelphia, for some time. He rarely writes. He speaks of going to sea in the fall; and I believe expects promotion about that time.

Floride and her Mother desire their love to you and M^{rs} Calhoun. Let me hear from you often.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 16th Jan^y 1822 [1823]

DEAR JOHN, We congratulate you most sincerely on the birth of your son, and hope that you may enjoy all of the anticipated happiness that such an event is calculated to inspire. To be placed in the situation of father is among the greatest changes which we experience through life, and tho' it has its anxieties, it is not without its prepondrance of happiness. I find my children the great solace of life, and midst all of the anxiety which must occasionally be felt, there is still that which makes you feel how much more happy you are with them and how disconsolate you would be without them. . .

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 14th April 1823

DEAR JOHN, I have been disappointed in my prospected journey South. I intended to set out shortly after the adjournment of Congress, but the indisposition of your sister, and the mass of unfinished business, which the session of Congress left has prevented me till it is now too late. Floride will be confined some time in May and were I now to set out, I could not return in time; and it will after that event be too late in the season to go South. It is to me a sore disappointment, as both my business and inclination tend strongly to take me south.

Your Mother has no objection to M^r Huger occupying her house. He would be an acquisition to your neighbourhood, which with so many agreeable additions must be very pleasant. She desires to know, whether You have sent her cotton to market, and how much she has made. The stock on hand in Europe is much diminished, tho the price has advanced but little. As to the mistake in the land in the Sale of a portion of our land, you must exercise your discretion, as to what ought to be done.

I would be glad, if in your next you would state how our accounts stand, and how much I may expect from the proceeds of our land. My expense is very heavy; and I would be glad to sell my portion of the tract, which you plant in Barnwell. Will you look out for a purchaser for me; and state what you suppose I might sell at.

War seems inevitable in Europe. As to our domestick politicks, the Radicals¹ are much broken; and I think their Chief is also much depressed. It is hard to say who will be the successful candidate. Each one has his advantages and drawbacks. My friends are Zealous and active, and think that, as there is no other objection to me but age, that my chance will finally be the best.

We are all well. The children are very hearty and grow fast. You do not say what you call your son. I do not doubt but he is a fine boy. Your Mother, Floride and James desire their love to you and M^{rs} Calhoun.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 27th May 1823

DEAR JOHN, On the 19th Inst^t, we had the addition of a fine boy to our family. I would have informed you earlier of so agreeable an event, but was indisposed at the time with a slight fever, of which however, I am now entirely recovered. Floride and the Boy are doing well. We have not yet fully determined on the name. There appears to be a disposition to call him John, but whether with a middle name, or what, is yet a matter for deliberation. You have not yet stated the

¹ I. e., Crawford men.

name of your son, and as it may have some influence in determining ours, I would be glad, that you would inform us.

Tho' we were very anxious to visit Carolina this season, we cannot but feel compensated in the occurrence, which has prevented us. As it has turned out, we should have had time enough, but your sister was apprehensive, that it might be several weeks earlier.

James has left us to join Maj^r. Long in his exploring tour, to the head waters of the St Peters, thence to the 49th degree and along it to the lake of the Woods and thence home by lake superior.¹ The old U. States Bank will make another dividend by the 16th June next, of about 9 per. cent. If there is any ballance in my favour in your hands, or if you can make it convenient to let me receive your share, and you to retain out of the proceeds of our land an equal amount, I would be glad of it, as the low price of cotton has run my finances to a low ebb. I believe the share stands in your name, if so an order, or one from the person in whose name it stands, will, I presume, be sufficient.

Your mother and the children are well. Andrew is a stout, hearty boy, Anna Maria is slender and sprightly, and Patrick is very handsome with a fair complexion and light blue eyes. I feel it quite a misfortune, that we cannot bring them up in Carolina among their relations. I, for my part, love the tie of relationship, and believe that those who are under its influence are usually much more disposed to a virtuous life.

Your Sister, Mother, and the Children all desire their love to you, and M^{rs} Calhoun.

To Lewis Cass.²

Department of War, July 2d, 1823.

SIR, I have read with attention your letter of the 11th of June in relation to the military posts on the Upper Lakes, and regret that the distribution of the troops has not been

¹ Stephen H. Long, for whom Long's Peak is named, made notable northwestern explorations between 1818 and 1823. See Long's Expedition, by W. H. Keating, Philadelphia, 1824.

² Governor of the Michigan Territory. From the archives of the Department of War, Military Book (new) No. 11; text from an official copy.

entirely satisfactory. From the time, that I commenced the administration of this Department, I have been deeply impressed, with the importance of encouraging the settlement of the Michigan Territory, and have never failed to embrace all of the means within my reach to effect so important an object. In fact, I am of the opinion that a dense settlement within the Peninsula would, of itself, forever secure the peace of the North Western frontier. With these views I would deeply regret that any arrangement of the Department should have the slightest tendency to counteract what has been the steady object of its pursuit; but the truth is, that our military establishment is so small compared to the extent of the frontier, that I am often compelled to choose between two evils; and to select that arrangement which is not absolutely good of itself, but which has the fewest objections. Since the reduction of the army, the Artillery has been distributed in such small masses, that it has been ascertained from experience to be impossible to improve the discipline of that important arm without making some essential change. None occurred that promised such favorable results, as a school of practice, and it has been accordingly finally determined to commence such a school in the Autumn at Fort Monroe, which, it is ascertained will be sufficiently advanced for the purpose. To give to the school all of the advantage of which it is susceptible, it was desirable to collect at that place, if possible, a regiment of artillery. I have found much difficulty in effecting this object, and was compelled to withdraw the artillery from the Upper Lakes for the purpose. A new distribution of the Infantry became necessary in that quarter, which caused the order, the effect of which has I regret caused some dissatisfaction in the Territory. In making the new distribution, the Department availed itself of the military knowledge of the Major General, and his minute information of the locality of the frontier, and adopted the distribution which he recommended. Should however experience prove that the arrangement is defective, or that a better can be substituted, such alterations as it may indicate will be made. Tho' Chicago may be important in War, I cannot consider it, in a general view, as connected with the peace arrangement, near as important as Green Bay,

which constitutes an essential link in the general exterior line of military posts, which is so well calculated to break the force of foreign influence and to rivit our own. Nor do I consider it, as connected in any essential degree, with the extension of settlement in that quarter, as our population must approach that point by the gradually increasing of the settlements on the frontier of Illinois and Indiana. Should it hereafter become important as the means of sustaining a line of intercourse with the Illinois River, it would be readily reinstated.

The post at Mackinaw would be evacuated in favour of Detroit, but it is thought advisable to preserve the fortification there for the present. I am aware of the importance of the latter position, but it would be in vain to ask for an appropriation for its defense, as there are so many pressing demands at other points, which are for the present deemed more essential. In the mean time, I trust the growth of the Territory and the general extension of our population and wealth to the frontier, will render fortifications far more necessary to our neighbors than ourselves. Our means of commanding Lake Erie, and all of the Upper Lakes will be far superior to his, which will tend to render us much more powerful in that quarter than Great Britain.

To William C. Somerville.¹

Washington July 4th, 1823.

DEAR SIR, I postponed acknowledging your note of the 10th May till I had perused the volume which accompanied it, which, from the interference of official duties, has been delayed much longer than I desired.

I have been gratified and instructed by the perusal. The state of France is a subject of deep interest to every well wisher of the human race, as it cannot fail to have a strong bear-

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original. William C. Somerville (1790-1826), a brilliant young Marylander, had traveled much in South America and in Europe. The book referred to is doubtless his *Letters from Paris on the Causes and Consequences of the French Revolution*, Baltimore, 1822.

ing on the great question between modern improvement in government and ancient usage or rather abuse, which now divides and agitates the civilized world. In that question I take the deepest interest, and as I am under the strongest conviction that the force of our example will go far to decide the struggle, it has doubled my solicitude that it should be such as should be worthy of the great cause.

I seize the opportunity to express the pleasure which I feel at beholding our young men returning from Europe untainted in principle but fraught with the wisdom derived from travel and observation, and to tender to you my sincere acknowledgment for the pleasure which you have afforded by enabling me to participate in the fruits of your observations.

*To M. Stanley.*¹

Washington, 20th July 1823

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your letters of the 17th June and 2^d July, and am glad to find you in spirits. The prospect is certainly bright. The Radical party with its chief is certainly steadily declining. The 4th July gave no comfort to them. It is certain that the Republican side will prevail, but under whom is more doubtful. It must in a great measure depend on New York. Should she declare for me, the election would be certain without going to the House of Representatives. The vote of your State must in no small degree depend on those who have acted with the Clinton and Federal parties. How will they act on the Presidential question? For whom they will declare? Does not Mr. Clinton's friends still think of bringing him forward? You say nothing of the vacant place on the Bench. Who ought to fill it? Spencer, Kent, VanNess, Wheaton, Edwards and Sanford are named.² What would be the effect of making the selection of either of those gentlemen? The subject is an important one in my [any] point of view. I consider the office as the highest, excepting the Chief Magistrate, under our system. I saw Maxcy³ a few

¹ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mr. Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia, the possessor of the original.

² Smith Thompson was appointed in December.

³ See note to the letter of Dec. 11, 1823, *post*

days since. He will exert himself for you, and will endeavour to engage the influence of Genl. Harper. Count de Menou¹ can render you essential aid. He is acquainted with the British Arbitrators. You can through Maxey put him in motion. I rejoice to see that there is a fair prospect to change your mode of choosing electors. Principle and policy require it. I wish to see New York assume her just weight, and this can only be effected by breaking up the machinery by which the political jugglers manage her, and giving the power really and truly to the people.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 7th Aug^t 1823

DEAR JAMES, Your letter from Chicago was the more agreeable, as it was unexpected. Knowing your negligent habit as a correspondent, we were fearful, that we should not hear from you till your return. With encouragement it is usual to rise in expectation; and we shall be quite disappointed, if we should not receive a letter from the Falls of S^t Antony.

I fear the course of events in Spain will not be such as to realize your expectation. She is not yet subdued, but her resistance has been little worthy of her cause. Yet there is still hope, tho the defection of Count Abisbal and the counter revolution in Portugal are very discouraging events. The truth is, that she has a most difficult task to perform; not so much in resisting French bayonets, as the corruption, intrigue, and the moral discouragement which she experiences from all of the European powers not excepting England. The British people are hearty in her cause, but the government, there is much reason to apprehend, has acted a very mischievous part both in Spain and Portugal. The hope of Spain is now in Cadiz. The government had arrived there by the last advice, and was received with zeal; but the place was crowded with population, and Blockaded by a French squadron.

We are on the hights of Georgetown, and find the residence delightful. The health of the children is very much improved by the fine air and the abundant exercise in the Grove.

¹ Second secretary of the French legation at Washington.

The season has been delightful both here and to the South. By the last accounts crops were never so fine in Carolina, and what is better the price of cotton has improved very considerably with fair prospect of still farther advance, and that not from the diminution of the supply, but from the increase of the consumption which has been enormous.

I will write you in ten days, or two weeks and address to Detroit, and will agreeably to your request give you a letter of credit for \$200, on Governor Cass.¹

We hope that your tour will be throughout safe and interesting. Your mother, sister, and the children all desire their love to you.

To Charles Jared Ingersoll.²

Washington 7th August 1823.

DEAR SIR, An unusual pressure of official duties has prevented me from answering at an earlier period your letter of the 7th of last month.

I would be much gratified to contribute to the object which you have in view, but the most of the improvements which we have made in relation to war are connected with the fabrication and improvement of arms. They consist however either of a series of improvements in which not any one is very striking, or of inventions which are not yet known to the publick, and which, it is desirable, should not be communicated.

Our military organization, and system of instruction, tho' not the same as either the French, or English, yet are based substantially on the same principles. What we have done is to modify and apply them to the circumstances in which we are placed.

To James Edward Culhoun.

C. C.

Washington 24th Aug^t. 1823

DEAR JAMES, I wrote to Gov^r Cass and requested him to advance you \$200 should [you] require that sum. I wrote to

¹ Governor of Michigan Territory.

² Original lent by Mr. W. M. Meigs, of Philadelphia.

you, and addressed my letter to the S. De S^t Marie. I hope you have received it. Since then nothing has occurred worth relating. We have no late news from Spain. Our last was very unfavourable. Her resistance has not been equal to her ancient renown, nor her noble cause. I do not doubt but that she abounds with enlightened and patriotick citizens, and that a majority who guide her council are of that discription; but they have had to contend with a treacherous King corrupt Nobility, and slavish clergy, as well as French bayonets and gold. The good cause will not, I fear, triumph at this time, but its final success is certain. It may be reserved for us to give it the ultimate triumph which awaits it.

We are all well. The children have improved very much by our residence on the heights of Georgetown. The last accounts from the South state the crops to be excellent. Cotton continues to rise, with a fair prospect of going to 18 or 20 cents per lb.

I hope you have had a pleasant and instructive tour. Your mother, sister and the children desire their love to you.

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 28th Sepr 1828

DEAR SIR, We were much gratified to learn by your letter of the 25th August that you were all well and that the prospect was so good as to the crop.

By the last arrival cotton was a little depressed, but I have no doubt, that it was merely temporary. The consumption is enormous; not less in Great Britain alone than 500,000 bales, and is on the increase; and I cannot doubt but that it will maintain a respectable price throughout next year.

Your mother speaks of returning this Autumn, tho I think it very doubtful whether she will, or not. Her movements are very uncertain, and tho' she feels that her duty and interest require her return, yet I am inclined to think she will not visit the South this season. You must do the best you can for her. My expense is very great, and I begin to feel a sensible pressure. I trust that you will be able to make a remittance from our Saltcatcher debtors. A few hundred dollars would

be acceptable. My situation exposes me almost incessantly to company, which greatly increases my expenses.

Mr. Blacklidge of Washington North Carolina, formerly a Lieutenant under you, requested me by letter to give him your address, as he was desirous of writing to you, but he did not state on what subject. I think it not improbable, however, that it is political, as the Presidential question excites much interest in that quarter. His family is powerful and I would be glad to know his sentiments. My friends think the prospect very fair. It is confidently believed that Mr C——d¹ cannot take a vote to the North or West of this place.

We shall be absent next week on a visit to Baltimore. My chief Clerk² is about to take a wife there, and would not let us off from the Wedding. We are all well; tho this district is sickly. We have been residing on the heights of Georgetown, which is certainly very healthy and pleasant. I have succeeded in renting James place at \$600, which gives legal interest. We have not heard from him for a long time, but his return may now be expected in a few weeks.

Your Sister and Mother desire their love to you and Mrs C.

*To James Monroe.*³

Washington 29th Oct^r 1823

DEAR SIR, I enclose the proceedings of the Court Martial in the case of Cap^t. Eastman, for your consideration. The case appears to be a plain one, and he is generally considered as a very unworthy member of the Military Establishment.

I also enclose the treaty with the Florida Indians, with the journal of the Commissioners and the letters of Gov^r. Duval and Col Gadsden.⁴ The object of transmitting the papers at present is to obtain your decision on the proposition of the Gov^r. to commence running the lines forthwith, and to take a military position on Tampa Bay for the reasons, which he has

¹ Crawford.

² Major Christopher Van Deventer.

³ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy. A copy of the same letter, dated Oct. 27, has been received from the Department of War.

⁴ All these may be found in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 429-442 Treaty of Sept 18, 1823.

assigned. It certainly seems desirable on every account, that another year should not pass away, without concentrating the Indians on the place proposed for their permanent home; and it is believed, that unless the lines should be made without delay, it will be impossible to effect this desirable object. There is another reason for acceding to the request of the Gov^r. So little is known of the country which has been fixed on for the Indians, that the Commissioners have been compelled to leave the northern limits of the tract, subject to be altered hereafter; if it should appear, that there is not a sufficiency of good land, in that which has been reserved. It seems to me desirable, that the line should be definitely fixed before the treaty is ratified by the Senate, which may be done by running the line, and giving our Commissioners discretionary powers for that purpose. The general information, which will be acquired of the tract by running the line will no doubt be satisfactory to the Senate, when it comes to act on the Treaty. For these reasons, and as the expense will be small, it seems to me, that it would be proper to accede to the request of the Governor. I have no doubt, but that Col Gadsden and Lieut. Ripley are well qualified for the duty of running the line.

I received your letter enclosing one from Gov^r. Robertson on the subject of removing the troops from Baton Rouge. I can find no trace of the regulation of the Legislature of Louisiana to which the Governor refers; nor have I any recollection of ever having seen it. It will be difficult to reply to the Gov^r. without having a copy of the resolution, and as it may be among your papers, I have delayed answering his letter, till you can make a search for it.

I regret to hear that M^{rs} Monroe is indisposed. I would have written some days since, but expected you in the city, from what M^r Hay stated, till this morning.

We have nothing new.

*To Virgil Maxey.*¹

Washington 11th Dec^r 1823

MY DEAR SIR We were deeply afflicted with your loss. It is the most trying of all dispensations.

I read your communication and gave it the direction which you requested. It is excellent; very full and accurate, and will well bear publication. Col. Tilghman writes to me occasionally, but I have not leisure to reply as fully as it is desired. Your communication to him will remove the necessity of a detail of facts in my answer to him. The Carolina legislature has moved. Its movement was wholly spontaneous, and contrary to the advice of our friends here. It is, however, as well. The whole body consists of 169, of which about 155 attended, it being all who were present, and well. The nomination was unanimous with the exception of 4 or 5.

If I can, I wish to get along without the money accommodations, but I wish you to make the arrangement in case I should wish it, and let me know, whether it can be done.

The movement at Annapolis to which you refer, had better be delayed untill it can be certainly made. Certainty is more important than promptitude. The Radicals are checked here, and disconsolate. I do not doubt that they will rally under some other chief in less than 5 months. I have much to say but have not time.

To John Eschig Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 30th Jan^y 1824

DEAR SIR, We deeply deplore your loss, and sympathize with you in your affliction. The loss is irreparable, and time alone can apply an assuaging hand. He is the only healer of

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, New York. The original is in the Ford-Morgan collection in that library. Virgil Maxey was the son of Jonathan Maxey, president successively of Rhode Island College, Union College, and South Carolina College. He was a prominent politician and lawyer in Maryland. He edited the *Laws of Maryland*, 1811, was a Solicitor of the Treasury under Jackson, and chargé des affaires at Brussels under Van Buren. On February 28, 1844, he was killed (with Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and others) by the explosion on board the *Princeton*. The movement referred to in the letter is Calhoun's nomination for the Presidency by the legislature of South Carolina. "Radicals" means Crawford men.

such deep afflictions. There is no doubt but that a change of scene would tend to alleviate the distress of M^{rs} Calhoun, and I hope that you will be able to carry your intention of paying us a visit into effect. We all would be much gratified to see you. Our separation has been long. I do hope that it may be in my power to make a visit with my family to Carolina next summer. Col Pickens has just left us for the South, taking Charleston in his route. You will probably see him, and will learn from him every thing in relation to Washington, which will render it unnecessary for me to give details.

The statement, as to a coalition between Adams and myself is "one of the devices of the enemy". It is a report wholly destitute of fact to support it; and is not believed by those who circulate it. I stand wholly on my own basis, and shall continue so to stand. The prospect is good. The election will be left as it ought to be to the people. They alone have the right. Our friends oppose a caucus not through a fear of Weakness in Congress, but through principle. A Congressional caucus will certainly fail.

Floride and your mother desire their love to you and M^{rs} Calhoun.

*To John Floyd.*¹

Department of War, April 19th, 1824.

SIR: In answer to your letter requesting me to communicate to the "Committee on the occupation of the Columbia or Oregon Rivers, any facts or views which may be in the possession of the War Department, relative to the proposed occupation of that River in a military point of view, the ease with which troops may be marched to that point, and the importance in checking foreign encroachments, and controlling the Indians within our Territory," I have the honor to state that on an examination of the files of this Department, I have not been able to find any information of the kind referred to by your letter.

¹ Chairman of the committee of the House of Representatives on the occupation of the Columbia River. From the archives of the Department of War Reports to Congress, No. 2, new No. 276; text from an official copy.

For the facility with which troops may be marched to the point contemplated to be occupied, I would refer the Committee to the report of the Quarter Master General which accompanied my letter to the President of the United States of the 17th of February last. There is no doubt but that the occupation of the mouth of the Origon would give the Government more complete controul over the Indians within our territory, West of the Rocky Mountains, and tend to check the encroachments of foreign traders in that quarter; but it is believed that so long as the traders of the British Fur Company have free access to the region of the Rocky Mountains from the various posts, which they hold upon our Northern Boundaries, they will in a great measure monopolize the Fur trade West of the Mississippi, to the almost entire exclusion in a few years of our trade.

To Henry A. S. Dearborn.¹

Washington 8th June, 1824.

DEAR SIR, I have been so much occupied, that I have not had leisure to acknowledge your favor of the 7th May and one of a preceeding date, enclosing the Boston Patriot containing the very interesting reflections on European Politicks. The letters exhibit very considerable powers of observations and warm American feelings, which entitle their author to favourable consideration.

No political combination that ever existed required to be so vigilantly watched as the Holy Alliance. In power and solidity it exceeds all other combinations against human happiness and freedom, which were ever formed. That the Alliance regards our government with jealousy and hatred cannot be doubted. So long as we are safe and flourishing, that despotism, which it is their object to support is in danger.

Thus situated we cannot exercise too much wisdom, vigour and prudence. It is this view of our situation, which has led me to regard with such pointed disapprobation, the course of

¹ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mrs. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston. General Henry A. S. Dearborn, son of General Henry Dearborn, of the Revolution, was collector of the port of Boston from 1812 to 1829.

those politicians, who have struggled with so much industry to bring into disrepute all our means of *preparation* and to overthrow an administration because it would not yield to their scheme of demolition. Our country ought to omit no measure necessary to guard our liberty and independence against the possible attacks of the Armed Alliance. They are on one side, and we the other of political systems wholly irreconcilable. The two cannot exist together. One, or the other must gain the ascendancy, and which, must greatly depend on our wisdom and virtue.

To Robert S. Garnett.¹

Washington, D. C., July 3, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR: In asking my opinion of the Constitution, I understand you to refer to that portion of the instrument which relates to state rights, and in complying with your request I will accordingly limit my observations to that point of view.

If there is one portion of the Constitution which I most admire, it is the distribution of power between the States and general Government. It is the only portion that is novel and peculiar. The rest has been more or less compiled. This is our invention and is altogether our own, and I consider it to be the greatest improvement which has been made in the science of government, after the division of power into the legislative, executive and judicial. Without it, free states in the present condition of the world could not exist, or must have existed without safety or responsibility. If limited to a small territory, they must be crushed by the great monarchical powers or exist only at their discretion; but if extended over a great surface, the concentration of power and patronage necessary for government would speedily end in terror. It is only by this admirable distribution that a great extent of territory, with a proportional population and power, can be reconciled with freedom, and consequently that safety and

¹ Text derived from Houston's Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina, in which (pp. 148-149) the letter is printed. Robert S. Garnett was M. C. from Virginia from 1817 to 1827.

respectability be given to free States. As much then as I value freedom, in the same degree do I value State rights. But it is not only in the abstract that I admire the distribution of power between the general Government and the States. I approve of the actual distribution of the two powers which is made by our Constitution. Were it in my power, I would make no change.

These remarks bring me to the question which I suppose you had more immediately in view. I mean that of the construction of the Constitution, or, in other words, how ought the line which separates the powers of the general and State Governments to be drawn where it is not distinctly delineated by the instrument itself. I can give but one solution to this interesting question, and that is, it ought to be drawn in the spirit of the instrument itself. I know that there has been an anxious desire on the part of our best patriots to devise some one general and artificial rule of construction to be applied to any portion of the Constitution, but I cannot persuade myself that it is practicable, and believe that all such attempts must end in weakening rather than strengthening the rights of the States. It has been said, for instance, that the construction ought to be invariably rigid against the power of the general Government. The rule allows no discretion, but must be applied with equal severity to any portion of the Constitution,—to that which delegates power acknowledged by all to be essential to the safety of the nation, and to that which provides checks against the abuse of such power. I feel confident that such an application of the rule (and without it, it is nothing) must lead into perpetual difficulty and contradiction, which must finally bring into discredit those who act on it, and thereby weaken their authority when it may be most required. Believing that no general and artificial rule can be devised that will not act mischievously in its application, I am forced to the result that any doubtful portion of the Constitution must be construed by itself in reference to the true meaning and intent of the framers of the instrument; and consequently that the construction must, in each part, be more or less rigid, as may be necessary to effect the intention.

Such being my general principles, it only remains, in complying with your request, to apply them to what I have said

or done since I have been in public life in order to test their practical application, and I think it may be said with confidence that I have never uttered a sentence in any speech, report, or word in conversation that could give offence to the most ardent defender of State rights. On this point my character has been grossly misrepresented to the people of Virginia. Feeling the profoundest respect for the States, and believing their honor not to be greater than it ought to be, I have at least never spoken disrespectfully of them, or endeavored to establish principles that would weaken them; and for the truth of the assertion I appeal with confidence to my opinions as recorded, both in my speeches and reports. I have gone through a short, but active political life, and in trying times, and if hostile to the rights of the States, some evidence must be found of it in one or the other. If, then, I have given offence, it must be by my acts, and by them I am willing to be tried, and, if I mistake not, I have never done an act which, if condemned in me, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe must not be equally condemned. There are none of mine which are not covered by the example of deliberate acts of these enlightened statesmen. For example, I am accused of advocating the power of Congress to incorporate a National Bank; but those who make the accusation, and who profess to admire Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, seem to forget that I had the weight of their authority with me. The former approved the bill which I contributed to pass, and the latter approved of one which extended a branch of the old United States Bank to New Orleans. Must I then be judged more rigidly than these old Republican veterans, and they be excused for what I am condemned? Is this the justice of the ancient dominion?

Nor is there anything in the principle on which I advocated the passage of the bank bill calculated to give offence. I said nothing on the Constitution. I left each member to make up his own opinion on that point. I felt satisfied that the power existed, but at the same time respected those who took the opposite view, for I have always considered the power the least clear of those which have been exercised by Congress. I rested the argument for its passage on the necessity of restoring specie payments, at the time the legal currency of

the United States had ceased to circulate, and to regulate, or to fix the value of that which did circulate. In fact, we had no currency but notes of some specie paying banks incorporated by the States, and wholly under their authority. Congress had wholly lost its constitutional power over that subject. However brought about, a state of things existed wholly incompatible with the provisions of the Constitution. To give to Congress virtually the power delegated to it by that instrument of fixing and regulating the value of the currency of the nation was the great object which I had in view in aiding the passage of the bill incorporating the United States Bank, and there certainly is much satisfaction in the reflection that this clearly constitutional object has been fully realized. If the measure can ever be justified, it was justifiable in the then existing circumstances.

It is again objected to me that I am a friend to the system of internal improvements, and that I assert a power in Congress to make roads and canals. Here I may again cover myself by the same authority. Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe have again and again approved of bills making appropriations for internal improvements; nor have I, in any instance, gone beyond their example, though it is true that Mr. Madison rejected the bill which I contributed to pass, and which set aside the bonds of the United States Bank as a fund for internal improvements. It ought, however, to be remembered the bill was not presented till the last moment of the session, when, as you know, . . . in the multitude of bills presented for consideration, but little time is left for the reflection of the President. I am satisfied that it is owing to that cause that his argument on that occasion partakes so little of his usual accuracy. In fact, his leading objection that the consent of the States could give no constitutional power, was misapplied. The truth is that the bill did not even make an appropriation of money. It simply set aside a certain fund for the purpose of improvements; that is, it provided that it should be appropriated to no other purpose, thus leaving it to be hereafter determined in what manner it should be appropriated and applied, whether with or without an amendment of the Constitution, providing only that it should not be applied but by the consent of the States to be affected.

I think it cannot be doubted that if the power existed in Congress to appropriate money for internal improvement for which we have the sanction of the three distinguished citizens to whom I have referred, there was nothing in the bill to make it unconstitutional. But I am really at a loss to know why this objection should be made against me. What distinguished public man is there now on the stage to whom the same may not be made. And most of them are men much more deeply committed than myself. I have never yet committed myself beyond the mere right of making an appropriation. I have nowhere in my public capacity asserted the right of applying money so appropriated without the consent of the States, or individuals to be affected. I am perfectly open to the examination of that question should I ever be called on to act. It is, however, due to candor to say that my impression is that the power does exist to a certain extent, but as I have always believed that it should not be exercised without a clear necessity, and as I do believe that the mere right of applying our money, not as a sovereign without the consent of those to be affected, but as a mere proprietor with their assent, will be found sufficient in practice, I have carefully abstained from coming to any final conclusion until it becomes absolutely necessary.

I hope what I have written is sufficiently explicit. It is intended to be perfectly so, but if you should find it not so, I will at all times cheerfully give any additional explanation which you may require.

To Joel R. Poinsett.¹

Confidential.

Washington, 8th July, 1824.

DEAR SIR, I have determined not to fill the place of military store keeper at Savannah, and cannot consequently comply with Mr. Carlton's request.

I am glad to learn that all is so safe in Charleston. I see however, that the enemy is not inactive and without care you

¹Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original

may yet have some trouble. Craft's movement, as far as Mr. Adams is concerned, is very impolitick and I have suggested the idea to a friend of his here, who will make it known to him.

I am glad of your determination to remain for some time in Charleston, where, I am certain, that your presence will be at least useful. You have seen Governor Edwards' resignation.¹ The place is not yet filled. Would you accept of it? If you would, the President will confer it on you. I am aware that considerations at this time give a peculiar interest to your decision; and it is on that account the President wishes to give you an opportunity for a deliberate decision before he acts. It is not impossible that the Presidential vote may turn on that of South Carolina, and that again on you or your successor, should you accept the Mission. This state of things requires much consideration on your part. Should you accept, who would fill your place? If General Geddes or any of his party should succeed, there is no knowing what would follow, or rather, is it not too certain that the party would carry General T (?) and by so doing command the vote of the State should it come to the House. Nothing could be more fatal both to the State and Nation. These are mere suggestions on points on which you must be well informed, much better so than myself.

What I have written is in the strictest confidence but does not preclude the liberty of consulting Hayne or Hamilton or should it be thought advisable, McDuffie. I would be happy if you would acknowledge the receipt of this letter so soon as received and not delay your final answer longer than may be necessary for a deliberate decision.

I feel satisfied that great efforts are now making in New York to unite Clay's and C——d's² interest on the former, and not without some considerable prospect of success. My impression is still unchanged, that Mr. C——d's final recovery is very uncertain, and that the uncertainty will continue so long, that some one else must be rallied on by his friends. He has not been at his office since the adjournment.

¹Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois, appointed minister to Mexico by Monroe, resigned as a result of the "A. B. Plot" against Crawford. See Benton's *Thirty Years View*, I. 34-36. Poinsett was appointed, but by Adams, March 7, 1825; he remained in Congress till March 4.

²Crawford.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 11th Sepr. 1824.

DEAR SIR, I returned from my excursion to the mountains on Wednesday last, and had the satisfaction to find that the business of the Department had been conducted in a very satisfactory manner in my absence.

I was much gratified with my visit to the summit of the Allegheny. It is a region of singular formation, and the prospect is fair, that there will be an ample supply of water for the great national work in contemplation. I find much solicitude on the subject through every portion of the country which I passed; and since my return I have received the enclosed note, in relation to it, from Gen^l. Mercer, which I transmit to you, in order to have the aid of your advice. On full reflection, I rather doubt the propriety of making the communication, which he requests, at this time. Improper motives might be attributed, and it might be considered premature to venture any opinion before the final completion of the surveys and the report of the Board. I will however cheerfully adopt whatever course you may deem advisable.

There is nothing new. Everything, as far as my information extends, is going on well.

*To James Monroe.*²

York Town 20th Oct^r 1824

DEAR SIR, Yesterday passed off remarkably well. The day was fine and the welcome most hearty. The concourse of people was great, and of a very respectable character. The military tho' not numerous, made a very respectable appearance. On his part, Gen^l La Fayette acquitted himself remarkably well. His replies were all appropriate, and his toasts, tho' evidently unpremediated, were such as to strike forcibly. We proceed to day to Williamsburgh and will spend Saturday and Sunday at Norfolk; and after visiting the Navy Yard and the Military works, will proceed on Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning to Richmond. I am much pressed to go as

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

² From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. Lafayette's journey may be followed in Niles's Register.

far as Richmond; and as I would only loose one, or two days, I have in a great measure made up my mind to go. The committee of arrangement for Richmond has requested, that the Regiment of Artillery at Fort Monroe should be ordered up, and I have agreed to do so. The expense will be but small and its effects will be beneficial both to the officers and men. The appearance of the Regiment yesterday was very good, and gave great satisfaction to all, who were present.

I find Gen^l La Fayette is strongly inclined to proceed from Richmond on his visit to M^r Jefferson and M^r Madison, and not to go south till after the meeting of Congress. It is perhaps best, and under all circumstances, I did not think it proper to press the opposite view. Should you think of visiting Albemarle before the commencement of the Session, it seems to me, that it would have a happy effect, if you could so time it, as to be there, while the General was on his visit to M^r Jefferson. It would, among other things, tend to increase those good feelings, which, I think, have already commenced in the State towards yourself and the Admⁿ.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Richmond 28th Oct^r 1824

DEAR SIR, I entirely accord in the view, which you have taken on the question, whether I should continue with Gen^l La Fayette till his arrival in Albemarle. Before I had received your letter, I had determined, on reasons similar to those, which you have presented, to return direct to Washington from this place: and I expect to leave here early tomorrow morning by the stage. I have been much pressed to go to Petersburg, but have declined the invitation. Thus far, I have been informed by my friends, that the visit has been fortunate. No improper motive, as far as I can learn, has been attributed, but on the contrary, there appears to be a general conviction, that it was proper, that an officer of the Government should accompany him, as far as I have done so. A pretty general expectation prevailed that you would be here, but on the slightest explanation, there appeared to be a conviction, that you had taken the proper course.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

Gen^l La Fayette will not leave this for Albemarle till Tuesday morning, and will probably arrive at Mr Jefferson's early on Thursday. He was very anxious to set out on Sunday evening, but the arrangement having been previously made for Tuesday, they could not be changed without great inconvenience, and disappointment. I hope you will not leave Albemarle till he arrives. He will be much gratified to meet you there, and your leaving it might appear like shunning him.

I wrote you from York and communicated my impression of the manner in which the occurrence had passed. From York we proceeded to Norfolk by the way of Williamsburgh. Every thing was remarkably well conducted at Norfolk. The reception was cordial in the extreme. The Genl. visited the fortifications at the north of Hampton Roads and the Navy Yard, with both of which he was well pleased.

The reception here has been very hearty. The meeting with the old Revolutionary officers was really affecting. The effect of all that has occurred will I doubt not in a political point of view be happy. Several visitors are now waiting for me which compels me to close. I have much to say which I will communicate when we meet. M^r Hay is here and is well.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 12th Nov^r 1824.

DEAR MOTHER, My absence with Gen^l La Fayette in Virginia, and the great accumulation of business since my return, has prevented me from writing to you at an earlier period.

We are all well. Patrick had the scarlet fever while I was absent, but is now quite hearty. John is still a little pale and feeble, but has a good appetite, and is gradually getting stout. The other children with their mother are remarkably well. Your friends as far as my information extends are also well. M^r Halby called on us yesterday; and he and his family enjoy good health. I have not yet rented the House, nor sold the carriage and horses. I fear, I will find it difficult to do either to advantage. We are now in the city and the House is shut up and is without a tenant. Should I not succeed in obtaining one, I will get M^r Smith to take charge of the premises.

From present appearances your candidate Gen^l Jackson will

be elected: He is, as far as the returns have come in, far ahead. There seems to be no doubt of my election as V. Pres^t. It will at least have one advantage, that of permitting me to devote more of my time to my private affairs. I hope that your journey out was agreeable, and that you have been well since. Floride and all of the children desire their love to you. Patrick often speaks of you. We will be glad to hear from you.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 20th Feb^y 1825

DEAR JAMES, I am glad to hear of your safe return to the country.

The expedition will not proceed this year. I brought the subject before the Cabinet at the commencement of the session; but the opinion was, that it could not be conducted as it ought to be without the consent of the Mexican government, and that it ought accordingly to be postponed till some arrangement could be made with it. I hope that it may be commenced another year.

We are all anxious to see you. We will expect you immediately. We will set out for Carolina about the last of March. You had better go out with us.

As to your draft, I can only meet it by drawing on John Bonneau on your own account, as I have not drawn one cent from my crop yet. You must write to him immediately and inform him that I will draw on him for the amount.

We are all well. Maria and Patrick are at my elbows and say you must come immediately.

To James Madison.¹

War Dept 25th Feb^y 1825

DEAR SIR, M^r Owen, the bearer is desirous of forming the acquaintance of one, so distinguished by the affection and

¹ From the Madison Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. The person introduced was Robert Owen, who had come to the United States to establish his celebrated community at New Harmony, Indiana.

esteem of his fellow citizens as yourself. I comply with his request to become the medium of an introduction with pleasure, and do not doubt but that the acquaintance of one of so benevolent a character, and so distinguished for the successful application of his system at New Lenark¹ would be agreeable to you.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.²

Abbeville 10th June 1825

MY DEAR SIR, I have read with much interest your letter of the 1st May, and I concur with you in almost every particular in the views, which you have taken of your State politicks. I trust, however, that you will not think of retiring at your next election. I should consider such a determination as unfortunate both on your account, and the State. The reformation of New York, which I deem so important to the Union, must be the work of young men. The more advanced in age have been so corrupted, under the former order of things, that I expect no good from them. Among the young, I know of no one better calculated to lead in giving a new character to the State, than yourself. It is the sphere for you; and one in which you will not only acquire an elevated standing in the state, but will have the conscious satisfaction of having acted an useful part. I deeply appreciate the motives, which impel in a different direction; but I do trust our venerable and excellent friend will be able to pass through his difficulties with the rising prosperity of the country towards which he has so largely contributed by his enlightened administration. With the present prosperous condition of the country I trust that a correspondent rise in real estates will follow, and that he may be enabled to bring such portions of his estate into market at a fair price, as will free him from difficulty, after Congress has rendered to him, what is strictly due to him. At all events, I trust, that you will not find a continuance of your Legislative career as incompatible with that degree of

¹ *I. e.*, at New Lenark in Scotland.

² Printed in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, III, 329, from which the text is derived. Samuel L. Gouverneur was the son-in-law of President Monroe.

attention to your private affairs, which under the circumstances may be necessary.¹ In a political point of view, I do believe, that now is your time, both for the state and the nation. Among other things, I do trust, that your state will not rest satisfied with giving to the people of New York, that control, which they ought to have in the choice of a President; but that your Legislature will follow up the subject and by new resolutions be felt on this great subject over the whole Union. She is now on this point placed in a situation, in which her interest and duty strictly coincide. I do firmly believe, that an amendment to the Constitution, as to the mode of choosing the President, is indispensable. The present mode will end in deep corruption. Let the people have the power directly; let the votes be by districts; and, if there be no choice, let the two highest candidates be sent back to the people, and all will be well. To effect this great object your Legislature can do much, if put in action; and I know of no one better calculated to put it in action, than yourself, who so well understands the present dangerous defects.

I have met with a hearty welcome everywhere on my return, which has gratified me, not as a matter for vanity, but as affording evidence of the popularity of the principles which have governed me in publick life. A few days since business took me to Augusta, where, contrary to my expectations, I was no less kindly received, than on this side of the river. I find a strong disposition to support the measures of the administration so long as it acts on the policy of Mr Monroe's; but, if I am not mistaken, Mr. Adams will find at the next election that the people have too much sense to confirm the dangerous precedent, which he and Mr. Clay have created. I find not one who does not consider the example as dangerous; or who will be willing to see it confirmed by the people in electing Mr Adams.

I will return to Pendleton in a few days where I will be stationary through the summer and be happy to hear from you.

¹ Gouverneur was in the N. Y. Assembly of 1825, but in no other.

To Christopher Van Deventer.¹

Confidential.

Abbeville 10th June 1825

MY DEAR SIR, I am under great obligations to you for the fulness and frequency of your communications.² The attempt to change the order adopting the regulations is too mean to deserve any other notice except contempt. The late administration of the Department stands on too solid a ground to be shaken by such impotent attacks. I have been most heartily welcomed every where on my return. I confess, that I have been gratified, not as a matter of vanity, but as confirming my conviction, that the faithful discharge of duty is the sure mode of acquiring the public favour.

I find the temper to be nearly universal to support the measures of the administration, so long as it adheres to the policy of its immediate predecessor. This I rejoice to see. It strongly illustrates the good sense and virtue of the people. No less universal is the impression, that the recent election by the House and the appointment of Mr. Clay constitutes a most dangerous precedent, which the people cannot confirm without danger to public liberty. I doubt not that this conviction will strongly manifest itself three years hence. We will return to Pendleton in a few days where we will be stationary during a greater portion of the summer. We are all well, and Mrs. Calhoun joins her respects to yourself, Mr^s V. and the family.

To Christopher Van Deventer.³

Pendleton 24th June 1825

MY DEAR SIR. I have scarcely any other object in writing at this time, than to say, that your letters are regularly received, and that I am under great obligations to you for the information, which they communicate. I had hardly supposed, that I was an object of so much interest to a certain

¹Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer of Knoxville, Tenn. Major Christopher Van Deventer was chief clerk of the War Department during Calhoun's secretaryship, and was afterwards a constant friend and political supporter.

²On arriving at Pendleton after the executive session of the Senate of March, 1825, Mr. Calhoun had, by letter of April 21, requested Major Van Deventer to keep him fully informed of the course of events at Washington.

³Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer of Knoxville, Tenn.

class of politicians with you; or that they so badly understood my character, as their speculations would seem to imply. He who acts honestly seems to be the greatest deceiver. I had supposed, that my course had been so uniform, and the principles on which I acted so distinctly stated, and openly avowed, that no man of intelligence could doubt how I would act in my present situation. How could any one doubt, that I would adhere to that line of policy, when out of the administration, which I supported while a member of the Cabinet and of Congress? My policy has never depended on my *position* but on principles and truth, and cannot change. If additional proof is required to this fact, it shall not be wanting. My situation at least gives me the opportunity of furnishing it. It also affords me an opportunity, which will not be neglected, of proving my devotion to the power of the people, as against that of political leaders; and by the time I am done, no one, no not my enemies, shall doubt my character. I hold it higher than the Presidency; and will never sacrifice it.

The publick sentiment in this state is very sound; and I do not doubt, but that the whole South will be united as one man, when the time comes.

Let me hear from you often, and continue to send all that is interesting. I am glad [to] hear that the Gov¹ is doing so well. Make my respects to him and assure him, that no one wishes for his success in the office more than myself.

To Christopher Van Deventer.²

Pendleton 22^d Sepr 1825

MY DEAR SIR, I regularly receive your letters, which I read with great interest. I should most deeply regret to see the Department disorganized by the seporate and ambitious actions of its members. I hope my presence in the city may have some effect to counteract the bad tendency. Were I to consult my fame, I would find no inducement to discourage these centrifugal movements; for the disorders which must

¹ Governor James Barbour of Virginia, Calhoun's successor as Secretary of War.

² Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

follow any material changes in the present organization would be the best comment on the measures of my administration

We will leave this in a few days for our plantation in Abbeville, where I will remain till the middle of next month, and we will then proceed slowly on our journey to Washington by Columbia, Camden, Cheraw, Fayette, Raleigh, Warrenton and Richmond. We will be in the former place about the 25th Oct^r. I mention the route and dates in order to enable you to regulate your correspondence, which I hope (including the sending of papers) you will continue till our arrival in Washington. You may expect us there between the 15th-20th Nov^r. We will occupy Oakly this winter. . . .

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

c. c.

Georgetown 23^d April 1826.

DEAR MOTHER, I should have written shortly after the date of my last, but did not know where to direct, till I received yours of the 13th April.

Floride is doing well. She sits up almost the whole of the time, and will leave her room in a few days. The child is remarkably hearty. We call him James Edward.

The other children are all well except Maria. . . . They all desire their love to you; and often talk of you particularly Patrick. He makes great progress. He is now in two Syllables, and knows the names of almost every place on the Maps. Andrew is at home, and is going to school to M^r Hagerty. James is with us and is well.

Congress will not adjourn till the 22^d May, which I deeply regret as it will greatly delay my return. I hear from Brough frequently. He appears to be doing well. You must not interfere with him. If you see anything wrong, say nothing but let me know. If he is interfered with in the least, it will be a pretext for not doing well.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

c. c.

Georgetown 28th May 1826.

DEAR MOTHER, I have been prevented from writing by a very sick family. We never had in the same time as much

sickness. All of the children, except James, have had very severe colds with coughs accompanied by fever in every instance but Andrew. Cornelia had quite a high fever, but recovered speedily. The fever with Maria was slight, but followed by a distressing deafness, of which, however, she has in a great measure recovered. Patrick's attack was slight, but as if to make up, on thursday week he fell from a rocking chair, on which he was playing, on his left elbow, and greatly injured his arm. It was at first thought the bone was broke, but it proved to be an injury in the joint. He suffered much pain; and had to lie on his back for four days without changing position. His arm is now in a sling, and will recover, we hope, without permanent injury. But these cases were all light compared to John's. He has been at the point of death, and has just begun to exhibit symptoms of recovery. He was taken with a cough and fever on Friday week, but our attention being wholly directed towards Patrick, who had been hurt the day before, very little attention was given to him. On Sunday his symptoms became distressing, but still the Doctor thought lightly of his case. On Monday his case became so bad, that he request[ed] leave to consult with another physician. His case was now highly alarming. The most vigorous course of medicine had to be resorted to. He kept sinking, and on Monday there seemed to be little hope of his recovery, on which day James left us to join the Macedonian Frigate at Norfolk with an impression, that he would never see him again. Low as he then was, he sunk still lower. On Friday he reached the lowest point of depression. He lay the whole day in a languid stupor, without noticing anything. The disease which had been confined to the chest and bowels now appeared to attack the head. At this point we almost wholly dispaired of his recovery. Yesterday he was more roused, but very restless. To day he is decidedly better, so much so that a fair hope may now be entertained of his recovery. His fever is abated. He is calm, and his disrollish of food has given away to a better appetite. He took some tea for the first time, about an hour ago with a relish.

To add, appearantly, to our misfortunes, Dr. Lovell our family physician was absent. In the alarm about Patrick's arm the

nearest physicians Dr^s Henderson and young Dr^r Worthington were called in, and have continued their attendance on John. They have, I think, treated his case with great skill, and with devoted attention, to which, under a kind Providence, I have no doubt we owe his recovery thus far. Should his case take again an unfavourable turn, I will write to you immediately. The warm weather, and sickness in my family will prevent me from coming out till toward fall. I hope Brough is doing well. I must entreat you not to interfere with him in any respect; for I have long noticed, that the slightest interference is sure to discourage and to give a pretext for misbehaviour. Should he act amiss write to me immediately, and let John Ewing know. I will be out so soon as I can safely travel in the fall.

Floride, and the children all desire their love to you. Patrick when he got hurt wished for wings that he might fly to you to nurse him.

To Mrs. Floride Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 14th June 1826.

Dr^r MOTHER, Floride and myself had concluded, that we will best advance our interest, by fixing our residence to the South instead of this place, and as the travelling will be bad in the Spring, she prefers going out in the fall when the roads are good. You may therefore expect us the last of September or early in October. In the mean time, I have requested John to have some improvement made in the house by repairing the piazza and enlarging the side, in which the Stair case runs up, as you will see in my letter to him.

It is my intention to fix permanently in Pendleton, and to commence building immediately on my return, if an exchange can be had with Col Lewis. I have requested John to make an exchange on any reasonable terms before I return, and in the mean time to say nothing of my intention.

I have offered an exchange to Col Carter, and he is to let me know his determination in the fall, after he has examined both places.

John is better, but far from being well. Patrick's arm mends. The rest of the children with Floride are well.

James expected to sail from Norfolk on monday. I heard from him yesterday. He was well and in good sperits.

[P. S.] Floride and all the children send their love to you. Patrick often talks of you.

I will sell this place if a good price offers and you do not object. If not, or if it should not be agreeable to you to sell, I will rent on the best terms we can.

To John Ehving Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 14th June 1826

DEAR JOHN, The great fall in the price of our staple commodity and the impossibility of reducing our expenses consistently with what is due to the office I occupy, to the limits of the salary affixed by law, have induced us to change our arrangement of fixing our residence here, instead of the South. We have concluded to return in the fall, as early as the season will admit, as your sister prefers travelling at that season, instead of the spring, when the roads are usually in so wretched a state, as we found by experience on our return the last time.

I must request the favour of you, preparatory to our return, to have Clergy Hall repaired, so as to answer for a temporary residence. We wish the piazza to be repaired and such an enlargement of the space, through which the Stair case passes, as will give a pantry of good size, and a comfortable bed chamber instead of the little room, that Andrew used to occupy, with a door to open between it and your mother's chamber.

If you can spare your carpenters to do the work, I will very cheerfully allow you the ordinary rate of compensation, and if you cannot, I must request you to get some one to do the work before we come out, say the 1st October.

It is my intention to build immediately on the Hill to the left of the road to the court house, provided an exchange can be made with Col Lewis; and I must also request you to effect the exchange on the best terms you can, provided they be any way reasonable. If he knew of my intention he would doubtless avail himself of it to rise in his demands, and on that account as well as others I do not wish my intention to be

known at present, and I wish the exchange to be effected before my return.

John has not wholly recovered. Patrick's arm is getting well. The rest of the children are well. James sailed, or rather expected to sail from Norfolk on Monday last. The Macedonian goes direct to Rio.

I have written to your mother on the subject of this letter, and I wish you to consult her about the arrangement proposed to be made about the house.

Let me hear from you immediately.

Floride and the children desire their love to you and Mother.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 24th Dec^r. 1826.

MY DEAR JAMES, I have received your four several communications, of which the first is under date of the 17th August and the last 15th October. The last was favoured by Mr Pope; and I have written to Mr Lynch in relation to the baskets of wreaths and branches, but there has not yet been time to receive them.

I have read with great interest your observations and reflections on the state of things in Brazil. It is a most important section of our Continent, in the condition of which every one, who looks to the future must take a lively interest. You cannot confer on me a greater favour, than to continue your communications and to extend them to all subjects connected with its future destiny. I will not attempt to designate them, as your own sound judgement will point them out.

Many changes have occurred since you sailed, tho but a few months have elapsed. You left John in a state almost hopeless. Some days after you left us, his symptoms became much better, and I wrote you at Norfolk to that effect. In a short time, however, he relapsed and sunk lower than when you last saw him, with every symptom of a deep affection of the lungs. He remained for several weeks in that state, almost wholly dispirited of by the Physicians. One remedy only remained, and that was to travel. We determined to take him South;

and accordingly set out on the 19th July for Pendleton. He was so low, that it seemed almost desperate to think of moving him. He continued to sink on the journey till we reached Salisbury; where he became so feeble, that he could no longer stand the motion of the carriage. We then resorted to medicine again, and by the blessing of a kind Providence, with success. His disease so far yield[ed], that we were enabled to reach home by slow travelling and on the very day of our arrival his cough ceased, and has not since returned. He continued to recover steadily but slowly; and when I left home was entirely restored. It looks almost like a resurrection.

It has in part contributed to a great change in our domestick arrangement. We determined to fix ourselves South; and accordingly rented Oakly to Maj^r. Van Deventer, and sent our furniture South. Clergy Hall will be our future residence, and I have commenced improving by adding largely to the old establishment. As this is the short session, I left your sister with the children South. They were all well; in fact I may say in high health. I never saw the children look more hearty. Patrick's arm had healed, but never will be entirely straight. Andrey is going to School to M^r M^cClin-tock in the Village. Maria is gone to Edgefield to a female Academy there. She will live in M^r Simkins' family. Patrick, John and Cornelia will be taught by Miss Mary Ann Bell at home, who is staying with us. We have the prospect of a very agreeable neighborhood there. Many lower country families were up last summer; and more spoke of coming up the next. But I fear the division which the Legislature has made this session, of the District will be a great draw back on our future prospect in that respect. It is to be divided by a line running East and West, and the upper division to be called Pickens, and the lower Anderson. John's letter which accompanies this will give you an account of your own affairs, which will supercede the necessity of any communication on that point from me. Our friends were all well, when I last heard from home. I think there has been neither death, nor marriage, nor removal, except of M^r and M^{rs} Milligan to Alabama. Rumour says F. Pickens is engaged to Eliza Simkins, and such I believe to be the fact. Warren Davis beat Wilson for Congress by 25 votes.

By mentioning this incident, I am naturally brought to politicks. The session has been thus far very quiet; but it is manifest, that the line of separation is better drawn, and the feelings on both sides higher than at the last session. The great topick of the session will be the W. India trade, which I fear we have permanently lost by the neglect of the administration, and their opposition to its adjustment at the last session; nor would I be surprized, if the whole of our commercial relation with England should, in its consequences, be involved in difficulty. The Panama question has lost all of the consequence, so artfully given to it by the Admⁿ. They are sick and shame of it. On the whole, the side of principle has evidently gained, and if no adverse circumstance occurs, I think victory certain. As to myself, I have ceased to be the object of the malignant attack of those in power. The decision on the question of order gave rise to a very animated discussion last summer, which has resulted in a complete victory on our side, tho the prejudice among those, who will neither read, nor think is not yet wholly removed.

14th Feb^r

The long interval between the date of what I now write and the foregoing will doubtless excite your surprise. It has been caused by a most unexpected incident, of which the publick prints has doubtless made you acquainted. Just at the moment, that I was falicitating myself, that I had ceased to be an object of bitter party attacks, a deep laid conspericy to destroy for ever my reputation, was ready to burst on me.¹ An artful charge of participating in the profits of the Mix's contract was got up, and published in the Government papers here, with such circumstances as were calculated to excite publick curiosity, and to give the whole an air almost official. I at once saw the assassin aim, and determined to repel it instantly, and effectively, by an appeal to the House of Representatives, demanding an investigation. It was granted, but the chair, forgetting the first principles of justice, constituted the Committee, with the exception of two, of hostile materials. The result was a protraction of the investigation,

¹ See Niles's Register, Vol. XXII, 251, 279, XXXI, 292, and American State Papers, Military Affairs, II, 431-449. The contract was for stone at the Rip-Raps, was made in 1818 and reported on in 1822, when Calhoun was exonerated.

or rather inquisition for forty days, but a life of spotless political purity bore me through every difficulty, and compelled my enemies to acquit honorably, tho forgery and perjury were both resorted to by the vile wretch, who was the instrument in the transaction. Not anticipating so great a delay, I laid aside my letter to conclude it after the termination of the affair, and waiting from day to day I find more than forty days have intervened. I, however, sent to the Navy Department the letter from your brother, to which I referred in the first part of this communication, with the request to forward it by the first opportunity, which I suppose has been done.

Since the date of this letter publick sentiment has more and more developed itself. It is adverse to those in power, and I am decidedly of the impression their overthrow is certain.

I continue to hear from home every week. All remained well at the last date. Maria was quite contented at Edgefield and Mr Simkins writes that she acquires knowledge with the greatest facility. Your namesake is a fine, hearty boy and is very much like Patrick.

To John Ewing Culhoun.

C. C.

Washington 15th Jan^r 1827

MY DEAR JOHN, I wrote you at Augusta as you requested, and have delayed acknowledging yours dated there, in the hope of receiving an answer to mine.

I think you have done well in disposing of the boat, from the discription, which you give of the river.

I am sorry to learn from your sister, that the negroes at Clergy Hall have been in some instances disorderly. She feels quite uneasy about it. I hope that they have been brought into entire subjection; but I must ask it as a favour for you to see that all is right, and if not the most decided measures be adopted to bring them to a sense of duty.

We are going on prosperously in our political struggle. If no adverse incident occur the administration must sink into a minority not very respectable for number, talent, or character.

As it regards myself you have seen the foul attempt on my character. The Committee are going on in the investigation, and if I mistake not their report, tho' a majority are decidedly my opponents, will exhibit one of the most wicked attempts ever made, to destroy my character, extending even to perjury and forgery. You need not fear the result. I leave the Committee to their own course simply urging that the whole be investigated to the bottom.

The weather is very severe. This is one of the coldest days I ever felt. Let me hear from you, and rembr me affectionately to Mother.

To John Erving Calhoun.

c. c.

Washington 31st Jan^y 1827

DEAR JOHN, I was glad to receive so full an account of my business as you gave me in your last; but regret that the plantation business seemed to go on so badly after I left home. I suppose, however, there was great interruption, in consequence of the building. I am anxious about the ditches, and the ploughing, and hope they will both be attended to. You may make arrangement and send my cotton with yours. Send mine to my factors in Augusta. I see no prospect of a rise.

The current of events is running strongly against the administration. Their overthrow is not only certain, but will be complete. I would not be surprized if it should be so much so, that even a large portion of New England should be lost to them.

The inquisition over me, for so it should be called, is still continued. They have been employed about everything except that for which the Committee was created, which has not engaged a day of their time. It is certainly not intended in kindness, but it will turn out they will prove my best friends, for it will be seen, that in whatever condition I found the Department, and whatever may have been the irregularity in the first instance in consequence of the previous disorder, I left it in the most perfect condition. The Committe cannot in decency spin out the case much longer.

The public feeling will not permit it, and I think a report may be expected on Friday, or Saturday.

The weather has been very severe, but is now mild.

Make my kindest respects to Mother.

*To Virgil Maxcy(?)*¹

Washington 12th Feb^y 1827

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received yours of the 10th Ins^t. and am of the impression, that the course contemplated is a correct one.

You mention nothing of my last letter in answer to your former, and I fear you may not have received it. It was written in a few hours after yours came to hand. Will you let me know by the return mail whether you have received it? I do not frank this so that it may certainly reach you.

The Committee will, I understand, report tomorrow morning, and altho' forced to do me justice on the subject referred, I am prepared to see my vindication in the manner of that spirit, which governed in its formation, and which has caused so long a procrastination.²

*To James Monroe.*³

Washington 30th [*sic*] February 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your letter of the 26th Inst. with the documents enclosed, which I herewith return agreeably to your request.

The letter of the 9th September 1818 is doubtless the one, to which my informant refers; and I am only surprised, how the letter could have passed out of my possession, and how any one could perceive the least mystery in it. Its object is so manifest, that it would seem almost impossible to mistake it, and so fair, that instead of censure, it must (should it ever become the subject of enquiry) receive the approbation of any

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, New York. The original is in the Ford-Morgan collection in that library.

² For the report, exonerating Calhoun, see Niles, XXXI, 394-400.

³ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy. See a letter of S. L. Gouverneur in Gilman's Monroe, p. 207, and Schouler, III, 432.

liberal mind. I feel assured, that any step you took, throughout the whole of the complicated and delicate transaction to which it relates, will bear the test of the most rigid scrutiny, and that history will do you ample justice in relation to it. Any attempt to detract from what is justly your due, by letters improperly obtained must recoil on the head of its author.

On due deliberation, I have concluded, that I cannot bring the incident with propriety to the knowledge of Judge White. In his prudence and sagacity, I have the highest confidence; but, as the information was given me under the strictest injunction not to repeat it, I do not feel at liberty to communicate to any one but yourself, for the reason suggested in my former letter. I have no doubt, but it was communicated to me with the most friendly intention, with the view of putting me on my guard, and it was from a conviction, that such was the intention, that I felt myself justified in making it known to you. I have read with much interest your letters to the Judge, which have given me a much fuller view of the subject, to which they refer, than what I previously possessed. From your observation, I feel confident that your devotion to your country through that trying period never was exceeded, and such, I do not the least doubt, is the settled conviction of the country. Nor do I doubt, that Gen^l Jackson fully appreciates your sagacity, zeal and labour, to which the country is so much indebted. You have much cause to be proud of the association of your name with the country of the Mississippi on three memorable occasions. I do most sincerely hope, that nothing can bring your claim and that of Gen^l Jackson's into conflict. There are those, who would rejoice at it, in the hope of profiting by it, but to his and your real friends it would be a most distressing incident, and to none more so than to myself. Having the highest esteem for both, I would consider such an event as among the most unfortunate of my life. In speaking with such solicitude, I must say, I cannot believe such an occurrence to be in any degree probable. I think so, because I put the highest estimate on the patriotism, generosity and good sense of yourself and the General. Your claims on the country, so far from conflicting are in the strictest unison. I propose to set out for the South on Saturday, or Sunday.

I would take Oak Hill in my way and spend the first night with you, but am prevented by the bad condition of the road at this season through the whole region of the clayey country near the mountains.

Please to make my respects to M^{rs} Monroe.

*To Walter Lowrie.*¹

Pendleton 1st April, 1827.

D^r. SIR, I received by the last mail your three several letters of the 9, 12, and 14th of March, the former enclosing the resolution of the Senate in relation to the change in the seats of the Senate Chamber, with two proposed drafts of Plans by M^r. Bulfinch.²

I am of the impression that No. 1, with some alteration, is preferable. The greatest objection to it is, that the three seats on each side of the chair of the V. President and nearest to it (pencil marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,) are so situated as to be intercepted by the chair and the seat of the Secretary of the Senate.

Space must be found for them else-where, and this may be effected by diminishing the space in front of the chair, or that between the termination of the rows of seats and the pillars. It appears to me that a contraction of both would add to convenience and appearance, so as to bring the two opposite rows of seats nearer together, and to remove the seats pencil marked 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, farther towards the pillars.

An improvement might also perhaps be made by bringing the seats a little more in front of the chair, so as to approximate in a slight degree to No. 2. I leave the arrangement of the Table and seat of the Secretary to your own discretion wholly, with a suggestion, that his seat ought not to be quite so far from the chair as it now is. The Chair of the Presiding officer ought to be just so much elevated, that when the Secretary stands up his view shall not be intercepted. There ought to be no canopy, as it would intercept the sky light.

¹ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mrs. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston. Walter Lowrie, who had been Senator from Pennsylvania from 1819 to 1825, was secretary of the U. S. Senate from 1825 to 1836. He was one of the editors of the *folio American State Papers*,

² The architect of the Capitol.

The form of the chair, and all circumstances of mere taste must be left very much to the judgement of Mr. Bulfinch. The Gallery does not fall within the scope of the resolution, and must be omitted.

The space between the pillars and the fire-places, I wish to have seated off for the accommodation of members of the other house, etc. etc., and so as to prevent walking back and forward as is now usual with the members, provided it can be done consistently with the arrangement of the fire places.

In the detail you will doubtless find many points, on which I have made no suggestions, and in relation to which, you will exercise your discretion.

Let all be done, as to fashion, correspondently to the style of the chamber, and with due regard to economy.

In relation to the proposition of Mr. Carrol you have acted with propriety. Make no exchange, but such as may be done with mutual convenience.

The drafts are herewith returned. Let me hear from you on your return to Washington.

To Christopher Van Deventer.¹

Pendleton 23^d July 1827

MY DEAR SIR, I have read with interest your letter of the 18th June and the numbers in the Telegraph to which they refer.

I hope, that you will be able to make the most satisfactory arrangement, as to your business, and that such will be your success, as to make the arts of your enemies, tho' intended to injure you deeply, in their consequences eminently beneficial to you. Your industry, sobriety method and intelligence ought, and I doubt not, will ensure your success in whatever business you may engage in.²

I find you are not alone in the opinion that I ought to visit the North, with the view to remove unfavourable impressions, which have been made by the Arts of the Coalition. I have reflected on the subject, but cannot bring my mind to the

¹ Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

² Major Van Deventer had just resigned his position as chief clerk of the Department of War.

same conclusion. I do believe, that in the long run, there is always a loss, instead of a gain in any step intended to advance popularity, other than through meritorious acts. At least it ought to be so, and I really cannot reconcile it to my mind, that it comports with the dignity of high publick station, to attempt to win popularity by the means so industriously used by the members of the present administration. Neither myself, nor my friends ever took any step to get up a dinner; and all that have ever been offered to me have, so far as I know, resulted spontaneously from respect; but even then, when compelled by a fashion, which I never did approve to express my sentiment I have ever done it most reluctantly, and in the most concise manner. I cannot doubt but my enemies have succeeded in making an impression against me to the North by grossly misrepresenting my opinions; but I trust time, and circumstances will finally remove all error on that point. I am willing to trust to their slow, but certain operation, aided by the fidelity of friends. I do believe that a great crisis is approaching in our affairs, which will leave but little to doubt as to the character of our publick men. Our system has reached a most important point in its progress, and one that will go far to determine the question of its durability. Few men in my opinion realize the magnitude of the present juncture; but it cannot pass away without testing severely the character of those, who are prominently before the nation.

We are all well. In fact I think this one of the best climates in the country, being almost as exempt from bilious cases as any part of New England and much more so from most other diseases.

M^{rs} C. desires her best respects to yourself, M^{rs} V. and your family.

To Christopher Van Deventer.¹

Pendleton 12th Aug^t. 1827

MY DEAR SIR. I received your letter of the 9th July enclosing a draft of \$100 on the Branch Bank at Charleston on account of rent.

¹ Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

Notwithstanding the concurrence of Mr Maxcy's opinion with yours, and some other of my friends, I still remain of the opinion, that I ought not to take an excursion to the North. As far as my experience extends, no permanent good results from such means of acquiring popularity. It may give a transitory eclat, but it is almost always accompanied by a loss, with the cool and reflecting, whose good opinion is of much higher value. The desponding view, which you take of the future, appears to me stronger, than what the state of facts would justify. The triumph of the coalition, would indeed be a fearful event; but I see nothing to warrant the belief, that such will be the fact. I know how desperate will be the effort of those in power to maintain their ascendancy; but with all their efforts, judging by the signs of the times, their doom is fixed. It may be, however, that many facts elude my observation, at this distance, which are calculated to make the impression, which seems to have fixed itself in your mind, and as I am always anxious to know the real state of things, I would be glad, that in your next you would state more at large the grounds of your fear.

In the South everything is sound.

M^{rs}. Calhoun desires her best respects to M^{rs} V and the young ladies.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Pendleton 26th August 1827

MY DEAR JAMES, Since the date of my former letter to you in February last, which I am surprized to see, that you had not received at the date of your last, I have received from you two of the 11th April and one of the 6th Feb^r. and another of the 11th May, with their enclosures. The two of the 11th April were favoured by Mr Hawkins, who politely forwarded them on with an accompanying note. I very much regret, that the fact of our residence here, prevented me from meeting him and forming so valuable an acquaintance; and of extending to him the attention, which his kindness to you and his own worth so much entitle him. I hope, however, to have the pleasure of meeting with him on my return to Washington next winter.

I am not at all surprized that you should consider me as having forfeited all claims to a correspondence on your part, by my appearant neglect; but my long letter of February last, which, I hope, you have received, ere this, will, I trust, satisfactorily explain the appearant omission. You will learn from it that John lingered appearantly at the point of death till the last of July, when we determined to try the effect of traveling and a Southern Climate; that after a very tedious journey we brought him here, when his health began to improve. That these circumstances effected an entire change in our arrangement, determining me to leave Georgetown, and fix our residence at this place, where I had commence[d] improving. It also stated the assassin attempt to stab my character, how I met it, and what was the result, and the delay which followed in completing the letter, which had been commenced not long after my arrival at Washington.

I allude to its contents in part, under the apprehension, that you may not receive it, and with the desire, that you may be satisfied; for you may rest assured, I am very far from undervaluing your correspondence. Since my return from Washington, nothing has occurred, that could give much interest to a communication. Uninterrupted health, good seasons, fine crops of corn and small grain, with good prospect of cotton excepting, that it is rather more backward than usual, in consequence of the remarkable late Spring, fill up the account, under those humble, but not uninteresting heads. The children have all grown much, and have the appearance of perfect health. Andrew is taller, and larger than yourself. He goes to school in the Village, but rides from home. I think of sending him to West Point, but have not determined. Anna Maria has also grown much. She is now at home, but has been at a very good school at Edgefield, to which she will return in a few weeks. She stays, when there, with M^r Simkins' family. Patrick is slim, and fresh. John and Cornelia quite stout, and your little namesake, with his fair complexion, blue eyes, and flaxen hair, will do you no discredit. He walks and talks.

Of deaths, I know of none in the whole circle of our friends, except the old Farmer, who died last winter; nor do I recollect any marriage, except Lucretia's, my brother William's

daughter to Dr Town of Green Ville¹. There will, however, soon be another. Francis Pickens will be united in October to Miss Eliza Simkins. We will all be at the wedding. His father and sister are in from Alabama, and so was Ezekiel Pickens but has returned. The union between Francis and Eliza takes place with the hearty consent of all friends. She is quite handsome and a very fine girl. He, with his father and sister, is now on a visit to the Warm Springs. He has been induced to take the journey from a slight wound in one of his hands, which at one time seriously threatened to be followed by the lockjaw. The symptoms had not entirely disappeared, but had greatly abated.

I have given all of the domestick incidents, which have occurred to me, and in which you will probably take much interest. As it regards your own business, your brother of course keeps you informed. One of my hands came up a few days since, and says, that all are well at Midway,² and that the crop is good. Mentioning your brother, reminds me, that he has added a son to his family within the last few weeks. He is a fine hearty boy, but is, as yet, nameless.

The political world has assumed a very boisterous appearance, which at the approaching session, will probably work up into a storm. I never have seen such abundant elements of discord, much the greater part of which springs, by an almost necessary consequence out of the late Presidential election. There is a deep and settled conviction, on the part of a large portion of the Community, not only that Mr Adams came in against the publick voice, but that it was effected by a corrupt understanding with Mr Clay. This impression, so weakens the administration, that to sustain themselves the most dangerous, and corrupt means have been resorted to, as is generally thought. The employment of such has in turn greatly inflamed the publick mind, already deeply aggitated by the circumstances attending the election. Among the means resorted to there is one, in particular, that, in my opinion even threatens danger to the Union, I mean that of

¹ "The first time I ever saw dancing," says Col. Pinkney Starke in his MS. biography, "was at the wedding of Mr. Calhoun's niece, Lucrета, eldest daughter of William Calhoun."

² The home of John E. Calhoun.

arraying the great geographical interests of the union against one another. The wisest men of the country, have divided in opinion, how far Congress has the power, and admitting they possess it, how far, on principle, encouragement may be given to domestick manufactures, as connected with the great consideration of the defence and independence of the country. But whatever may be the diversity of opinion among the wise and patriotick, as to the discreet exercise of this great power of changing the capital and industry of the country, there cannot among such, be any doubt, that the power itself is highly dangerous, and may be perverted to purposes most unjust and oppressive. Through such an exercise of it, one section of the country may really be made tributary to another; and by this partial action, artful and corrupt politicians may use nearly half of the wealth of the country to buy up partisans, in order to acquire, or retain power. This very use of it, many, and they highly intelligent, below the heads of the Administration are attempting to employ.

About a year ago, a great excitement was got up in Boston by the Capitalists, with a view professedly to give an increase duty on Woollens for their protection. A Bill was reported to the House of Rep^{tes} amounting in fact to a prohibition, and after much heat passed that body. It came to the Senate, where it was laid on the Table by my casting vote. Since the adjournment, an extensive scheme, originating as it is thought, with those in power, has been got up, to have a general convention of the manufacturing interest at Harrisburgh, avowedly to devise measures for the passage of this Bill;¹ and thus the dangerous example is set of separte representation, and association of great Geographical interests to promote their prosperity at the expense of other interests, unrepresented, and fixed in another section, which, of all measures that can be conceived, is calculated to give the greatest opportunity to art, and corruption, and to make two of one nation. How far the administration is involved in this profligate scheme, time will determine; but if they be, the curse of posterity will be on their head. In the mean time, the South has commenced with remonstrating against this unjust and oppressive

¹ See Taussig's Tariff History, pp. 82-87.

attempt to sacrifice their interest; and, I do trust, that they will not be provoked to step beyond strict constitutional remedies. I have given a fuller view on this point, as I am of the impression, that from it great events will spring. It must lead to defeat or oppression or resistance, or the correction of what perhaps is a great defect in our system; that the separate geographical interests are not sufficiently guarded. This for yourself. We are all gratified to hear of your health, and of your high estimation with the officers and crew. I never doubted, that such would be the case.

All of the family join their affectionate love with their wish for your safe and speedy return.

Your sister requests me to say that the artificial flowers came safe, have been distributed as requested, and are much admired.

Tho I write seldom, I make up by length, and hope you will consider the forfeiture of your correspondence removed.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 9th Dec^r. 1827

MY DEAR SIR, Nothing but necessity has compelled me to break in on your retirement, by making the request contained in the enclosed communication. Between M^r Crawford and myself there never has been the least personal difference; and during the whole time, I was in your administration, I think, I may say, that in all of the conflicts with his friends, I acted on the defensive. I had hoped, that time, and change of circumstances would allay the angry feelings, which political collision had excited; but while this is true, as I believe, in relation to the great body of his supporters, it seems that there are some in Georgia, who are determined to renew them, if possible, with increased acrimony. On my part, I am determined to give them no pretext. No one can be more averse to the excitement of such feelings; and nothing but the strong conviction of public duty has ever induced me, to pursue a course, which might expose me to them. But averse, as I am to per-

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. Monroe's reply of December 16 is summarized in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, No. 2, p. 269.

sonal animosity, I cannot reconcile it to my feelings to rest under a charge of ingratitude, thus solemnly made; and, as none but yourself, can enable me effectually to repel it, to you I have resorted, for a correct statement of the facts for that purpose. I am the more averse to believe, that M^r Crawford countenances the statement in the extracts, as it is utterly inconsistent, with that, which he voluntarily made to me some-time after, I came into the War Department.

He stated to me, that after Goven^r. Shelby declined the appointment of Secretary of War, you no longer felt yourself bound to look to the West, and that coming to the Atlantick States, you could not possibly overlook M^r Lowndes as M^r Madison had offered him the place, towards the close of his administration; and that on M^r Lowndes' declining, the names of General Williams and my own occurred, out of which to make the selection. He also stated, that he (M^r Crawford) was well pleased with either; but as he and Gen^l Williams had been long and intimately acquainted, and (I think he added) as he had military experience, his preference inclined to him, but adding that he was gratified with my appointment. I understood M^r Crawford's object in the conversation to be, to remove from my mind, any unfriendly impression, which might be supposed by me to exist on his part towards me on the ground, that he had preferred another to myself, particularly, as I had taken a very decided part as he knew in the preceding Presidential election in your favour against him. His conversation, as I supposed, assumed, that I either knew, or would know the part, that he took in regard to my appointment, but never doubting, that I owed my selection to your preference founded on personal knowledge, and knowing, that I had never solicited office, I did not deem it worth while to make the least enquiry, what part he, or any other took in regard to my appointment.

The only observation, which I ever heard you make in relation to it, was that in your tour of inspection,¹ you found a very general desire among the principal officers that I should be appointed Secretary.

In asking you for a statement, it is not my desire to bring your name before the publick, but simply to possess the means

¹ In the summer of 1817.

of repelling a dishonorable imputation on my character. My present impression is to transmit, when I receive it, a copy to M^r Crawford, with a statement of his conversation above referred to and to request him, as an act of justice to cause the papers, which have published the charge to contradict it, provided you see no objection to the course.

I am gratified to learn from our friends here that your health and that of your family is good. - I am suffering under the effects of an influenza.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 9th Dec^r. 1827.

DEAR SIR, Knowing your aversion to being involved, in any degree, in the political discussions of the day, I regret exceedingly to be compelled by a regard to my character to request you to furnish me with a statement of the facts connected with my appointment, as Secretary of the Department of War. The reason why I make the request, will be fully understood on perusing the extracts, (which I herewith enclosed) from two of the leading news papers published in Georgia. Their object cannot be mistaken; and, if in the attempt to injure me, the writers had been content to limit themselves to the effort of exciting anew the angry feelings which attended the late Presidential election, it would have saved me the regret of breaking in on your retirement; but in order to wound me in the tenderest point, they have attempted to fix on my character, the charge of ingratitude, by alleging as a fact, that I owe my appointment as a member of your cabinet to M^r Crawford's influence, against your own inclination, and not to your own spontaneous selection of me, on personal knowledge. If such be the case, I can only say, I have been heretofore wholly ignorant of the fact. I had supposed, that you had selected me, as one of your confidential, and constitutional advisers, from a long and intimate personal acquaintance formed under the most trying circumstances, unsolicited by anyone; and I must add, that, if the least suspicion had existed on my part, that the fact was other-

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

wise, no consideration could have induced me to accept of an office so confidential, and in discharging the duties of which with perfect fidelity to the head of the Administration, I might be exposed to the charge of ingratitude to one of its members.

Not believing it possible, that I was, without my knowledge, placed in a situation that no honorable man would voluntarily assume, and which was so well calculated to endanger my character, I cannot for a moment suspect, that the statement is correct; nor can I suppose, that it has been made on the authority of Mr Crawford, but being made in so solemn a manner in leading Journals in his State, and favourable to his interest, if it remains uncontradicted the world must believe it to be true. To repel the charge of ingratitude, thus attempted to be attached to me, while a member of your Cabinet and cooperating in the measures of your administration, will, I trust be considered by you as a sufficient apology for making most reluctantly, as I do, this application.

I will thank you to return the extracts.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Confidential.

Washington 22^d Dec^r 1827

DEAR SIR, You will recollect my letter of the 21st February last, and the letter therein alluded to. When I wrote to you, I only knew that such a letter was in existence, without knowing into whose possession it had come. Within the last few days, I accidentally heard of a letter, which I suppose to be the same, with such circumstances, as leave me no doubt where it is. Believing that there was much misapprehension, as to its object, I felt it to be a duty, which I owed to you to myself, and to all concerned to take promptly measures to correct it. With this view, I have taken steps to obtain a copy of the letter, in order to ascertain whether it is the letter of the 9th September 1818; and in the mean time, I must request you to furnish a copy of your letter of the 19th July 1818 to Gen^l Jackson, of his letter of the 19th August following to you, of yours of the 9th Sep^r following to me, of our corre-

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

spondence growing out of it, with a copy of any other letter, or document necessary to a full elucidation of the subject.¹

I have witnessed with pain the efforts to involve you in the political controversy of the day, and fearing, that the letter in question was one of the means of attempting to bring about an event, which all of your friends, as well as the friends of the country would deplore, I am much gratified with the prospect of having it in my power to arrest, in this particular, such pernicious efforts, and of doing justice to your conduct in connection with a most critical and important juncture of your affairs.

I have received your letter of the 16th Ins^t for which I am obliged to you. I will not take any step, till I have viewed the whole ground, to put down the charge of ingratitude, which they will enable me effectually to do.

*To James Monroe.*²

Washington 3^d Jan^r 1828

DEAR SIR, I have received your letters with the enclosed correspondence, which I find agrees with the list of letters attached, and which obviously forms a chain, that contains the whole correspondence on the occasion. I have again perused the whole with care, and see nothing, that will not do honor to your sagacity and patriotism.

It will be some time before I can receive the copy of the letter in question, and of course before it will be fully in my power to act with effect in this affair, but I do not doubt that it is the letter of the 9th Sep^r and that when the whole comes to be understood, so far from the mischief intended being effected, it will end in bringing more fully to light, those traits of character, for which your friends have always so much esteemed you.

A sense of delicacy for the [present?] prevents me from stating my conjecture of the use which it was intended to make of the letter, or the quarter from which the intended blow was

¹ See Correspondence on the Florida Matter, pamphlet reprinted in Calhoun's Works, VI, 349-445. For the whole Florida controversy, see Schouler, History of the United States, III, 68-83.

² From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

aimed. I hope finally to be able to trace the whole affair, but I am strongly inclined to think it was intended to fall on both of us.

I am much obliged to you for the liberty to take copies, but as I am much engaged, and as the originals may be more satisfactory, if you have no objection, I would prefer to retain them, till I receive the copy which I expect. They are carefully locked up with my private correspondence. Those that you intended for my own perusal, shall be seen by no one but myself.

I am happy to hear by Col Hayne and M^r England that you and M^{rs} Monroe are in good health. They were both much gratified with the visit.

Make my best respects to M^{rs} M. and to M^r and M^{rs} Hay.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 23^d Jan^r 1828

DEAR JAMES, Since my arrival here at the commencement of the Session, I forward[ed] through the Navy Department a letter from your brother to you, which I hope you have received, and within the last ten days, I received yours enclosing one to him, which I immediately transmitted by mail.

Your brother I presume keeps you well advised in relation to all of your private concerns, which supercedes the necessity of my refering to them. We are much pleased, that you directed the erection of a building for your residence at Midway, and hope, that we may have much of your company the next two, or three years. Shortly before I commenced my journey for this place, I received your long and highly interesting letter of the 25th July. Without intending a compliment, Your reflections both on political subjects, and the laws regulating international intercourse, indicate much strength and accuracy of thought; and a power, which if directed to publick affairs, could not fail to place you high among those distinguished in that line. You need not fear, that such letters, be they ever so long, will prove tedious.

I wrote you very fully during the course of the summer, which, I trust, you have received, and which will give you the

domestick occurrences to its date. Since then few have occurred. We have all enjoyed almost uninterrupted health. Our provision crops proved abundant; but Our cotton crop was cut off about a third by uncommonly severe weather in October, which continued almost a month. It has been followed by the most remarkable season ever known in our country. Every where it has been remarkably mild, but while the season has been delightful South of the latitude of Norfolk, with a clear Sky and genial warmth, north of that, quite to the lakes, has been enveloped from the 29th Nov^r till the last four days in thick mist, and clouds with the exception of about 5 days of partial sunshine. During the whole time but little rain fell on this side of the mountains, while on the other it has fell in torrents. South of Norfolk, December and January have had all of the features of spring. In the Charleston market peas, string beans, tomatoes have been so abundant as to sell at the usual price at the proper season. It is now cold, and this scene of vernal aspect has doubtless been suddenly converted into all of the gloom of winter. I fear that we shall pay dearly next spring, and summer for this premature enjoyment of those seasons.

I am here without my family. The inconvenience of bringing a large family so far is so great as to deter your sister from the undertaking. Andrew is still at home, going to a very good academy in the Village. He is much grown. Anna Maria is at Edgefield, at an excellent institution. She stays with M^r Simkins' family. Her capacity for learning is excellent. The rest of the children are with their mother, all in excellent health, and much grown.

I have in the last few days made a conditional sale of Oakly for \$8000, subject to the ratification of your mother, which I hope she will confirm. The property is going to waste, with, I think, no prospect of a rise, and the interest on the sum exceeds the rent. It will free her from all of her engagements and leave her \$2000, or 3000 of disposable funds.

Turning from the domestick to the political world, considerable events have occurred both at home and abroad since my last. Of the latter the attack by the allied fleets on the Turkish at Navarino, is much the most important. It is yet uncertain, what may result from it. If the Turks should

yield, it will end in the quiet separation of the Islands and the Morea from their power, and placing them virtually under the control of England. But should they on the contrary resist, it must end in their expulsion from Europe and Africa and a partition of her possessions in those quarters between the Allied powers, of which Egypt would certainly fall to the English. Such a partition would put a new aspect on the affairs of the old continent, and would lead to consequences, which the most sagacious cannot anticipate.

Among incidents of great importance abroad is the unexpected triumph of the liberals by large majorities in the late election in France, which cannot fail to prove auspicious to the good cause every where. It must have been wholly unexpected to those in power, for the Chamber was dissolved long before the Constitution [al] expiration of the term of service; doubtless in the expectation of great increased strength on the Ministerial side.

At home the current of events has set strongly against those in power, so much so that the issue is no longer doubtful. We have a majority in both houses, with a strong prospect of taking at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the electoral votes. You may calculate with confidence all of the Southern votes, a decided majority in the West, the votes of Pennsylvania, and at least 25 in New York for Jackson, to which may probably be added 9 in Maryland, 3 in Delaware 7 in New Jersey, 8 in New Hampshire, and 3 or 4 in Maine. In fact I would not be surprised, if Mr Adams should lose as many in New England, as should gain out of it. Such is the force of truth, and principle against power, and patronage.

The course of events has been no less propitious to me individually. I had great and peculiar difficulties to contend with which required much prudence to surmount. Seeing clearly during the election the violation of great, and fundamental principles, I did not hesitate, at that early period, to avow my decided disapprobation, which had the effect of marking me out, not for conciliation, but as a victim to be sacrificed at all events. The enemy had many advantages. They were in power; and organized, while on our side there was no open resisting force to sustain me, but on the contrary, large Masses who were disposed to take a stand against the administration

were decidedly hostile to me, either from envy, or causes connected with the late Presidential election. Of one or the other, were nearly all of the friends of M^r Crawford, who formed a powerful and well organized party, the friends of M^r Clinton, and no small portion of the friends of Jackson themselves, who supporting him against me before the late election, had still left the feelings of hostility growing out of that relation. Thus enforced, the attacks of the enemy on me, while yet Jackson, and his party were unassailed, were regarded with secret approbation by this large mass of our own party, while there was the utmost industry exercised to give them the widest circulation, through all of the administration prints; and they appeared to have great effect, as many who had been my friends, but had gone with M^r Adams after I withdrew from the Presidential canvass, seized on them, as a pretext for their desertion, and assaults on me. It is not surprizing, that in this state of things, that the aspiring on our side, began to think my overthrow certain, and that movements should be put on foot to supplant me in the V. Pre^r. I saw the whole; and at the same time saw, that I must rely on time and truth for the remedy, which I did with entire confidence. Nor has the remedy failed. It has restored me not only to my original strength, but has conferred greater than I ever heretofore possessed. The intrigue about the V. Presidency has entirely yielded to the force of the current in my favour. Already have I been nominated unanimously not only by Pensyl^a, New Jersey, Ohio, Kentucky, but I have had what I consider the greatest triumph,¹ a nomination in Virginia, having on question and opposition received in the Convention there 164 votes out of 188, which leaves no doubt of my success. This is the more flattering as an effort was made in the very last stage to defeat me by the friends of M^r Crawford in Georgia, with (I do not doubt) his countenance. An attempt was made to nominate him in the Georgia legislature, which succeeded in the House, but failed in the Senate, with the hope that he could divert such a number of votes from me, that added to the votes of the administration would constitute a majority.

My successful passage over so dangerous a sea, with no other guide but truth, tho gratifying personally is mainly so,

¹ Crawford was born in Virginia, and always had a large following there.

as furnishing strong additional testimony, that a publick man, who will fearless discharge his duty may with confidence rely on the enlightened support of the people, however formidable the opposition, which interest, envy and jealousy may excite against him.

I herewith transmit the Message of the Pres^t. at the opening of the Session, with the accompanying documents. I do not send Newspapers, because I suppose that you receive them through the Navy Department.

Wishing you health and prosperity, . . .

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 7th March 1828.

DEAR SIR, The letter, that has been the subject of our correspondence, proves to be, as we had supposed it would, the one of the 9th Sep^t. 1818; and I am happy to add, that the effect, which it was designed to be accomplished by it, has, I believe, been thoroughly counteracted.

As soon as I had reasons to believe, that it had found its way to Gen^l Jackson, I intimated to Mr White and Eaton, that I had cause to suppose, that a letter of yours, had for some purpose been placed in the hand of the General, the contents of which he regarded in an unfriendly light, and that, if it was the letter of the 9th Sep^t., as I conjectured, the object, so far from being unfriendly, was peculiarly of an opposite character. They wrote to him immediately, but his absence from Washington at N. Orleans, delayed his answer till lately, when it was received and confirmed my conjecture. I then placed your correspondence with the General, so far as it was necessary to a full understanding of the object of your letter of the 9th, in their hands, accompanied with such remarks of my knowledge of your feelings towards him, through out the whole transaction, as the occasion, seemed to require. The perusal resulted in an entire satisfaction, on [their] part of your friendly motives and correct course, which they communicated without delay to Gen^l. Jackson, and which, no doubt, will prove in like manner satisfactory to him.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

How the letter was taken out of my possession, I cannot conjecture; nor do I know the persons through whose hands it passed, from the one who took it to him who transmitted it to the Gen^l. with the exception of the latter, and the one from whom he received it. It is probable, that their names may all be ascertained, and if they should be, I do not in the least doubt, but that it will appear, that the letter was relied on, as a part of that system of means, which has been resorted to in order to cause a rupture between you and him, without regard to the feelings and character of either of you, and solely for political purpose. Who ever may be the [secret] agents, or movers, I have reason to believe, that, in order to give Gen^l. Jackson's attention a wrong direction, as to your motives in writing the letter of the 9th Sep^r., there has been made to him, through anonymous communications, and other channels, false statements, of what passed in the Cabinet deliberation on the Seminole question, calculated to make the impression on him, that your object, and that of part of your Cabinet, was to sacrifice him on the occasion, but that it was prevented by the residue of the members. These are not mere conjectures, tho' I have not such information, as will enable me to speak with confidence. It is easy to see, if a rupture could be brought about, that the effect would be to place yourself and Gen^l. Jackson, with those who have a mutual friendship for you both, in a most delicate situation, while there are others, who could not fail in the present state of things to profit by the occurrence. I feel assured, that you will not attribute these suggestions to a desire to excite your suspicions against any one, but to the true motive, that of placing you on your guard against schemes, which have been formed by some, of enlisting you, if possible, in the present controversy, for their own purpose, and without regard to the effect, which it may have on your tranquility or standing with the nation.

I herewith return the papers, but without taking copies, as you kindly permitted, and of which I would have availed myself had not my engagements and aversion to writing prevented.

I am happy to hear of your good health, and that M^{rs} Monroe is better, to whom, with the rest of your family, I beg you to present my kindest respects.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington [April 1828].

DEAR SIR A few days since, I received the enclosed letters from Maj^r. Lee, in forwarding one of which, I only comply with his request. I know not why he should forward the one to you under cover to me, but it affords a sufficient reason why I should submit for your consideration, and advice the draft of the answer, which I propose to make to him, and which you will find enclosed. You will please to return it after you have perused it. I would be gratified with your advice, as to the correctness of the course, which it proposes.

It strikes me, that I cannot with propriety discuss the subject of the orders with Maj^r. Lee, tho I would have no objection to enter fully into it in a correspondence with General Jackson, and to make known my opinion in the most explicit manner, as to the true construction of his orders in the Seminole campaign, which I believe corresponds with your own in every particular.

What course you ought to adopt in relation to the Maj^r.’s letter, I will not venture to make a suggestion. Your own good sense will be a sufficient guide. It may not however, be improper to state, as probably connected with the subject of his letter, that there is a rumour in circulation at Nash Ville that you are preparing to publish a narrative of the parts of your administration connected with the Seminole affair. Having had no intimation from you, that such was the fact, I take it for granted, it is one of the many means, which have been resorted to in order to excite suspicions on the part of the General, and I fear with some success. He has been put on his guard, and I trust his good sense, and correct feelings, when not under excitement, will lead him to correct views, as to the arts of those, who expect to profit by alienating him from those who have given the strongest proof of friendship for him.

I have read the pamphlet² which you enclosed in your last

¹From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy. Major Henry Lee wrote to Monroe, March 30, stating that he was about to write a life of Jackson, and asked Monroe whether Jackson disobeyed orders in the Seminole war. Monroe replied, April 23 See *post*, May 1

²No doubt The Memoir of James Monroe, Esq., relating to his Unsettled Claims. Charlottesville, 1828.

with attention. I never doubted, but that your claims were well founded. You have certainly suffered much in a pecuniary point of view by your publick services.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 1st May 1828

DEAR SIR, I received your letter of the 23^d April, having under cover your letter to Maj^r. Lee, which I sealed and forwarded to him.² I entirely approve of your course and concur in the views, which you take of the orders, under which the Seminole affair was conducted. Having kept back nothing from Judge White, as a mutual friend of all the parties, I placed your letter to Maj^r. Lee in his hand, and am happy to add, that he approved of the course which you have adopted. He pronounced your letter frank and manly, without, however, entering into the question of the construction of the orders. On full reflection, and after consulting with the Judge, I sent the answer to Maj^r. Lee, of which I sent you the draft; and enclosed a copy with a copy of the Maj^r.’s letter to me to Gen^l. Jackson, in a letter to him, in which I stated that I had not the least objection to enter into a full statement of my views of the orders in a correspondence with him, if farther information be desired by him, as to the construction put on them by the Executive.

Through out the whole of this affair, I have felt the greatest solicitude, that the arts which have been adopted to cause a rupture between yourself and Gen^l Jackson, should not succeed. Reasons of patriotism, as well as mutual friendship, have actuated me. I certainly do not intend to flatter, but I have never met with any distinguished publick man in whose love of country, and attachment to honor and virtue, I have greater confidence, and I would be distressed to see them, to whom the country owe so much, brought into collision before the publick by the arts of designing men, who may hope to profit by such an occurrence.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

² Monroe wrote, that Jackson’s course had not been authorized by orders, but that the administration had defended him, and that he, Monroe, hoped Lee would adopt Jackson’s views and explanations.

I am very sorry, that it will not be in my power to make you a visit this spring. My family is very impatient for my return, and when released from my duties here, I would not feel justified in the delay of a day in turning my face homeward. Make my kindest respects to M^{rs} Monroe.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 4th May 1828

DEAR JAMES, Within the last few days, I received the box of seeds, for which I am much obliged to you and your letter enclosing one to John, announcing your intention of making the Tour of Europe. Since receiving it, I called on the Secretary of the Navy, to ascertain whether any supernumerary officers are about to be ordered on your station, and at what time. I learn that it is the intention of the Dep^t. to send additional officers, but that no certain opportunity offers at present, and that there will probably be a delay of a month or two before any will sail.

I will comply with your request about the letters of introduction by enclosing them to M^r Brown our Minister at Paris, with a particular request to him to procure such additional letters as you may desire, which I have no doubt he will cheerfully do.

It is not my wish to dissuade you from a tour, which you have so much at heart, and on which you have made up your determination, but I would be wanting in friendship, were I not to state for your information, to be acted on or not at your discretion, that the period, however propitious in other respects, is highly unfavourable in a money point of view. Never was there such universal, and severe pressure on the whole South excepting the portion, which plants sugar. Our staples hardly return the expense of cultivation, and land and negroes have fallen to the lowest price, and can scarcely be sold at the present depressed rates. I feel confident, that there is no prospect of collecting what is due to you, and that your place has not much more than cleared expense since you left there, and that much difficulty will be experienced to meet your drafts to the amount, which you state. I would cheer-

fully aid, as it would afford me great pleasure to assist you, but my means have been exhausted by low prices and the expense of building. As far as your pay may go, I will obtain from the Secretary authority for you to draw what may [be] due you for pay in Europe, in aid of your other resources, and will, if in my power, render assistance in raising funds for you should you continue in your determination to go.

I wrote you very fully since the commencement of the session, and gave you all of the news publick and private. Since then but little has occurred. The defeat of the administration has become more certain. It in fact admits no doubt, unless some event should occur, which no one can anticipate.

I had a letter from your brother this morning. All were well except Martha who was suffering from inflammation of the eyes.

I have been detained here longer than I expected by the procrastination of the adjournment, mainly by means of the Tariff question.¹ It has passed the House, and is now before the Senate. Its fate is doubtful. We will know in a few days, as we take it up tomorrow. It excites much feelings particularly in the South, and well it may, for I feel confident that it is one of the great instruments of our impoverishment; and if persisted in must reduce us to poverty, or compel us to an entire change of industry. You can form no idea how much it has alienated that portion of the country. The most thinking men look on the present unequal action of the system with the deepest anxiety.

I am accordingly anxious to return to Carolina, and will set out so soon as the Tariff Bill is disposed of, which I hope will be in the course of a week.

I regret that you have discontinued your political information, which I read with interest and advantage, and hope you will resume them, particularly when in Europe. Write me fully and often, and do not fear, that your letters will be too long to be welcome.

¹ The "Tariff of Abominations" enacted this year.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Pendleton 10th July 1828

DEAR SIR, I have received a letter from Gen^l. Jackson, in which he makes the following remarks; "I have before stated that Maj^r. Lee has shown me yours, and M^r Monroe's letters to him, and appears to have a desire to enter into a correspondence with you both on the subject of those orders. Should it meet your wishes, I can have no objection, or if M^r Monroe requests it every private and confidential letter that ever passed between us shall be cheerfully laid before the nation. As M^r Monroe has referred the Maj^r. to this correspondence, if convenient I will thank you to communicate to him my feelings on the subject, but without his request I shall not expose this correspondence to Maj^r. Lee or any one else."

I presume the General requested me to communicate his feelings to you on the supposition, that I would receive his letter before I left Washington, which, however, was not the fact; and I now make it because it [is] his desire and because it seems to me proper that you should know it.

You will see by the papers, that the Tariff excites much feelings in this and the other Southern States. There is almost universal embarrassment among the people of the staple States, which they almost unanimously attribute to the high duties. It is not surprising, that under this impression, they should exhibit some excess of feelings, but I feel confident, that the attachment to the Union remains unshaken with the great body of our citizens. Yet it cannot be disguised, that the system pushed to the present extreme acts most unequally in its pressure on the several parts, which has of necessity a most pernicious tendency on the feelings of the oppressed portions. I greatly fear, that the weak part of our system will be found to consist in the fact that in a country of such vast extent and diversity of interest, many of the laws will be found to act very unequally, and that some portions of the country may be enriched by legislation at the expense of others. It seems to me that we have no other check against abuses, but such as grow out of responsibility, or elections, and while this is an effectual check, where the law

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

acts equally on all, it is none in the case of the unequal action to which I refer. One thing seems to me certain, that the system is getting wrong and if a speedy and effective remedy be not applied a shock at no long interval may be expected.

I take it for granted, that you contrive to mark the course of events, and are not ignorant of the danger, which threatens. It is always dangerous, I conceive, to see the country divided, as it is, by sections, and almost unanimously, in relation to every great measure, particularly when it may be supposed to originate in the spirit of gain on one side, at the expense of the other. It seems to me to render doubtful the beautiful idea, which you cherished so fondly, that our system might under its natural action sustain itself without exciting party feelings. If laws acted uniformly such it seems to me might be the fact, but where the same law tho' couched in general terms may advance the interest of a majority, by sacrificing that of a large minority, it seems to me, that without some remedy the most dangerous and implacable parties must result. Such I fear is the danger to which we are exposed.¹

I hope you had a pleasant tour and that you found Mr Gouverneur² and your daughter and family well in New York.

My family are well, and M^{rs} Calhoun desires her best respects to you and M^{rs} Monroe, and to M^r and M^{rs} Hay and their daughter.

*To Theodore Lyman.*³

Pendleton 8th Sep^r 1828

DEAR SIR: I have been favoured with your kind letter of the 11th August and have seized on the first leisure to comply with your request. I was born in Abbeville District (or County) in this state, and received my academick education

¹ See Monroe's letter of Feb. 16, 1830, printed in Gilman's Monroe, p. 208. Calhoun was at this time probably preparing his draft of the South Carolina Exposition of December, 1831. (Works, VI, 1-50.)

² Monroe's son-in-law

³ This letter was printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xix, 280-281, and is here reprinted by the kind permission of the Society. Theodore Lyman was a member of the Massachusetts legislature, and afterwards mayor of Boston. He wrote a history of American diplomacy, published in 1828.

under Dr. Moses Waddel, now President of the University of Georgia. My collegiate education was received at Yale College, and my legal at Litchfield under Judge Reeves. The year I was admitted to the bar, I was elected a member of our state legislature, where I served two sessions, when I was elected a member of Congress. I took my seat in that body in the session of 1811-12 known as the session which declared the late war against Great Britain. From that to the present day, I have been in the service of the nation without interruption.

I do not intend to enter into a consideration of my motives and acts, while in the publick employment. Your letter does not request it, and I feel no disposition to do so; but I trust, that I may be permitted to remark that two objects have incessantly occupied my attention; to preserve the Republican principles of our government in their purity and to rear up by all the means delegated by the constitution, and which could be exercised consistently with the first and what I consider the controlling object our country, to the highest point of prosperity and honor. In any situation and in any act, I am willing that my whole life should be tested by these objects. They have controlled me throughout, without bias in favour of any local, or partial interest, or regard to personal advancement. I rejoice to hear, that our party, tho small, are firm and active in old Mass^{ts}. I would feel but little interest in this great contest were it really a struggle between Mr Adams and Gen^l. Jackson simply, without involving, what I deem, vital principles in our system; but regarding it, as I do, as a struggle, which involves the purity and duration of our system, I look on its progress with that deep interest, which, not to feel with my conception of its character, would be criminal. I felt kindly disposed before the election towards both Gen^l. Jackson and Mr Adams. I thought they placed their election on fair national grounds. I had a right to calculate on the friendship of both, and, as far as personal ambition could have influence, the position of Mr Adams was more favourable to me, than that of the General. I had then my reason to deplore his course, whatever may have been his motives for adopting it. I did think, that considering the friendly relation between him and Gen^l. Jackson, seeing that he could not succeed with-

out forming a coalition with one, who stood in so different a relation, a coalition forming a most dangerous precedent, and which must in its consequences distract the country for years, he ought to have yield[ed] to his more powerful rival, and remained in his place with the almost certain prospect of reaching the high station, which he now occupies, in a manner honorable to himself, and useful to the nation. He thought otherwise, and the consequences are such as we see. I wish you success in the new paper. The talent, and energy of Boston are sufficient to give a mighty influence to the press. My political reflections you will of course understand are for yourself.

To Patrick Noble.¹

Washington 10th Jan^r 1829

MY DEAR PATRICK, Your letter of the 20th Dec^r, which gave us the gratifying-intelligence that you were all well and that the children were perfectly contented², was received in the due course of the mail.

With the exception of a slight indisposition of James for the last few days, but from which he is pretty well recovered, we have all been well since we left you. We found our journey much more pleasant than what we anticipated from the lateness of the season, both as it regarded the road, and the weather.

We have a dead calm in politicks, which will continue till after the arrival of the President elect. There has been much idle speculation, in relation to the formation of the new cabinet. It is a subject on which Genl. Jackson himself, I take for granted, has not made up his mind, nor will he, if he acts prudently, till he has had an opportunity of seeing the whole ground.

In relation to the tariff, I think there is a lowering of tone on the part of the Tariff states, and I am not altogether with-

¹ For this letter the editor is indebted to Miss Elizabeth Pickens Cuninghame of Asheville, N. C., a granddaughter of the person to whom it is addressed. Col Patrick Noble, governor of South Carolina from 1838 to 1840, was a first cousin of Mrs. Calhoun, and a "first cousin once removed" of Mr. Calhoun, he was the son of Maj. Alexander Noble and Catherine Calhoun. See O'Neill, Bench and Bar, II, 390

² On going to Washington for the winter of 1828-29, Mr. and Mrs. Calhoun had left some of their children in the charge of Colonel Noble

out hope, if Gen^l. Jackson takes a correct general view of his position, and places an able sound man at the head of the Treasury Department, but that something like justice may be done to us, provided we can prevent the distribution of the surplus funds among the States, and thereby compel a review of the Tariff in reference to the discharge of the debt, which ought to be done at the next session. At all events our fate will soon be known as far as the General Government is concerned. The next 2 or 3 years will be of the deepest interest to us, and the whole Union. I look forward to the course that events will take with no small concern. To preserve our Union on the fair basis of equality, on which alone it can stand, and to transmit the blessing of liberty to the remotest posterity is the first great object of all my exertions.

Remember us most affectionately to Elizabeth,¹ and Miss Bonneau, if she is with you. Tell the children how much gratified we are to learn that they are so contented and doing so well.

To Christopher Van Deventer.²

Washington 20th March 1830

DEAR MAJ^r. Should the bills to which you allude become laws, your friends here will not be unmindful of your claims, but my impression, at present, is that they will not pass this Session. Your case is one of great hardship, in any point of view, and think [it] must be so felt by any one acquainted with the circumstances. I do not doubt the kind feelings of M^r Ingham³ and would advise you to keep up your correspondence with him by writing to him occasionally. If an opportunity should offer, I feel confident he would take pleasure in serving you.

I have not a copy of Gen^l. Hayne's, or M^r. Webster's speech⁴ or I would send you one. I send you a copy of M^r Grundy's. The debate is suspended, but far from being ended. Several other able speakers will take the floor, when it again comes up.

¹Mrs. Noble (Elizabeth Pickens) was also a first cousin of Mrs. Calhoun, and a cousin of Mr. Calhoun, being the daughter of Ezekiel Pickens and Elizabeth Bonneau. Miss Annie Bonneau was a relative of Mrs. J. C. Calhoun.

²Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

³Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury.

⁴On Foot's resolutions

There is not the least foundation for the report, that I have come out against the bank. I have not moved on it at all, either for or against, as I deem the agitation of the question any way premature. It will be time enough to discuss it four years hence, when we will have full knowledge of the operation of the institution, and will be able to determine, what the publick interest may demand with a full understanding of all of the circumstances. I regret, that the subject has been so prematurely brought forward. Every sentiment I ever expressed in relation to the bank, remains unchanged; but it would indicate, but little wisdom to determine a question, which may be greatly influenced by circumstances at the time, so long before they have occurred, or can be known.

On the other point of your enquiry, I think there is nothing certain; but you must consider my opinion on this, and all other political subjects solely for your own use.

I cannot see that the gentleman to whom you refer, and whose friends are so busy in your quarter, has any solid strength. He is certainly considered very weak here. These are not times that petty arts can succeed. Too many questions are pressing on us of deep and vital interest for such means of influence. I have ever held them in contempt, and never more than now. Make my kind respects to M^{rs} V. and your family.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Confidential

Washington 30th March 1830

MY DEAR SIR, I see from your letter you understand thoroughly the game, which is playing in a certain quarter. Had you been here all winter, you could not have described it more accurately. It is, however, not calculated to do those engaged in it any service. I am surprised, that one so artful, as the author, and who occupies so favorable a position for his operations, should so completely fail. His strength, which was never great, has been steadily declining all the session, and he may now be pronounced feeble. I see no cause to fear

¹ Printed in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, III 331, from which the text is derived.

him, unless of enfeebling the administration by his devious course. To prevent such a result, has been an object of solicitude on the part of my friends. So far from opposing, we may appeal with confidence to the proceedings of both houses to prove, that our support has been more uniform and effective, than any other portion of Congress. It is an object of ambition with us to carry the General through with glory; and while we see with pain every false move, we have never permitted our feelings to be alienated for a moment. Our's is the position of honest and sincere friendship, and for us a perfect contrast to that pursued, in the quarter to which I allude.

The accusation, that the delay and difficulty in the Senate have been owing to my friends is utterly false, as the Journals will prove. In truth, the whole subject of nominations has been on our part in the Senate with great judgment. Not a day has been unnecessarily lost. We had great difficulties to contend with, and could not have taken a different course with equal success.

I was much gratified with the confirmation of Swartout's nomination.¹ I had great fears at one time, but he was finally carried through with honor, and I feel confident that he will not disappoint the expectations of his friends. I take interest in Mr. Noah's success, and hope sincerely that he may pass. His nomination will not be acted on for some time. He will not lack active friends in the Senate.

To Christopher Van Deventer.²

Washington 12th May 1830

DEAR SIR, I received your letter of the 5th Inst yesterday. I expect to set out some day next week for the South, but it will probably be near the end. It is still [a] little uncertain when Congress will adjourn.

My true position is to do my duty without committing myself, or assuming unnecessary responsibility, where I have

¹ Samuel Swartwout's nomination as collector of the port of New York had been confirmed on March 27. That of Mordecai M. Noah for surveyor was confirmed later

² Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

no control. The times are perilous beyond any that I have ever witnessed. All of the great interests of the country are coming into conflict, and I must say, and with deep regret I speak it, that those to whom the vessel of state is entrusted seem either ignorant, or indifferent about the danger. My great ambition is to see our country free united and happy, and placed where I am, I owe it as a duty to myself and country to preserve unimpaired the publick confidence. Thus acting, the first step is to postpone all questions as to myself, till it becomes necessary to decide, and the one to which you refer among others; when the time comes, it will present a grave question, to be decided wisely only by weighing fully the considerations for and against.

I consider it as perfectly uncertain, whether Gen^l. Jackson will offer again or not. Some who regard their own interest more than his just fame are urging him to offer, but it will be difficult to reconcile the course to his previous declarations, unless there should be the strongest considerations of the publick good to justify him.

I have no copy of M^r M^dDuffies report; but will request him to send you one, if he has one to spare, with a copy of his Speech on Mallory's bill.

Remember me kindly to M^{rs} V. and your family.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 26th May 1830

DEAR SIR, I have just had a full conversation with M^r Wirt, on the subject, on which I conversed with you, when I was at Oak Hill. His memory is distinct, that the letter of the 6th Jan: 1818 was not before the Cabinet, nor was it alluded to during the deliberation. In fact, he is of the opinion, that he never saw it till now, as he had not the least recollection of the letter. He feels some delicacy in speaking to M^r Adams

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy. See Dr. Schouler's article, "Monroe and the Rhea Letter," in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XII, to which, to his *History of the United States*, III, 66-95, 498-501, IV, 87, and to the pamphlet correspondence between Gen. Andrew Jackson and John C Calhoun, Washington, 1831, (reprinted in Calhoun's Works, Vol. VI,) it must suffice to refer for the subject of this and several subsequent letters.

and M^r Crownins[hiel]d¹ on the subject, and suggests, that it would probably be the best course for you, as the head of the administration at the time, and more particularly interested on this point, to address them on the subject, of the letter. The only difficulty, which I have in addressing them myself, is on account of the political relation, which they bear to the present administration. I feel so confident of the fact, that the letter was not before the Cabinet, that I would not hesitate to assert the fact directly in my letter to Gen^l. Jackson, supported by your recollection and M^r Wirt's, but it would certainly be more prudent, to ascertain whether their memory accords with ours. Should you think, the course indicated by M^r Wirt is the correct one, I would suggest in order to save time, as I am anxious to leave this, that you should state in your letter to M^r. Adams and M^r Crowninshield, that the bearer would receive their answers, and to direct him to deliver them to M^r Ringgold with authority on his part to open them. I send you a copy of the letter in question, as it may enable you to shape your letter to those gentlemen, should you think proper to write to them. I send a copy instead of the original to avoid the hazard of sending it.

I would not be surprised, if M^r Adams and M^r Crowninshield should both be ignorant of the existence of the letter, as M^r Wirt was. I will thank you to return the copy.

To James Edward Calhoun.

c. c.

Fort Hill Oct^r 1830

DEAR SIR, I enclose a letter and packet, which I received by the last mail for you; and also several news papers containing accounts of the last intelligence from France. You will see that the Revolution advances with the same admirable skill and promptness, which characterised its first movements. I hope all will settle down in a firm and stable state, but I cannot but fear, that Europe is on the eve of a great convulsion. The spirit of the revolution must spread from France to the adjacent countries, which must rouse to madness and

¹ Benjamin W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts was secretary of the navy in 1818, at the time of the difficulties in Florida, Adams secretary of state, Wirt attorney-general.

dispair the already deeply excited jealousy of the crowned heads of Europe. There is much in the wheel of time. . . .

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 11th Jan^r 1831

DEAR SIR, It is with great pain, that I feel myself again compelled to intrude on your retirement, particularly on a subject, which must be so disagreeable to you, as one involving a difference between two of the members of your administration, in relation to one of the most important questions, which occupied the deliberation of the Cabinet, during the period of your presidency.

My call on you in the first instance was made with great reluctance, and, I did hope, that no subsequent occurrence would render it necessary to make an additional call. It was my earnest desire, that you should be involved in the controversy, as little as possible, for which reason my former call was limited to the points, whether the letter from Gen^l. Jackson to you in which reference was made to John Ray² was shown to any person except myself, and whether it was before the Cabinet during its deliberation; nor would I have requested your statement on these points, if I could have avoided it, with justice to myself.

I learn from a letter of M^r Crawford addressed to me, that he has written to you on the subject of the deliberation of the Cabinet on the Seminole affair; and, tho he has not furnished me with a copy of his letter to you, nor a copy of your answer, I infer from his comments on the extracts from your answer, that he has entirely misconstrued my motives in limiting my former call on you. That you may see the construction, which he has placed on my motives, and the view, which he has taken of your answer, I herewith enclose extracts of so much of his letter as relates to yourself, leaving it to you to furnish me whatever correction of his errors you may judge necessary. You know, that so far from a desire to extract a partial answer from you, as he insinuates, by presenting a

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

² Rhea, of Tennessee.

partial view of the case, that I placed you in full possession of all of the facts, by putting in your hand, the copy of M^r Crawford's letter to M^r Forsyth, with General Jackson's letter transmitting it to me.

In conclusion, I take the liberty of asking for a copy of M^r Crawford's letter to you with a copy of your answer, as they may be necessary to a full understanding of this unpleasant subject. I make the request on the presumption that they may be furnished without impropriety, as I take it for granted, that they can contain nothing, which would render it improper, that they should be communicated to me.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Private

Washington 11th Jan^y 1831.

DEAR SIR, It is with unfeigned regret, that I am again constrained to trouble you on any subject that relates to myself; but, I hope, that you will find a sufficient apology for this intrusion on your retirement in the cause, which compels me to it.

You will see in the extracts of the letter from M^r Crawford to me, which accompany this, the very perverted view which he takes of my former application to you and also of your answer to his letter. Instead of attributing the limitations in my former application to the true cause, a delicate regard to your situation, he represents it as a mere artifice to extract from you a partial and deceptive reply; and to give a colouring to his insinuations, speaks of the excitement, which my course in the Cabinet caused on your part, which you will know you never exhibited, and, I may confidently add never felt. The whole discussion was in fact marked with great calmness and deliberation. You will see also by his comments that he represents you as resting your recollection whether the confidential letter from Gen^l Jackson to you was, or was not before the Cabinet wholly on that of M^r Wirt's very contrary to what I understand from your statement to me. I forbear to make additional remarks on his comments, as I am sure the false colouring which he attempted to give to your statement, and my course will not escape you.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

I declined entering into a correspondence with M^r Crawford except through Gen^l Jackson. He has not made his communication through that channel yet, and as considerable time has since elapsed I presume he has declined corresponding through the General. Under these circumstances, it will probably be unnecessary to use the corrections which you may make of his misconceptions, yet I still deem it proper to be in possession of them, as I am desirous in all possible events, that the facts and circumstances connected with my course in this unpleasant affair should stand in their true light.

You will see, that very perverted statements of the correspondence between the President and myself have appeared in the publick prints. I am not responsible in the slightest degree for their appearance. I have through out exercised great forbearance, and intend to continue to do so, and will not come before the publick unless I am compelled in self defence, tho' I feel assured should I be compelled, that the correspondence will place me on high ground before the publick.

I hope your health has improved by a change of residence, tho I fear that you may find a New York winter too severe for you.

I, with your other friends here, take much interest in the success of your claim. I cannot write encouragingly, tho' I hope that justice will yet be done you.¹

I am obliged to you for M^r Gouverneur's address, which I have read with much interest.

[Extracts from M^r Crawford's letter to me relating to M^r Monroe]

The omission to appeal to M^r Monroe, whether you made the proposition ascribed to you in my letter to M^r Forsyth is strong presumptive evidence that you believed his answer would confirm my statement. You remembered the excitement, which your proposition and pleadings produced in the mind of the President and did not dare to ask him any question tending to revive his recollection of that proposition. The different manner in which you approached the President and M^r Wirt even on the collateral secondary fact, upon which you do venture to interrogate them,

¹ Congress at this session made a grant to Monroe in settlement of his claims.

proceeds from the same fact, that made you avoid interrogating them on the principal fact. When you made the enquiry of M^r Wirt, you enclose him such an extract from my letter, as informs him of the nature of the evidence you are in search of, because I presume you believe that extract would not tend to refresh his memory, or relied implicitly upon Mr. Wirts disposition to give such evidence, as you desired of him. But you were apprehensive that the same extract if sent to M^r Monroe might refresh his memory and enable him to give such an answer, as would not suit your views. The extract of my letter sent to M^r Wirt described facts and circumstances in which M^r Monroe was a principal actor. It was therefore deemed unsafe to submit them to him. The excitement produced on the President was so manifest, that you did not believe it could have escaped the attention of M^r Wirt; you therefore believed it unsafe to interrogate him, as to your proposition, personally affecting General Jackson. M^r Monroe says not a word, tending to show, that the confidential letter was not produced and read in the Cabinet, which was not suggested by M^r Wirt.

Again

I have said that M^r Wirts negative statement is the only evidence you have in support of his negative assertion that the confidential letter was not produced and read in the Cabinet. For proof of this read the endorsed extract of M^r Monroes letter, by which it will be seen that having no reliance upon his own memory, he applied to M^r Wirt for information; and he candidly and properly adds "still as the question turns on memory alone, M^r Wirt, as well as I, may be mistaken and in regard to me, as I was sick in bed when I received the letter, that presumption is the more probable."

*To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.*¹

C. C.

Washington 11th Jan^y 1831

MY DEAR MARIA, I set you the example of being a very punctual correspondent. Yesterday I received your letter, and today I answer it.

I was much gratified to hear from you; and to learn, after so many arrangements, you were fixed so much to your satisfaction, and had recommenced your studies with so much spirit. I am not surprised, that you felt so lonesome at first. We are never more so, than when in the midst of those, who are strangers; but you acted like a philosopher, when, instead of giving yourself up to tears, you set about removing the cause, by forming the acquaintance of those around you.

¹ Calhoun's oldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. Thomas G. Clemson.

You must have made rapid advances in the remedy, to acquire the names of all, in so short a time, with the personal acquaintance of so many; but I am sure your good sense will guard you against the other extreme; against passing from being a stranger to all, to being too familiar with all. Form a general acquaintance with all, but be familiar with but few, well selected and worthy of your friendship.

It is a little singular, that you and Miss Cuninghams¹ should be room mates. Tho her father and myself disagree so widely in politicks, we are old acquaintances; I may say, I suppose friends, tho it may be possible, that our political difference may have alienated his personal attachment. It has had no such effect on my part. He studied law with me; and, tho I have no doubt he is wrong, yet I have as little, that he is honestly so. You of course will take care not to quarrel about politicks.

I wrote to you a few days since. I hope you have got my letter. I enclosed to Col Chappell. I enclose this to Judge Martin, who has been so kind, as to promise to send to the post office every day before his daughter goes to school, and to take charge of your letters. I am glad you are so much pleased with his daughter. He and Mr^s Martin are particular friends, and I wish you to make his, one of the families, which you will take into your small visiting circle. You must make the circle small. You are too young to go much into company. It would be a great interruption to your studies. Write me fully. Give me a minute account of all of your teachers, and the lessons you are taking, with the names of all of the girls, with whom you have formed intimate acquaintance.

To James Edward Calhoun.

c. c.

Washington 13th Jan^y 1831

DEAR JAMES, I had opened and thrown away the envelope before I perceived that the enclosed was addressed to you.

The correspondence between the President and myself begins to excite much attention and speculation. I arrived here

¹Robert Cuninghams, a descendant of a Tory family in South Carolina, had been a prominent Union man in 1832 (but was a Secessionist in 1851). His daughter had a prominent part in the movement for the preservation of Mount Vernon. (See O'Neill's *Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, II, 395-401.)

before New Years day some three, or four days, and as I did not attend on that occasion, it confirmed the rumours already in circulation of a separation between us. Mr Crawford's correspondence with Mr Adams and Mr Crowninshield placed the opponents of the administration in possession of the knowledge of the correspondence between us, and their policy has been to force it out. As far as I am concerned, it would be desirable, but as I have acted on the defensive thus far and intend to do so throughout, I will not publish unless it should become absolutely necessary. In the mean time, I permit whatever friend desires to read the correspondence, which has given a pretty general knowledge of its contents here. The result has been, in the opinion of all my friends, to strengthen me, and to weaken those who have got up the conspiracy for my destruction. Every opening was made for me to renew my intercourse with the President, which I have declined, and will continue so to do, till he retracts what he has done. His friends are much alarmed.

I can scarcely say any thing as to the general state of the politics of the country. Things must go on, and become worse till the people become alarmed with the danger which must shortly threaten, from the deep conflict into which the great interests of the country must soon come.

We are in the midst of a severe snow storm, as much so as I have ever seen. The deep gloom of Winter overhangs the face of nature, which makes me sigh for the more genial climate of South Carolina.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 15th Jan^y 1831

DEAR SIR, I regret that my short stay in Columbia, did not give me an opportunity of seeing you at my lodgings, and

¹Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C. His father, Governor and Senator James Henry Hammond (1807-1864), to whom this letter and many subsequent letters were addressed, was one of the ablest and most prominent statesmen of South Carolina, and a constant friend and political associate of Calhoun. He was a member of Congress from 1835 to 1836, governor from 1842 to 1844, and United States Senator from 1857 to 1860. He wrote many pamphlets on slavery and other subjects of interest to South Carolina and An Oration on the Life, Character, and Services of John Caldwell Calhoun, delivered on the 21st Nov. 1850, at Charleston, S. C., at the request of the city council. His letters to Calhoun, published in Part II of the present volume, are among the most important of that series.

of going over with you fully and freely the general ground of our politicks. Our situation is indeed critical, and it is impossible for the most experienced and the wisest to form even a probable conjecture, as to the result. Of one thing we may be perfectly assured, that the General Government will not relax its hold, unless compelled; and that she cannot be compelled, unless the South should unite in one earnest and decided pressure, or some one of the States nullify the unconstitutional Tariff acts. It is almost hopeless to expect a cordial union of the South for redress under existing circumstances. The position which Gen^l. Jackson has taken of halting between the parties, as if it were possible to reconcile two hostile systems, must keep us distracted and weakened during his time. To expect to be able to support him, taking the position he has, and to unite the South in zealous opposition to the system, which he more than half supports, is among the greatest absurdities. Had he placed himself on principle, and surrounded himself with the talents, virtue and experience of the party, his personal popularity would, beyond all doubt, have enabled us to restore the Constitution, arrest the progress of corruption, harmonize the Union, and thereby avert the calamity which seems to impend over us; as it is, that very popularity is the real source of our weakness and distraction. We sustain, or connive at in him, what would be abhorred in another.

Believing, that an united effort of the South is hopeless during his time, we must next look to the action of our own State, as she is the only one, that can possibly put herself on her sovereignty. Nothing must be omitted to unite and strengthen her, for on her Union, and firmness, at this time, the liberty of the whole country in no small degree depends. To effect this, much will depend on you and the other gentlemen at the head of the press in the state.¹ I have marked your course from the beginning, and, when I say, that it has met my full approbation, I mean not to use the language of unmeaning compliment. Did not I believe, that the state was radically sound in feelings, and that our divisions sprang from accidental circumstances, I would despair; but, believing such to

¹ Hammond was at this time editor of the Southern Times, published at Columbia.

be the fact, I look forward with confidence to Union, if we act with discretion. The great cause of division is the unfounded hope of relief from Gen^l Jackson. Time must show how utterly hopeless all expectation of relief is from that quarter. Were he with us, such is the unfortunate composition of his Cabinet, (if Cabinet there may be said to be, when the members of the administration never meet to deliberate) such their division and weakness, that it would be idle to expect, he could effect anything; but when we know that he is opposed to us on the most vital points, and that he is in the hands of men, as hostile to us [as] Clay himself it is perfect infatuation to expect relief from him. Every day will prove this, and one of the leading duties of our editors, as it seems to me, will be to watch events and point out to the people how little they have to hope from the General Government. In the mean time, much can, and, I hope, will be done here by our members to bring out, in bold relief, all of the circumstances calculated to demonstrate our hopeless condition. With this view among other subjects, I trust, there will be a full discussion of the true nature and character of that most oppressive, most unjust, unconstitutional and dangerous of all projects, the distribution of the surplus revenue. The resolution of Mr Davis will also lead to a very interesting discussion. The Committee will report in favour of a repeal of the 25th Section of the Judiciary act, and, it is thought by many, the report will pass the House.¹ However strange it may seem, there are many Zealously in favour of the repeal, who are violently opposed to what they call Nullification, as if the repeal did not comprehend, and go beyond Nullification. The discussion of the report on the repeal will doubtless strengthen our doctrines, as the occurrence in Georgia has done.

It is impossible to touch on all of the interesting subjects, which must press on us at this eventful crisis. Should any occurrence take place, which in my opinion would more especially require your attention, I will take the liberty of drop-

¹ A resolution to this effect, by W. R. Davis of South Carolina, was introduced in the House December 21, 1830, favorably reported by the judiciary committee January 24, but rejected by the House January 29. The repeal would have prevented appeals from State courts to the U. S. Supreme Court.

ping you a line. Before I close, I must say something of myself. You have of course seen reference in the papers to a correspondence of not a friendly nature between Gen^l Jackson and myself. It is true, that there has been such a correspondence, and that it has ended in my declining social intercourse with the General, tho' I have been informed, that he is desirous, that it should be renewed; but it can only be by a full retraction on his part. The whole I believe to be a base political intrigue, of which the Gen^l has been made the dupe. It is connected with the proceedings of the Cabinet on the Seminole affair, in the year 1818. I cannot in a letter go into particulars, but my friends may be perfectly assured, that those who commenced the affair are heartily sick of it, and that should the correspondence ever be published, it will place me on the most elevated ground. It has been read here extensively by mutual friends, and there is but one opinion on the subject among all who have seen, but circumstances, which you can well conceive will prevent me from publishing unless it should be absolutely necessary. I have written to you freely with full confidence in your discretion, and you must consider what I have written as intended for your own inspection only.

To James Monroe.¹

Washington 21st Jan^r 1831

DEAR SIR, A few days since, I addressed a note to M^r Adams, requesting his statement, whether the confidential letter of Gen^l Jackson to you, to which M^r Crawford alludes in his letter to M^r Forsyth, was before the Cabinet in its deliberations on the Seminole question. His answer confirms your's and M^r Wirts statements. M^r Crowninshield has, however, given a contrary statement to M^r Crawford, and what renders his statement most strange is the fact, that he was not present at any of the meetings. It may become necessary to place his absence beyond doubt, and, if my memory serves me, it is in your power to do so. I am of the impression, that you wrote to him after the deliberation and received his answer approving the course adopted. If such be the fact, I must request

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

a copy of your letter and of his answer. Should you not have them with you, M^r Gouverneur has been so obliging, as to offer to go to Loudon,¹ and, with your permission, to take copies for me.

*To James Monroe.*²

Washington 27th Jan^y 1831

DEAR SIR, It is with extreme regret, that I intrude on your retirement, but events have occurred, since the date of my letter to you last Spring, requesting you to state whether the confidential letter of Gen^l Jackson to you, in which reference is made to John Rhea, was before the Cabinet during its deliberation on the Seminole affair, that render it necessary again to trouble you, on the same subject. I must therefore ask you to state, under what circumstances, that request was made, and also what was my course and manner on the occasion, as it related to Gen^l Jackson. I wish you to state as fully as your recollection will serve any circumstances relating to the affair, as far as connected with myself.

*To James Monroe.*²

Washington 27th Jan^y 1831

DEAR SIR, I am much obliged to you for your suggestions, as to the shape that ought to be given to my call on you. I think it greatly preferable to the one, that I had adopted. My object is to correct the misconstructions of M^r Crawford, and the extracts from his letter in your possession, will enable you, in answering my call, to shape your reply, so as to effect that object.

May I ask you for an answer, as early as may suit your convenience. I greatly regret to learn, that your health is so infirm, and sincerely hope, that the approach of warm weather may improve it.

¹ I. e., to Oak Hill in Loudoun County, Virginia, President Monroe's estate.

² From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

*To John Quincy Adams.*¹

Washington 29th Jan^r 1831.

SIR, I deem it important, as a means of vindicating my character against an attack on my course in the deliberations of the Cabinet on the Seminole affair, to obtain a statement of M^r Crawford's course on the same occasion; and I must, therefore, request you to state, what that course was, and whether he did not concur with me in opinion, particularly on the points, that Gen^l. Jackson had transcended his orders, in attacking S^t. Marks and Pensacola, and that his conduct ought to have been the subject of investigation before a military tribunal.

I must also request you to state, with the same object, what was the declaration of Mr. Crawford relative to the conduct of Gen^l. Jackson in the Seminole war, when the conduct of Com^{ro}. Porter, in the Foxardo affair, was under consideration in the cabinet of M^r Monroe.

Should you feel restrained by the confidential character of Cabinet proceedings from furnishing me with a statement to be used for my vindication, I trust you will feel no difficulty in furnishing me with one to be placed among my papers, in order to guard against contingencies, and to be used only under such conditions, as you may think proper to prescribe.

I would not make this application but with views strictly defensive and in vindication of what I hold more sacred than life itself.

*To John Quincy Adams.*²

Washington 3^d Feb 1831

SIR, I have received your letter of the 31^t Jan^y, and will proceed to state the point mainly at issue between M^r Crawford and myself, relative to what occurred in the deliberation of the Cabinet on the Seminole question, not in the least doubt-

¹ From the original in the possession of Mr. Charles Francis Adams. It will be remembered that Mr. Adams, who was now for a brief period in retirement, had been Secretary of State in Monroe's Cabinet from 1817 to 1825. A previous letter, January 12, with Adams's reply of the 14th, may be found in the Florida pamphlet and in Calhoun's Works, VI, 429-433

² From the original in the possession of Mr. Charles Francis Adams.

ing, that you will readily give any information in your power, necessary to its elucidation, as far as your sense of the high obligation imposed on the confidential advisers of the President, not to divulge the proceedings of the Cabinet, will permit. The main point at issue between M^r Crawford and myself as to what took place in the Cabinet, turns on the question, whether the confidential letter of Gen^l. Jackson to M^r Monroe, referred to in M^r Crawford's letter to M^r Forsyth, was, or was not, before the Cabinet during its deliberation.

In my letter to you of the 12th January,¹ I gave an extract from M^r Crawford's letter, relating to the confidential letter in question, and now add an additional extract, which with that already given, will put you in full possession of all that he says, in relation to the letter.

Beginning where the former extract ends, M^r Crawford says "I asked the President, if the letter" (the confidential) "had been answered. He replied no for that he had no recollection of having received it. I then said, I had no doubt, that Gen^l. Jackson on taking Pensacola believed, that he was doing, what the President wished. After that letter was produced unanswered, I should have opposed the infliction of punishment upon Gen^l Jackson, who had considered the silence of the President, as a tacit consent; yet it was after this letter was produced, and read, that M^r Calhoun made his proposition to the Cabinet for punishing the General."

You will see from the extract, that M^r Crawford rests the justification of what he states to have been his course, as well as what he states evidently as a great aggravation in mine, on the supposed introduction of the letter in question; and it is appearant from Gen^l. Jackson's letter to me, covering M^r Crawford's letter, that such supposition had no small influence on his mind. It, therefore, necessarily, formed a prominent point in my correspondence with the General, whether such a letter was, or was not, introduced. M^r Crawford has undertaken to rebut my denial of its introduction, which renders it important, in my vindication, to show my denial to be correct. With this view, I appealed to your recollection in my letter of the 12th January, as I had previously done to M^r Monroe and M^r Wirt's. With the same view, and, in confirmation of yours and their recollection on that point, I now

¹ Letter printed in Works, VI, 429-432.

propose to show, that M^r Crawford's course in the Cabinet then, as well as his subsequent course and declarations, have not been in conformity to what he states, as the impression made on him by the letter.

It is only defensively and, even with that view, limited to the conduct of him, who by his attack on me has made it necessary, in my vindication, that I feel myself justified to make an appeal to the other members of the Cabinet, as to any circumstance connected with its proceedings, except what relates immediately to myself.

I would respectfully suggest, whether the fact, that M^r Crawford undertakes to give a statement, not only of my course, but also his in relation to the letter, with the view of placing his conduct in contrast with mine, to my disadvantage, does not give me a right to appeal to our associates in the Cabinet, as to the correctness of his statement, as it relates, as well to his, as my course, as one transaction, to the extent of the issue under consideration.

I would also farther suggest, whether the fact, that M^r Crawford does not feel himself bound to observe silence, as to the transactions of the Cabinet, does not in fact amount to a general implied assent, that the other members may state his course, at least, as far as it may become necessary to defend an associate injuriously affected by his statement.

I make these suggestions with great deference, knowing that no one has more deeply reflected on the high obligations imposed on the confidential advisers of the President, or is more capable of forming a true estimate of their extent and force.

Should you, under all the circumstances of the case, feel your self justified to give me the information I request, I would take the liberty of modifying the questions, which I proposed in my former letter, and I will thank you to substitute the following in their place. Did M^r Crawford in the Cabinet meeting on the Seminole question, concur in the opinion that Gen^l. Jackson had transcended his orders in taking S^t. Mark and Pensacola; and that his conduct ought to be the subject of investigation before a military tribunal.

Did M^r Crawford at subsequent meetings of the Cabinet, express himself opposed to the course of Gen^l. Jackson in the Seminole War, and if so, what were his declarations on such occasions.

ing, that you will readily give any information in your power, necessary to its elucidation, as far as your sense of the high obligation imposed on the confidential advisers of the President, not to divulge the proceedings of the Cabinet, will permit. The main point at issue between M^r Crawford and myself as to what took place in the Cabinet, turns on the question, whether the confidential letter of Gen^l. Jackson to M^r Monroe, referred to in M^r Crawford's letter to M^r Forsyth, was, or was not, before the Cabinet during its deliberation.

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Beginning where the former extract ends, M^r Crawford says "I asked the President, if the letter" (the confidential) "had been answered. He replied no for that he had no recollection of having received it. I then said, I had no doubt, that Gen^l. Jackson on taking Pensacola believed, that he was doing, what the President wished. After that letter was produced unanswered, I should have opposed the infliction of punishment upon Gen^l Jackson, who had considered the silence of the President, as a tacit consent; yet it was after this letter was produced, and read, that M^r Calhoun made his proposition to the Cabinet for punishing the General."

You will see from the extract, that M^r Crawford rests the justification of what he states to have been his course, as well as what he states evidently as a great aggravation in mine, on the supposed introduction of the letter in question; and it is appearant from Gen^l. Jackson's letter to me, covering M^r Crawford's letter, that such supposition had no small influence on his mind. It, therefore, necessarily, formed a prominent point in my correspondence with the General, whether such a letter was, or was not, introduced. M^r Crawford has undertaken to rebut my denial of its introduction, which renders it important, in my vindication, to show my denial to be correct. With this view, I appealed to your recollection in my letter of the 12th January, as I had previously done to M^r Monroe and M^r Wirts'. With the same view, and, in confirmation of yours and their recollection on that point, I now

¹ Letter printed in Works, VI, 429-432.

propose to show, that M^r Crawford's course in the Cabinet then, as well as his subsequent course and declarations, have not been in conformity to what he states, as the impression made on him by the letter.

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I would respectfully suggest, whether the fact, that M^r Crawford undertakes to give a statement, not only of my course, but also his in relation to the letter, with the view of placing his conduct in contrast with mine, to my disadvantage, does not give me a right to appeal to our associates in the Cabinet, as to the correctness of his statement, as it relates, as well to his, as my course, as one transaction, to the extent of the issue under consideration.

I would also farther suggest, whether the fact, that M^r Crawford does not feel himself bound to observe silence, as to the transactions of the Cabinet, does not in fact amount to a general implied assent, that the other members may state his course, at least, as far as it may become necessary to defend an associate injuriously affected by his statement.

I make these suggestions with great deference, knowing that no one has more deeply reflected on the high obligations imposed on the confidential advisers of the President, or is more capable of forming a true estimate of their extent and force.

Should you, under all the circumstances of the case, feel your self justified to give me the information I request, I would take the liberty of modifying the questions, which I proposed in my former letter, and I will thank you to substitute the following in their place. Did M^r Crawford in the Cabinet meeting on the Seminole question, concur in the opinion that Gen^l. Jackson had transcended his orders in taking S^t. Mark and Pensacola; and that his conduct ought to be the subject of investigation before a military tribunal.

Did M^r Crawford at subsequent meetings of the Cabinet, express himself opposed to the course of Gen^l. Jackson in the Seminole War, and if so, what were his declarations on such occasions.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Private.

Washington 4th Feb^r 1831

DEAR SIR, I received yesterday yours of the 1st Feb^r and am obliged to you for your prompt reply. I find mine to which your's is an answer by being too concisely expressed in the part that refers to my course towards Gen^l. Jackson has lead you very naturally into an error, as to the information I desired. It was not my wish to obtain information of my course in relation to Gen^l. Jackson when I called on you for a statement last Spring in Loudon, but what my course was in the Cabinet, when the Seminole affair was under consideration. The object of the enquiry was to rebut the insinuations of M^r Crawford (See extracts of his letter to me which I sent you) who states that my course in the Cabinet towards Gen^l. Jackson produced much excitement on your part.

You will see my precise object by turning to the extracts.

If you feel no delicacy in complying with the request I would be glad that you would furnish me with another statement in lieu of your last, comprehending in one that statement, and that I now desire. I make the request only on the ground that if I should omit to obtain your statement in correction of M^r Crawford's erroneous insinuations of the effect of my course in the Cabinet on you, I might be supposed to acquiesce in their correctness.

I wish you to be assured that it is with great reluctance I trouble you.

*To James Monroe.*¹

Washington 16th Feb^r 1831

DEAR SIR, I have been compelled very reluctantly to place before the publick my correspondence with Gen^l. Jackson on my course in the Cabinet, on the Seminole subject.² A copy addressed to you will go in the mail, that carries this; and, I trust, that the manner, in which I have conducted this delicate correspondence on my part, will meet your entire approbation.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

² Correspondence, etc., Washington, 1831.

I have limited my remarks on the proceedings of the Cabinet strictly to my own course, and have endeavoured to meet the attack on me with the dignity and respect due to the stations occupied by General Jackson and myself, but, at the same time, with the spirit, that became the occasion.

I regret to say, that the publication will disclose a political intrigue of the basest character, and which, for the honor of our country, I am truly sorry to be compelled, for my vindication, to bring to the knowledge of the world.

I assumed the responsibility of publishing without obtaining your express consent, because I wished not to take any step, that I could possibly avoid, that might seem to impose any responsibility on you in this most unpleasant affair; yet fully acknowledging the obligation, on the members of an administration to its chief, as well as to each other, to preserve in confidence the proceedings of the Cabinet, I would not have come before the publick, had I not supposed from the character of the correspondence between us in relation to this affair, and particularly from your last letter, I had your implicit permission.

Your claim is now before the Senate, and it affords me great pleasure to say that there is every prospect the bill will pass.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Washington 16th Feb 1831

DEAR SIR, The mail, that takes this, will bring you a copy of the Correspondence with Gen^l. Jackson. It will speak for itself. Gen^l. Jackson has certainly involved himself in great difficulty in this affair. He has, to say the least, been sadly duped; yet, I think, the proper course, at least at first, is to say little about him. Let the press direct the publick indignation against the contriver of this profligate intrigue. Who is the prime mover belongs rather to the publick, than to me, to say. One thing, however, is remarkable, that every individual connected with it, is the correspondent and friend of a certain prominent individual, who made a visit to Georgia in 1827. The origin dates certainly from about that period, as

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

you will see by Mr Crawford's letter to Mr Balch of Nashville.¹ The affair, I hope, may open the eyes of Gen^l Jackson. It is most unfortunate for him and the country, that he has so greatly misplaced his confidence. Unless he should withdraw it, and that speedily, it is hard to anticipate the result. Universal discontent, distraction, and corruption seem to be taking possession of the country.

I write in great haste, and you must understand, what I have said, as being intended for your inspection only.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.²

Fort Hill 16th April 1831

MY DEAR SIR, The enclosed note to Mr Salomon is in relation to some private business, about which he wrote me; and, as I do not wish to have my name on a letter even on private business, except to a particular friend, in these times of prying curiosity, I have taken the liberty in order to avoid franking the letter to place it under cover to you to be delivered to him.

I could not but be much gratified on my return home to find the publick sentiment every where on my route so much in my favour. I may say, that it is unanimous, with the exception of a few dependent editors and their immediate partisans. I avoided, wherever I could, any demonstration of the publick opinion in my favour.

I had the pleasure on my arrival to find my family in good health. Mr^s Calhoun desires to be kindly remembered to you and Mr^s G. Make our best respects also to Mr Monroe. I hope his health has improved with the advance of warm weather. I would be happy to hear from you.

To James H. Hammond.³

Fort Hill 16th May 1831

DEAR SIR, I am of the impression the whole of Mr Van Buren's motives in the late dissolution may be summed up in

¹ See Parton's Jackson, III, 132.

² From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy

³ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

two; to increase his influence in the Government, and to diminish his responsibility. The place of Ingham will be filled by a devoted partisan, and that of Branch by one, that can be controlled. Livingston is a personal and political friend of the Ex Secretary; and Judge White, who is exclusively attached to the President, tho intelligent and pure, is cautious to timidity.¹ If to these we add, Lewis, Kendal[l], Heyward, Smith all men of great influence with the President, and devoted to Mr Van Buren, you will readily see, that the ex Secretary's presence is no longer necessary to his control, tho it might increase his responsibility.

The Southern influence will be still farther diminished in the new organization. This old, talented and virtuous section will have but one member in the Cabinet, and he the least influential, the attorney General; while the west will have the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of war and the Post Master General. The election of Gen^l Jackson it is known depends on us, yet such is the calculation on our forbearance, that we are hardly taken into the estimate in the political game. I cannot say I regret it. I have long known, we had nothing to hope from the administration, while our loyalty was stronger than our honor, or patriotism. We deserve our fate.

As to myself, I feel but little solicitude. In the present state of things, I have but little ambition to administer the Government. I cannot support Clay, who in my opinion has done great mischief to the country, and I have no confidence in Jackson, who is too ignorant, too suspicious, and too weak to conduct our affairs successfully. He must fail. Loosing as he has done, how can he go through six years more? If my friends and the Republican party choose to go along with him, I will not object, nor will I seporate from them, but I will not be responsible for the consequences. It must end in overthrow. The course, which you and our papers generally take, I think the correct one. Be silent in a great measure as to myself, except defensively, where you think justice requires it, but speak freely of men and measures, as far as they bear on principles, that we deem sacred. As far as I am concerned, I will leave events to their own direction.

¹ Judge Hugh L. White of Tennessee was offered Eaton's place at the War Department, but he declined. Parton, III, 346, 361.

I am of the impression, that our State right doctrines ought to be manfully supported. On their success depends the success of our institutions. I do not, nor have I ever despaired of their ultimate triumph.

I have not seen the Georgia Journal to which you refer. That a considerable portion of the old Crawford interest is hostile, I do not doubt, but, if I do not mistake, it has ceased to constitute a majority in the State.

I regret exceedingly, that you think of retiring. I speak without flattery, when I say, it will be difficult to supply your place, and that we can illy spare your services at this critical period.

I have written to you freely and in full confidence in your discretion and honour.

To Christopher Van Deventer.¹

Fort Hill 25th May 1831

DEAR SIR, The last mail brought me yours of the 6th Ins^t., which I have read with interest.

Between Gen^l Jackson and myself any connection personal and political is recinded. He has proved himself unworthy of my friendship, or support, but at the same time the manner, in which I have been sustained in the conflict with him by those, who support him, with the exception of the miserable tools of power, has strengthened the obligation, which I am under to them. Even in Tennessee and in the neighbourhood of the Hermitage itself, I am Zealously and almost unanimously sustained.

I am at perfect liberty to determine the position, I may assume, unrestricted by any other obligation, except those of patriotism and duty. It is time enough to take my stand. An early developement would do mischief, instead of good. Moderation becomes, in my situation, alike a dictate of duty and prudence; but you may rest assured of one thing, that I will in the coming contest act second to no one. I feel that it would degrade me. I will stand on my own ground, which I know to be strong in principle and the publick support. I

¹ Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn

do not fear to carry the whole South with me, acting as it becomes my duty, which I will take care to do. I never stood stronger. I have the strongest assurance of a decided and successful support in Virginia, which in the present state of things is all important; but whatever strength I may have, I will deem it to be my duty, in the present critical state of our affairs, to direct to the publick good exclusively.

I have no doubt, the course that may be pursued by the Anti Masons, will, if wisely directed, have a great influence in the coming contest. It must be decisive in N. York and Pennsy^a if so directed. I take for granted, they cannot support a Mason. It would forever destroy all confidence in the sincerity of their opposition to the Society. If they were to nominate M^rLean, he being a western man, it would excite the strongest excitement in the breast of M^r. Clay's friends, that would end in a breach between them and the friends of the Judge, which could never be healed, and must end in defeating the election of both. The Judge cannot run to the South. He is but little known, and his being in favour of the distribution of the Surplus Revenue, considered in the South to be the most odious and unconstitutional of all measures, renders it impossible for him to obtain strength in this quarter. The American system itself is not so odious here as the distribution scheme. It has done much to destroy Gen^l Jackson in the South. Whether they will look to M^r. Webster, I see no indication, one way or the other. As to myself, I have no correspondence with any one belonging to the anti Masons, and do not know their views. I am not a mason, and go farther. I am so far anti Mason, that I believe the institution not only useless, in the present state of the world, but also pernicious; and have always thought so; tho' at the same time, I cannot doubt, but that there are, and have always been, many honest and virtuous members belonging to the society, who take a very different view of the institution. The Anti Masons have doubtless the right to regulate their votes on any principle, as individuals, that they may think calculated for the publick good. So far they would be sustained by the publick voice; but to go beyond, the current would set against them. I do not know, however, that they go farther. I have been drawn into this speculation without

intending it, and simply through the force of association, as you live in the infected District, as the enemies of the Anti Masons call it.

Let me hear from you when convenient and make our respects to M^{rs}. V. and your family.

*To Samuel D. Ingham.*¹

Fort Hill 16th June, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received and acknowledge without delay your two last.

The occurrence in Charleston to me was wholly unexpected. It was caused by the accidental visit of McDuffie to that place. I think it every way imprudent, and have so written to Hamilton.²

I see clearly it brings matters to a crisis; and that I must meet it, promptly and manfully. I intended to wait for M^r Crawford's movement on me, so as to have the great advantage of acting on the defensive, but the occurrence to which I refer will not admit the uncertainty and delay of his movement. I have not yet had sufficient time to reflect, what course I ought to take, but am of the impression, that I had better come out in a neighboring print directly without the aid of any (machinery?) If I take the course, I will state my opinions freely, but modestly, as by those of the Virgia. Report, Kentucky Resolution and your supreme court in the case of Cobbett in '98; and will also state my opinion on all of the connected points, particularly that of our adjustment of the conflict. I desire to be distinctly understood, and will rely on truth and patriotism. They have often carried me through, and trust they will on the present occasion. My friends must judge whether the position I may take will be such as that they can prudently and patriotically maintain. If so I will

¹Text derived from a copy furnished by Mrs. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston, the owner of the original. Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, was Secretary of the Treasury from the beginning of Jackson's Administration until August 8, 1831, when he resigned at the general break-up of the Cabinet on account of the affair of Mrs. Eaton.

² Presumably the dinner to McDuffie, May 19, with its extreme state-rights toasts. See Niles, XL, 236. Calhoun's Address on the Relations which the States and General Government bear to each other (Works, VI, 59-94) is dated Fort Hill, July 26, 1831.

Before the Treaty of 1838, the United States had comparatively, very little commerce with Sardinia, but that Treaty having encouraged our commerce by giving to it all the advantages which were previously enjoyed by national vessels, our trade there has been rapidly on the increase, as will be seen by the accompanying abstract from the Consular returns of Genoa, from 1830 to 1843 inclusively. By this Treaty unusual facilities for the transit of the products of the United States, without liability to any duty, were secured, and the correspondence of this Department goes to show that many cargoes of tobacco imported into Genoa have been carried in transitu through Sardinia into Lombardy and other places. American vessels arriving in Sardinia usually take in a part of a cargo consisting of medicinal articles, marble, in block or manufactured, olive oil, etc., and then proceed to the ports of Sicily and the Levant, of Spain or of France to complete their cargoes, so that return cargoes are rarely entered as coming from Genoa or Nice which are the two principal ports on the continent. Our importations from the Kingdom of Sardinia consist, principally, in manufactured silks estimated at about 8,000,000 francs per annum and are received in transitu through France by Havre. The population of the Kingdom of Sardinia 5,000,000. The greater portion of the supply of tobacco for that Country is of American growth, the culture of the article being entirely suppressed. Formerly the article of Cotton consumed in that Country, the growth of the U. States, reached its destination by the way of England, but the removal of the very onerous quarantine regulations which served to repress all direct commerce with America having been removed since the year 1838, the importation of that article has been constantly on the increase.

It is believed that the commerce between this Country and the Kingdom of Sardinia, considerable as it has already become, is susceptible of steady and important increase, not only in raw products, but also in the cotton manufactures of the United States. Hitherto the coarser manufactures of cotton for the poorer classes in Italy have been chiefly furnished from England, but as we already compete successfully with her in other parts of the world, in the supply of coarse cottons, it is believed that an extensive market will be found in

the Mediterranean for similar goods of our manufacture. In view of the foregoing facts and considerations, as well as of others, which will be obvious to all, it is the opinion of this Department that the public interests require that the Mission to Sardinia should be maintained.

*To Richard Pakenham.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 10th June, 1844

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to address me on the 22^d ultimo, acquainting me that you had been instructed to enter into communication with the Government of the United States with a view of ascertaining whether it would be agreeable to this Government that an arrangement should be concluded for the transmission through the United States of the mails to and from Canada and England, which are now landed at Halifax, and thence forwarded through British Dominion to their destination—referring to the mutual advantages likely to arise from such an arrangement—and expressing your readiness, should the Government of the United States accede to the principle of the proposed arrangement, to concert with such person as the President may be pleased to designate, detailed measures for the complete execution of the plan.

I have not failed to refer to the Postmaster General, a copy of your communication, and have now the pleasure to send to you a copy of his reply. As it appears, however, that no authority is vested in the Post Office Department to meet the wishes of the British Government on this subject, an application to Congress for the requisite powers to conclude the arrangement became necessary; and the President accordingly transmitted to the House of Representatives, on the 7th instant, a transcript of these papers, with a message recommending the proposition to their favorable consideration, and bespeaking for it prompt attention.²

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Notes to British Legation, Vol 7; text derived from an official copy.

² Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, IV, 822

To John Tyler.¹

Department of State, Washington, June 14, 1844.
To the President of the United States.

The Secretary of State to whom was referred the Resolution of the Senate of June 12, 1844, (in executive Session) requesting the President "to cause the Senate to be informed whether Duff Green has been paid any money out of the Treasury of the United States, or out of the contingent fund for Foreign intercourse, for services rendered since the 4th day of March in the year 1841: and if so, how much? and also, whether the said Mr. Duff Green has further known claims or demands for such services?" has the honor to report to the President that the amount of expenditure paid out of the fund for the contingent expenses of Foreign intercourse, from the 1st of Dec. 1840, to the 1st of December 1843, together with the names of the individuals to whom the payments were made, as well as the objects of such payments, may be seen by reference to the Letter of the Secretary of State to the Speaker of the House of Representatives dated Dec. 9, 1841, (Doc. No. 4, State Dept.) and a report made by the Undersigned to the chairman of the Committee on the Expenditures of the Department of State (in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives,) dated April 8, 1844, (Rep. No. 484, H. of Reps.) From these documents it appears that, on the 3^d day of Nov. 1841, there was paid to Mr. Duff Green, out of the Fund for the contingent expenses of Foreign intercourse, the sum of \$500.00 as Bearer of Despatches to London and Paris. And again on the 9th day of December 1842 there was paid to the same individual, out of the same fund, the sum of \$500 for expenses and compensation as bearer of despatches to Paris. These items include all the payments, which appear from the files of this Department to have been made to Mr. Duff Green from the first day of December 1840 to the first day of Dec. 1843, and since this last date, it does not appear that any amount has been paid by this Department to the said Green, nor any evidence on its files that he has or holds further claims or demands for services against it.

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy

*To Robert Wickliffe, jr.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 17th June, 1844.

SIR: The Senate having advised, and consented to, your appointment, as Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to Sardinia,² I herewith transmit to you, your commission in that character.

Your despatches of the 17th, 21st and 30th of March,—the last communicating the opinions of the American Consuls at London and Liverpool, on the subject of protests, to which the two former despatches related—have been received. A reference to the Treaty of Commerce, which subsists between the United States and Sardinia, will show, that there are no principles in it, which were intended to, or can overrule, or control, the established municipal law of that Country, in regard to the admissibility of evidence in any of His Sardinian Majesty's Courts, or to the forms to be observed by Captains of American vessels arriving in the ports of Sardinia; unless such regulation should operate in favor of the national or any other flag to the disadvantage of our own.

However onerous and peculiar the requirements of the Sardinian Government may be in these respects, it must be obvious that we have no just ground of complaint. It is certainly the duty of the American Representative to use every exertion to procure modifications in the laws and regulations of the Country in which he resides, calculated to facilitate commerce and simplify the formal proceedings required upon the entry of American ships; but, at the same time, acting under higher and more general considerations, the greatest care should always be taken by him, never to vex and annoy the Government to which he may be accredited, by presenting to, or urging upon, it claims that may be regarded as either unreasonable or dubious.

By an examination of the list of books, and documents, given in your No. 2, of the 17th February, it is perceived that your Legation is supplied with all volumes allowed by the Department.

¹Original in the archives of the Department of State, Instructions to Agents in Italy; text derived from an official copy

²June 14, 1844, after a good deal of delay. See Exec. Jour Sen., VI, 196, 198, 238, 306, 337, 338, and the letter of June 6, *supra*.

Your despatches of the 19th March, No. 4, and of the 10th April (not numbered), have also been received. That of the 17th March, however, was not numbered.

To the Governor of the State of Massachusetts.¹

Department of State, Washington, June 26, 1844.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency, herewith, the copy of a letter recently received from the British Minister at Washington, enclosing, with a view to the fulfilment of the 4th Article of the treaty of August, 1842, and with reference to the application of this Department, authenticated copies of certain grants of Lands situated on the south side of the St. John's river and within the territory of the United States, communicated to him for this purpose by the Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick; and at the same time acquainting me that an act has been passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick to enable the Government of that province to carry into effect the provisions of the article referred to, in respect to lands situated on the North side of the river and within British Territory.

To Charles J. Ingersoll.²

State Dept 2^d July 1844

MY DEAR SIR, It is not contemplated to remove the Consul at Buenos Ayres at present. The application of Mr Moss for the place will be put on file and will be duly considered should a vacancy occur.

The concerted and active interference of the English and French Governments against the Annexation of Texas cannot be doubted. I do hope the information of what they are doing may be received in such a form as to enable the President to lay it before Congress.

As far as I can learn the South is becoming very excited and united on the subject. I see Brownson's³ quarterly has a short, but very good article on the subject.

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 34; text derived from an official copy.

² Original lent by Mr W. M. Meigs, of Philadelphia.

³ "The Texas Question," Democratic Review, April 1844, p. 423.

*To John Southgate.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 12th July, 1844

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant. The claim to which it refers is presumed to be that on the late Government of Colombia on the case of the Schooner *Ranger* which was adjusted by the Convention between Mr. Moore and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that Republic on the twenty fifth of November, 1829. The amount of the claim as recognized in that Convention was five thousand one hundred and thirteen dollars and fifty-nine cents with Interest at six per cent from the second of August, 1825, until paid. That Republic separated soon after the date of the Convention into the three states of which it was composed. This made it necessary to demand payment of those States according to the proportions of the debts of Colombia which they severally assumed. Fifty per cent was accordingly demanded of the Republic of New Granada through the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States accredited to that Government and in 1837, the New Granadian Congress appropriated four thousand three hundred and Twenty one dollars for the payment of its share of the indemnification due in the case of the *Ranger*. This sum is believed to have been paid in the course of the summer of 1839, by the authorities at Santa Martha to M^r. Robinson, the Consul of the United States at that place, who remitted the amount to M^r. Fred. Vincent of Norfolk. It appears that with a letter from this Department to M^r. Semple, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota of the 4th of September, 1838, a power of attorney from Augustus Martin, John Rushill and William B. Manning to Frederick Vincent and another power from M^r. Vincent to M^r. Semple and M^r. Gooding of Bogota in relation to this case was transmitted. It also appears from M^r. Semples dispatches, that M^r. Robinson remitted the money to M^r. Vincent in obedience to M^r. Semples directions. The Republic of Venezuela was accountable for twenty-eight and a half per cent of the claim. This was demanded through M^r. Williamson, the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 34; text derived from an official copy.

Caracas and an appropriation for its payment was made during the Session of the Congress of that Republic of 1838, 1839. From a letter of this Department to M^r. Vincent of the 5th of March, 1839, it appears that the expediency of his executing a power of Attorney authorizing some person at Caracas to receive the money from the Venezuelan government was suggested. It is understood that he complied with the suggestion by empowering M^r. Williamson for that purpose. The money was received by M^r. Williamson in the course of the summer of 1839, and remitted to M^r. Vincent by a bill of exchange which was contained in a sealed letter from M^r. Williamson to him. Mr. Williamson's despatch transmitting that letter through this Department, bears date the 6th of August, 1839. The precise amount paid by Venezuela is not mentioned in any paper in the Department but may easily be computed from the data given above. The balance of the claim amounting to twenty-one and a half per cent is still due by the Republic of Ecuador.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Washington 14th July 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have been so incessantly engaged with my official duties untill recently, as to compel me, in a great measure, to neglect my private correspondence, which will, I hope, satisfactorily explain, why I have delayed so long to acknowledge yours of the 31st May.

I regard the nomination of M^r Polk to [be] the best, that could be made under all the circumstances. It has done much by freeing the party of the dangerous control of what may be called the New York Dynasty. Another four years of its control, after a restoration, would well near have ruined the party and country. A more heartless and selfish body of politicians have rarely ever been associated together. I was much gratified with M^r Dallas' nomination. My friends every where will give the ticket a hearty support; and I have strong hope it will succeed. The intelligence, as far as my information extends, is favourable. . . .

¹ Original lent by Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington. See Wharton's letter of May 31, in Part II, *post*.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

State Dep^t 30th July 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I would be much gratified to have it in my power to contribute to meet M^r Greenhow's¹ wishes. I highly appreciate his worth and qualifications, and the strength of his claims on myself and family; and yet I can scarcely venture to hold out any hope either to him or his friends.

The claims on the part of M^r Tyler's political and personal friends on him are pressing; and it is naturally to be expected, that he would give them a preference, especially as many of them have had their expectations excited for a long time. It is difficult under such circumstances to press any one of my friends on him successfully however great his qualifications. Acting, as I suppose, under the force of the circumstances alluded to, he makes most of his appointments on his own responsibility without consulting the appropriate Department. This, however, is in strict confidence.

What I have said goes on the supposition, that there may be a vacancy in the place of charg  . I have no reason to think, that will be the case shortly; and if there should be one, there can be no out fit till one is voted by Congress at the next session; so that on the whole, the prospect is not encouraging.

The idea that Texas will afford as many non holding States, as Slave holding is perfectly idle. The Southern boundary of the U. States, in that quarter is the Arkansaw river, West of the 100th longitude, from London. The compromise line is the 36th latitude. The part of Texas north of it is a small zone of worthless land. Benton was so conscious of it, that his proposition was to form two non Slave holding states, lying west of the Two eastern, to be Slave holding, and to be extended quite down to the Gulf.

Walker and others of our friends here, who attend to the progress of events, as connected with the election, are very sanguine of the success of Polk and Dallas. They count 11 states as certain for them and not more than 4, or 5, or 6, at the utmost, for Clay. Of the 11 they do not include Louisana, Georgia, Tennessee Indiana, N. C. Maryland, or New Jersey.

¹ Robert Greenhow, previously translator to the Department of State and author of books on Oregon.

I think the result doubtful; but if we are defeated Benton V. B. and Wright are the responsible party.

There has been a very respectable review of my volume of Speeches in the Democrattick already. I doubt whether it would publish another. Would it not be better to publish your Nephew's in the Southern Literary Messenger? The point to make a favorable impression is Virginia. I would rather have her support, than any three in the non slave holding.

*To Edward Everett.*¹

State Department, Washington, 12th Aug., 1844.

SIR: While I was engaged in preparing my despatch No. 99, relating to the extradition of the fugitive slaves, who, after committing murder and robbery in Florida, escaped to Nassau, in the Bahamas, it became necessary for me to look into the correspondence in relation to the case, when, for the first time, Mr. Upshur's despatch No. 69, and yours in answer to it, No. 90, came under my notice.

You conclude your despatch by informing the Department that, if you should receive the instructions alluded to in your conversation with the Earl of Aberdeen, you would lose no time in forwarding them to Washington, and that if, after a reasonable interval, you should not hear from him, you would again call his attention to the subject of his (Mr. Upshur's) despatch No. 69. Since then the Department has neither received the instructions alluded to, nor heard from you in reference to the subject.

The object of addressing you now is, to call your attention to the subject. It is regarded as one of deep interest, and involving a very important principle.

In your account of the conversation between yourself and the Earl of Aberdeen, in reference to the subject of Mr. Upshur's despatch, you state, that he remarked in reply to your observation in reference to the views of the laws of nations applicable to such cases as the Creole, which were

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Instructions to Ministers to Great Britain, Vol. 15: text derived from an official copy. See Calhoun's despatch of August 7, House Doc. No. 114, 28th Congress, second session.

maintained in his despatch, that he doubted whether the instructions given to the Colonial Authorities enjoined them to adopt a course in conformity with those views; adding, "that it was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to make the slightest compromise on the subject of slavery; and that when slaves were found within the British jurisdiction, by whatever means, or from whatever quarter, they were, *ipso facto*, free."

If it be the meaning of his Lordship, that Her Majesty's Government cannot make the slightest compromise of the principle that, when slaves are found within the British jurisdiction, they are, by the fact itself, made free, as is to be inferred he did, from the latter part of his remarks, we have no desire or intention to controvert it. The laws of Great Britain declare the fact to be so, and we do not question her exclusive and absolute right of legislation on that or any other subject, within her own jurisdiction. But if it be his meaning, that a vessel of the United States having slaves on board, and passing from one of their ports to another, would cease to be under the jurisdiction of the United States, and be within that of Great Britain, if she should be carried into the waters or harbor of one of her adjacent colonies, by the force of the elements, or by the revolt of the slaves on board taking possession of the vessel after overpowering the crew and murdering the commander, as in the case of the *Creole*, or by any other overruling and irresistible necessity, so as to subject the slaves on board to the operation of the act of Parliament, for the emancipation of slaves within the British dominions, then it would be the operation of a principle which we maintain to be in direct conflict with the laws of nations, with the admission of Lord Ashburton in his correspondence with Mr. Webster in negotiating the treaty of Washington, and the express understanding under which that treaty was accepted and ratified. While we admit the full and absolute right of Great Britain to legislate for her own subjects, within her own dominions, we never can admit, that she can, by any act of her's, change the laws of nations, or divest us of a particle of right, which we can justly claim under them. Nor can we admit, that our vessels, when forced into her waters under the circumstances above stated, cease to be under our jurisdiction, or come under her's, so as to change the relations of the parties on board, or

to divest them of their property. In such cases, the higher laws of humanity, by the concert of all civilized nations, intervene and overrule the municipal laws of the place at least to that extent, not to insist, as we might, that the duties of good neighborhood require that each should, as far as possible, so regulate its own affairs as not to interfere with the rights and commerce of the other.

I cannot believe that his Lordship, when he said that Her Majesty's Government could not make the slightest compromise on the subject of slavery, could intend to extend the remark to cases of this kind; and I am happy to have my belief strengthened from his reply to your remarks, subsequently made, alluding to an expression used by Lord Ashburton in his correspondence with Mr. Webster in reference to the point immediately in question.

All we ask is, that such instructions shall be given to those exercising authority in the colonies in our immediate neighborhood enjoining them that in executing the act of Parliament for abolishing slavery within the British dominions, that they shall conform to the assurances given by Lord Ashburton in the correspondence above referred to, and the principles of the laws of nations in such cases. It is England, and not we, that has made the change in the condition of the negro portion of her population, which has led to the difficulty; and we have a right to insist that she shall adopt such proper precautions, as to prevent the change from injuriously affecting our rights or security.

To Thomas G. Clemson.¹

C. C.

State Dep^t 12th Aug^t. 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote you and enclosed my measure, and franked a package to you from Mr Markoe and mailed in time to reach N. York the evening before you sailed. I hope you received them on time. I now enclose a package from Gen^l. Hamilton put under cover to Mr King who I presume will receive it before you arrive at Paris. I received a letter yesterday from Mr Boisseau and one from Mr Mason of

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Clemson had now gone to Brussels, where he was chargé d'affaires.

Boston after their return from the *Argo*, and was happy to learn that you had so fine a start and were all in such good spirits. I hope you may find the voyage agreeable throughout. I shall be anxious to hear of your arrival at Paris.

Nothing new since I last wrote. I had a letter from home and one from Willey dated at Millwood, after the return of himself and his uncle from Glen's Springs. All were well at home; and Willey wrote that his health and that of his Uncle's had improved.

I have been exceedingly engaged in preparing dispatches for the Steamer for the last 8 or 10 days; and have just finished. I send out by her two very important to M^r Everett and one to M^r King. That to the latter and one of the two to M^r E are very long, and I think they are both calculated to make a strong impression. One of those to M^r E is on the subject of the Seven Slaves in Florida, who after escaping from their masters and murdering and robbing in their way took shelter in Nassau, whence they were demanded and refused to be given up under the Ashburton treaty. The question involved is, whether it is a case within the provisions of the treaty. That I think I have established beyond controversy. The one to M^r King relates to Texas and presents I think some very interesting views in relation to it, which I think will be felt in Europe.¹

My health remains good, though I have not yet got entirely clear of my cold. I expect to leave between this and the 20th Inst for home and may be gone 5 or 6 weeks.

My love to Anna and the children; and prayers for the health and happiness of you all. I received your's and her letter, written the day before you started.

*To Richard Pakenham.**

Department of State, Washington, Aug. 23, 1844.

Right Honorable R. PAKENHAM, etc.:

The Undersigned Secretary of State of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a note addressed

¹ Letter of August 12, 1844, to William R. King, United States minister to France; printed in Calhoun's Works, V, 379-392

² Original in the archives of the Department of State, Notes to British Legation, Vol 7, text derived from an official copy.

to him by the Right Honorable Mr. Pakenham, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, of the 27th of April last, stating that information had been received by his Government that two American citizens charged with the murder of a British subject, master of the brig "Naiad", were, in the month of December last, delivered up by the Haytian Government to the Commander of the United States brig "Bainbridge", to be tried by the tribunals of this country.

In reply, the Undersigned has the honor to transmit, herewith, to the Right Honorable Mr. Pakenham copies of certain communications addressed to this Department by G. F. Usher, United States' Commercial Agent at Port au Prince, in the Island of Hayti, together with other documents (numbered from 1 to 10 inclusive,) which present all the material facts in the case referred to.

From these and other papers, or *proces verbaux*, consisting of notes of examination of witnesses, depositions, warrants, decrees of courts, and other judicial proceedings, duly certified by the Haytien Authorities at Gonaives, it appears that on the evening of the 31st of July, 1843, Daniel Hays, master of the British brig "Naiad", in company with several other persons, came on board the United States brig "Zebra", Samuel S. Thomas, master, then lying at anchor in the port of Gonaives; and, after some conversation with the said Thomas, (those who accompanied him in the mean time conversing apart with the crew,) left the vessel and returned to shore. That previous to this visit, Captain Thomas had been informed by the Commander of the British barque "Eliza Killick", that Hays was endeavoring to excite his crew to mutiny, or to seduce them from his employment. That about 10 o'clock at night of the same day, Hays came alone in a boat alongside the "Zebra", and, being hailed and warned off by the Captain, retired. An hour afterwards he again approached the vessel as before, was again hailed, but returned no answer. At the same time one of the crew of the "Zebra", in a mutinous spirit, encouraged him to come on board, and proffered him assistance; but, the Captain promptly interfering, the boat again left the vessel, and returned to shore.

On the next day, August 1st, the master of the "Zebra"

went on shore; and, after conferring with the consignees of his vessel, informed some of the authorities of the place of the facts and solicited the aid of a guard; which not being granted, he employed the services of a Haytien to assist him in preserving subordination amongst his crew. At about 9 o'clock P. M. of the same day, a person approached the ship in an open boat, as on the night previous, who proved to be Captain Hays, the Master of the Brig "Naiad." He was hailed, but returned no answer. One of the crew of the "Zebra" again invited him to come on board, with promises of aid. He was warned to desist from his obvious purpose, and, being threatened, returned an answer of defiance, at the same time lifting something from the boat and pointing it towards the deck of the "Zebra", as if in the act of firing. At this moment the Haytien on board, with or without orders, discharged his piece, and Hays fell mortally wounded.

The day after these events, Captain Thomas, his mate, Curtis, and the Haytien, were arrested; and after an examination before the authorities at Gonaïves, committed to prison, where they remained until the 12th of December, 1843, (frequent though unheeded applications being made in the mean time by the United States' Commercial Agent at Port au Prince for their trial or discharge,) when, on the demand of the commanding officer of the United States' brig "Bainbridge", that they should either be brought to trial, or released, they were formally delivered up to him.

Such appear to be the principal and well established facts of the case. Other circumstances are also adduced in evidence which leave no doubt that Hays had corrupted the crew of the "Zebra"; that his object in those night visits was to take them to his own vessel then lying at the mouth of the harbor ready for sea; and that the act of killing being in self-defence, was one of justifiable homicide.

The Undersigned is not disposed to controvert the principle asserted by the Right Honorable Mr. Pakenham in regard to the jurisdiction of independent States over offences committed within the limits of their respective territories. As a general rule, the principle is readily admitted; but the facts and circumstances attending the case under consideration would seem justly to constitute it an exception to such rule;

and when the long confinement of the accused, the revolutionary state of the country, the unsettled condition of the Government within whose jurisdiction the offence is charged to have been committed, and the prospect of indefinite imprisonment arising from the intestine commotions of the Island prevalent at the time, are considered, the conduct of the Commander of the "Bainbridge" in demanding the trial or enlargement of the prisoners, seems to be warranted by the duty which every Government, under such circumstances, owes to its citizens.

The Undersigned, in reply to that part of Mr. Pakenham's note which suggests that the individuals charged with the offence should again be arrested and brought to trial, deems it proper further to remark that the courts of the United States have no jurisdiction in cases like the present, nor can an arrest be lawfully made. It may, however, be proper to state that, in the present case, the individuals charged with the murder were, on their landing at Pensacola, brought before a criminal court in the territory of Florida, duly arraigned, and upon an examination of the testimony certified by the Haytien authorities at Gonaives, fully acquitted and discharged from custody.

To William Wilkins.¹

Department of State, Washington, Sept. 4, 1844.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 22^d ultimo, in reference to your claim against the Government, for expenditures incurred while Minister Resident at St. Petersburg.

The well established rule of the Department, at the time when the claim was first made, did not admit of its allowance; and acting on this rule my predecessors Messrs. Forsyth and Upshur, decided against it. Office-rent at the period referred to, was not allowed except to our Ministers at London and Paris, and this rule has been invariably adhered to, except in the cases to which you refer, of Messrs Van Ness and Eaton.

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 34; text derived from an official copy. William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, was Secretary of War in Tyler's Cabinet from February 15, 1844, to March 8, 1845. He had been minister to Russia in 1834.

The reasons which induced Mr. Webster to adopt a different rule in these cases are unknown to me. I cannot however concur with him in its propriety, as it tends, directly, to open anew long settled accounts, and I have invariably declined to act upon it, in the cases submitted to my decision.

To Ogden Hoffman.¹

Department of State, Washington, Sept. 10, 1844

SIR: The Department of State has received information from several quarters that the Mexican Government has two armed steamships in the port of New York, and that the Commanders are enlisting crews, and procuring Military Stores and equipments, in that city and elsewhere. The object of this note is to call your attention to the subject, and to urge the strictest scrutiny in regard to their proceedings. No doubt is entertained that the object of these preparations, is the invasion of Texas; and it is important that our laws of neutrality should be strictly observed. It may be well, therefore, that you institute enquiries, and use your best exertions to ascertain, whether the existing laws have been violated, and if so, to take immediate steps to bring the offenders to justice. In order to afford a clue to your investigations, I enclose you extracts from two letters just received at the Department.

To William W. Irwin.²

Department of State, Washington, 13 September, 1844.

SIR: The attention of this Department has been again called to the subject of the Danish Sound Dues. The information

¹Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 84; text derived from an official copy. Ogden Hoffman, afterwards attorney-general of New York, was during this Administration United States district attorney for the southern district of that State

²Original in the archives of the Department of State, Instructions to Ministers to Denmark, Vol. 14, text derived from an official copy. William W. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, was at this time chargé d'affaires in Denmark. For the relation of the United States to the question of the Sound Dues, see Wheaton's International Law, 184, his History of the Law of Nations, 158, and the treaty of April 11, 1857, by which the matter was finally settled.

respecting these dues on file here, is not sufficient; and I now write for the purpose of obtaining from you whatever may be necessary to render that information complete. On the receipt of these instructions you will proceed to examine the subject, and to procure and transmit hither, at as early a moment as practicable, everything in relation to the Sound Dues which may be within your reach. As a satisfactory mode of imparting the kind of knowledge which is sought, it is suggested to you to make out, or cause to be made out, in a tabular form, statements showing the number of American vessels and the amount and kind of American property, which, (since 1783, the period when, it is believed, our commerce first entered the Baltic,) has passed annually, through the Sound and Belts—the amount of tonnage—the dues exacted, and all other taxes and impositions, of every description, arising, directly or indirectly, out of the enforcement of this toll,—and a comparative view of the commerce of other nations trading to the Baltic, within the same period. You will also furnish copies of the different tariffs which have been in force, and point out the various discriminations which have affected, and still affect, favorably or unfavorably, the trade and commerce of the United States. In this connection, it may be proper to remark that the rates per centum of the duties laid upon different articles of commerce may be equal, but, at the same time, by laying high duties upon some articles and low duties upon others, there may be an advantageous discrimination in favor of one and a disadvantageous discrimination in regard to the other.

The Sound duties are, as you know, regarded, by the Northern Powers of Europe, in the same unfavorable light that they are by the United States. Prussia is interested in their modification or suppression; they being held by her to be the chief obstruction to the full development of the Baltic trade, and more especially of the direct trade of the United States with the States composing the German Custom's Union, which must pass through the Prussian ports of the Baltic.

You will make no formal communication to the Danish Government upon this subject, but if it should become necessary to apply to it for any information which you think may prove useful, you are at liberty to state, if necessary, that the

object of the application is to enable you to answer inquiries which your Government has made in regard to the Sound dues.

As bearing upon the subject under consideration, I have directed copies to be made, and forwarded to you with this despatch, of a correspondence between M^r. Steen Billé, the Diplomatic Representative of Denmark, near this Government, and Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, respecting the negotiations between England and Denmark, which resulted in the Convention of August, 1841, by which the former power obtained a reduction of the duties on those articles in which her trade was chiefly interested.

Your despatches to No. 29, inclusive, have been received, with the exception of No. 12.

*To Tilghman A. Howard.*¹

Unofficial.

Washington, September 13, 1844.

DEAR SIR: I yesterday forwarded to you by a special messenger, Lieut. George Stephens, a copy of a dispatch to our Minister at Mexico, Gov. Shannon,² the original of which will be delivered to him by Gen^l Green, who, having been detained here a day, furnishes me the opportunity of transmitting to you the enclosed paragraph, which, since the departure of M^r. Stephens, it has been thought advisable to add to the original dispatch.

It is probable that you will not have delivered the copy before this reaches you, as Gen^l Green leaves here tomorrow direct for Vera Cruz *via* Galveston. In this case you can annex the enclosed as the *concluding paragraph* of the dispatch immediately preceding the signature. If, however, you shall have delivered the copy, it would be proper to hand the paragraph to President Houston and inform him that it should be so annexed, so as to make it a full and correct copy of the original.

¹ Copy in the Texan archives; transcript furnished by Dr. Lester G. Bugbee. Maj. Tilghman A. Howard, of Indiana, chargé d'affaires in Texas since June, had died at Washington, Tex., on August 16, but this was not known to Calhoun till September 15.

² Dispatch of September 10, 1844, printed in Calhoun's Works, V, 364-373.

[Copy, enclosed.]

“You are requested to renew the declaration made to the Mexican Secretary by our Charge d'affaires, in announcing the conclusion of the Treaty—that the measure was adopted in no spirit of hostility to Mexico, and that if annexation should be consummated, the United States will be prepared to adjust all questions growing out of it, including that of boundary, in the most liberal terms.”

*To Thomas G. Clemson.*¹

C. C.

State Dep^t 14th Sep^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I am, you will see, still detained here, contrary to my calculation and desire; but expect to leave certainly between the 20 and 25th Ins^t for home.

I have been much engaged between the Oregon negotiations, preparing dis-patches, and the ordinary duties of the office. The Steamer, which takes this, takes also for you a copy of a dispatch (sent to day by a special messenger) to our minister at Mexico. I transmitted to you by the last Steamer a copy of a dispatch to M^r King at Paris. Both have been sent to all our Diplomatick agents in Europe where it was supposed an explanation of our motives, in reference to Texas would be of service.

There has been a good deal of sickness at Fort Hill owing to the severity of the drouth and the low State of the River; but no deaths. All were well the last accounts. It is thought the cotton crop will be cut very short, compared to what had been expected, by the long continuance of the drouth. I have not heard from your place. Our Alabama crop is very good, according to last accounts.

The political prospect is good. I hold Clay's defeat and Polk's election almost certain; and, as far as I am informed, there is no danger that the latter will fall under the influence of Benton, or that wing of the party. He, indeed, appears to have lost cast with the party.

Nothing has ocured since my last to Anna worth relating.

If you got my measure, I would be glad, if an opportunity should offer, that you would Send me a broad cloth coat and

¹In Brussels.

a pair of pantaloons, both black, and a waist coat of the same, or some suitable colour.' Also a pair of boots and one of shoes.

You have, ere this, been some time in Paris, and will I presume be in Brussels before it can reach its destination, to which place, I have accordingly, addressed it. I shall be very anxious to hear from you and learn the impression, which Europe and especially Paris has made on Anna.

I hope you all continue well, and have enjoyed yourselves much. My love to Anna and Kiss the dear children for their grandfather. My health continues good, although I have been working hard.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson.¹

State Dep^t 16th Sep^t 1844

MY DEAR SIR, The mail of yesterday brought the melancholy intelligence of the death of General Howard, our Charge at Texas;—an event, which may be justly regarded, under present circumstances, as a publick misfortune.

The state of things in Texas is such as to require that the place should be filled without delay and to select him, who under all circumstances may be thought best calculated to bring to a successful decision, the great question of Annexation, now pending before the two Countries. After full deliberation, you have been selected as that individual; and, I do trust, my dear Sir, that you will not decline the appointment, however great may be the personal sacrifice of accepting.

That great question must be decided in the next three or four months, and whether it shall be favorably or not, may depend on him who shall fill the Mission now tendered to you. I need not tell you how much depends on its decision, for weal or woe to our country and perhaps to the whole Continent. It is sufficient to say, that viewed in all its consequences, it is one of the very first magnitude, and that it gives an importance to the Mission, at this time, that raises it to the level with the highest in the gift of the Government.

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mrs. M. E. Wilcox, of Washington, the possessor of the original. Another copy was supplied by the Department of State. Owing to the death of Maj. T. A. Howard, chargé in Texas, mentioned in a previous note, Major Donelson, nephew and formerly private secretary of General Jackson, was appointed in his place

Assuming, therefore, that you will not decline the appointment, unless some insuperable difficulty should interpose, and in order to avoid delay, a Commission is herewith transmitted, without the formality of waiting your acceptance, with all the necessary papers.

You will be entitled to an outfit of \$4500 and a salary of an equal amount, commencing with your acceptance. There is no outfit appropriated, as no vacancy was anticipated, but application will be made to Congress to make an appropriation when it meets. In the mean time, the President has ordered that a quarter's salary should be advanced, which you will find done by a draft on N. York. I hope it may be sufficient for the present. It was all that could be done. If, by any possibility, you should be prevented from accepting it, as I trust will not be the case, you will please return the draft.

You will find, also, enclosed a copy of the dispatch, with its enclosures, forwarded a few days since, to the late Charge, by a Special Messenger. They are transmitted to you, in order to put you, in advance, in possession of the views of the Government, in reference to the threatened invasion of Texas by Mexico. They are for your own eye, but you are at liberty to show them to General Jackson and to consult with him on the subject.

I shall be anxious to hear from you at the earliest period, and take the liberty of wishing you, in anticipation of your acceptance, much success in your Mission. As I expect to leave this, for my residence in South Carolina, before your answer can reach here, I will request you, in addition to your official letter addressed to the Department, to address a private letter to me at Pendleton, South Carolina.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

State Dep^t 17th Sep^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have been prevented by my numerous and weighty engagements from acknowledging your note of the 21st Aug^t. at an earlier period.

¹Original lent by Mrs Francis Wharton, of Washington. See Wharton's letter of September 11, in Part II, *post*.

The excitement in a portion of Carolina, to which you refer has gradually subsided, and will give no farther trouble.¹ I had to act with great delicacy, but at the same time firmness in relation to it.

In reference to the subject touched on in yours of the 11th Ins^b. I have no doubt of the great necessity for such a Journal, as you suggest in Philadelphia, and I would rejoice to see you at the head of such an one; but I apprehend that there would be difficulty in obtaining the patronage from the South, which you intimate. It would be difficult to make those, who have the means, realize the necessity of establishing such a paper by funds to be drawn from other states, especially in a place so populous and wealthy as Philadelphia. Add to this the great pressure from exceedingly low prices of their agricultural products, under which our planters have been labouring for many years, and I should think the prospect hopeless.

Although I cannot hold out hope for support from the South, yet, I trust, there may be found sufficient local support of a sound character to sustain an able, honest and respectable paper in your city. Your present Journals are woefully deficient; quite below the standard of New York, Boston, Richmond and Charleston. The evil ought to be removed, and I am sure would be, if you were placed at the head of a paper, with a respectable list of subscribers. Can you not rally a sufficient number of the respectable portion of your citizens for the purpose, especially the younger part? I do not know a State or City, which requires to have its politicks elevated to a higher standard, than Pennsylvania and Philadelphia. In none is the contrast greater between the individual character of its people and that of its government.

I am of the impression, that the defeat of Clay and the election of Polk is almost certain. It will be a marked event in our political history. It will be the last of Clay; and when he disappears from the publick stage, the Whig party will disperse and new political combinations must follow. It will

¹ The reference is to the so-called "Bluffton movement," by R. B. Rhett and others, in favor of "separate action" by South Carolina in view of the grievances of the South. It originated at a dinner given to Rhett at Bluffton on July 31, but was "headed off" by a subsequent meeting at Charleston on August 19. See Niles, LXVI, 406, 419, 434

be a new departure, from which many are destined to date their fall or elevation. My own impression is, that it will prove auspicious to the cause of sound principles and correct policy. Mr Clay has been a great disturbing power in the harmonious and regular movements of our Government, especially in the southern and western portion. where the influence of his personal character has been the most felt. He has done much to distract the South, and to keep the West out of its true position. These reflections, if correct, go to show the great importance of able and honest Journals to give the proper direction at such a juncture.

I write you freely and you must regard what I have written to be intended for yourself.

*To Ogden Hoffman.*¹

Department of State, Washington, Sept. 21, 1844.

SIR: A communication was addressed to you by this Department sometime since, calling your attention to the conduct of the Mexican Government, in fitting out, as has been represented to this Department, two Steam Vessels of War in the Port of New York, against the provisions of the Acts of Congress of the 20th of April, 1818, and the 10th of March, 1838, and requesting your prompt attention to the Subject. It is a Source of equal surprise and regret, that no notice of this communication has been received at this Department. The subject is one of high importance, involving at once the power of the Country and the Supremacy of its laws; and in the discharge of my duties I cannot too earnestly urge it on your consideration. One of these vessels, I am to-day informed, has already sailed from the port, destined. as there is strong ground to believe, against the Territory and Citizens of a country, with which the United States are at peace. You will pardon me, therefore, in again calling your attention to the Subject, with a view to such information, as may enable the Executive to decide what course it ought to pursue, in maintaining the Laws of the Country and the honor of the Repub-

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 34; text derived from an unofficial copy.

lic. The case is deemed of so much importance, that the Department has thought itself authorized to employ the professional Services of the Hon. John McKeon to aid you in the investigation; and a communication has this day been addressed to him to that effect, and he is desired to see and cooperate with you.

*To John McKeon.*¹

Department of State, Washington, Sep^t 21st 1844

SIR: Information has been received at this Department from various quarters, which leaves little doubt that the Mexican Government is now engaged in fitting out two Steam Vessels of War in the Port of New York, against the provisions of the Acts of Congress of the 20th April, 1818, and the 10th March 1838. This Department is informed that the commanders of these Vessels, have given orders for large supplies of shot, shells, etc., and are enlarging the number and calibre of the guns on board, enlisting Seamen and purchasing munitions of war generally, to be used it is apprehended against the citizens and territory of the Republic of Texas, with whom the United States are at peace.

Under these circumstances the Department considers itself called upon, to institute an enquiry, into the facts of the case; and relying on your zeal patriotism, energy and intelligence, I have to request that you see and consult with the United States District Attorney, if he should be in the City, and cooperating with him you will immediately take such steps as may seem expedient, in order to ascertain the facts and report them to this Department. If the District Attorney should be absent, you will yourself promptly adopt such measures as may appear to you necessary and proper to secure the desired information. Our laws of neutrality should be strictly observed by, and enforced against all nations as involving the public peace and National honor.

I have to-day learned that one of these vessels has been permitted to leave the port without question or scrutiny, and

¹ From the same source as the preceding. John McKeon, M. C. from New York before the date of this letter, and afterwards district attorney in New York City, was at this time a prominent practicing lawyer there

that the other is on the eve of sailing. You will therefore perceive the necessity of immediate Action, in order that the Executive may be enabled to adopt such measures, as the circumstances of the Case may warrant, and the laws demand.

To Franklin Dexter.¹

Department of State, Washington, Sept. 24th, 1844.

SIR: This Department learns through the public prints that the house of Philo Shelton and Co. of Boston has contracted to supply the Mexican Government with a quantity of tents, and that the contract is understood to have been made through British Agency.

It is desirable that the truth of this statement should be ascertained. You will consequently make proper inquiries for that purpose, and communicate the result to this Department. Your attention is particularly requested to the laws of the United States passed for the purpose of maintaining our neutrality, and if you should have reason to believe that any measures are in contemplation calculated to contravene them, you will institute proper process with a view to defeat those measures.

To Edward Everett.²

Department of State, Washington, September 25, 1844.

SIR: Mr. Walker, one of the Senators of Mississippi, submitted for the consideration of the Senate, near the close of the last session of Congress, the two following resolutions:

Resolved, That the President be requested to inform the Senate whether the Parliament of Great Britain has passed any act extending its criminal jurisdiction to the United States, so as to subject any portion of their citizens, or persons within their limits, to its penalties for acts done within the same, and to communicate a copy of said act, if any such there be, together with any information he may possess, as to the means which may have been adopted to carry its provisions into effect.

Resolved, That he be also requested to inform the Senate whether the Government of Great Britain has issued circulars to its diplomatic or con-

¹ From the same source as the preceding. Franklin Dexter was U. S. district attorney for the district of Massachusetts from 1841 to 1845.

² Original in the archives of the Department of State, Instructions to Ministers to Great Britain, Vol. 15; text derived from an official copy.

sular agents to collect information as to the condition of any portion of our population, and, if so, to transmit to the Senate a copy thereof, if in his possession, together with any information he may possess, as to the object of issuing the same.

They were laid on the table without being acted on, as it may be presumed, from the want of time. They will probably be renewed at the next session and adopted.

The immediate object of this despatch is to obtain the information requested by the resolutions, in order to have the means of answering the call, should it then be renewed and adopted.

On examining a collection of the statutes of Parliament, I can find but one act (the 6th and 7th of Victoria, entitled "An act for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade,") which would seem to come within the description of the first resolution. It is the one, probably, which occasioned its introduction. It expressly extends the criminal jurisdiction of Great Britain to its subjects in foreign countries, in all cases embraced within its provisions; and as it may, of course, be inferred to her subjects residing in the United States; but, in order to remove all doubt upon that point, you will ascertain, through the proper department of the Government, whether her subjects, residing within the United States, are intended to be embraced in the provisions of the Act or not; and, if they are, you will obtain and transmit a copy of the same, published by the authority of the Government.

You will, in the next place, ascertain who are intended to be embraced under the expression of British subjects. Is it intended to be restricted to those only who may be sojourning or residing temporarily in the United States, without intending to become citizens? or, to all who may have been born within the limits of the British dominions including as well those who have become citizens of the United States as those that have not?

The second section of the 5th of Geo: 4th declares it to be unlawful for any person (except in special cases thereafter specified,) to deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer; or to contract for the dealing or trading in, purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves; or to lend or advance, or become security

for the loan or advance of money, goods, or effects employed or to be employed in accomplishing any of the objects or contracts, or in relation to the objects and contracts, which objects and contracts have hereinbefore been declared unlawful, or to become guarantee or security; or, in short, to be in any manner engaged or concerned in buying, selling, or dealing in Slaves.

The act of the 6th and 7th Victoria recites these provisions, and declares that they shall extend to British subjects in foreign countries, and adopts all the provisions of the act of the 5th Geo. 4th, entitled "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the abolition of the slave trade." The 10th Section of that Act declares that all persons offending against its provisions, and their procurers, counsellors, aiders, and abettors, to be felons, and shall be transported beyond sea, for a term not exceeding ten years, or shall be confined to hard labor for a term not exceeding five years, nor less than three, at the discretion of the court, before which they may be tried and convicted. You will ascertain whether it is intended that British subjects in the United States, who shall any way be concerned in buying, selling, or dealing in slaves as is declared in the 2^d Section of 5th Geo: 4th, and recited and adopted by the 6th and 7th Victoria, as above stated, shall be liable to the penalties contained in the 10th section of the former.

There is not a little uncertainty as to the object intended to be effected by the Act of the 6th and 7th Victoria, taken in connection with that of the 5th Geo: 4th. The object of both, as declared in their respective titles, is the suppression of the slave trade; by which it is usually understood, the African slave trade. That was unquestionably the object of the 5th Geo: 4th. But the object of the 6th and 7th Victoria (the Act in question), would seem to be not so much the abolition of the slave trade, as the abolition of slavery itself, as far as British subjects in foreign countries are concerned. If reference be had to the reported debates on the bill while on its passage through the House of Commons, in order to ascertain its object, it would seem, by the declarations of its advocate, that it was to prohibit, indirectly, the slave trade, by prohibiting British subjects and British capital from being engaged in purchasing and employing slaves in countries where the

African slave trade is still permitted, in order to prevent thereby the increased stimulus it was calculated to give that trade. If that is, in truth, its object, there can be no motive whatever for extending its provisions to the United States. They have long since effectually suppressed the trade. But if that be not the object, you will ascertain what in fact is the object for extending the provisions of the Act to British subjects in the United States.

You will also ascertain what measures have been adopted to enforce its provisions, and particularly what instructions have been given by the British Government to their Consuls or other agents concerning that Act, or that of the 5th Geo. 4th. I enclose for your information a copy of a circular purporting to contain instructions to its consuls in relation to the former act, taken from one of the public journals. If any such circular has been issued or any other, you will obtain a copy and transmit it to this Department, and also a copy of that issued under the Act of the 5th Geo. 4th referred to in the circular, if any such has been issued.

You will, finally, ascertain whether it has issued a circular or circulars of the description referred to in the 2^d resolution; and, if so, obtain and transmit copies to the Department. We have no knowledge of any such, but it has been intimated from different quarters by the public journals, that a circular of the kind has been issued. It is probable that these frequent intimations have led to the introduction of the resolution.

The British Government cannot take any just exception to the course adopted by this Government to get the information which you have been instructed to obtain. The Act of the 6th and 7th Victoria, on its face, purports to extend its criminal jurisdiction to persons within our limits, and who while there are subject to our laws and entitled to our protection, and that not only gives our Government a right to obtain the information asked for, but makes it its duty to ask for it.

Should you ascertain that it is intended to extend the provisions of the Act to British subjects residing in the United States, you will, in an earnest manner, invite the attention of the British Government to the subject. We hold that the criminal jurisdiction of a Nation is limited to its own dominions and to vessels under its flag on the high seas;

and that it cannot extend it to acts committed within the dominion of another, without violating its sovereignty and independence. Standing on this well-established and unquestioned principle, we cannot permit Great Britain or any other Nation, be its object or motive what it may, to infringe our sovereignty and independence by extending its criminal jurisdiction to acts committed within the limits of the United States, be they perpetrated by whom they may. All therein are subject to their jurisdiction, entitled to their protection, and are amenable exclusively to their laws.

It is not anticipated that the British Government will deny or contest a principle so clear and so unanimously acknowledged; and we must believe, until convinced of the contrary, that the act passed without due deliberation, or taking into consideration its bearing on the sovereignty and independence of other countries. It would indeed seem, if we are to judge from the debate as reported that it passed the House of Lords without its attention being particularly directed to its provisions, and that of the Commons, after a very hurried discussion, just at the close of the session, and little to the satisfaction of many of its members.

It is to be hoped that the Government of Great Britain, on having its attention invited seriously to the subject, will readily correct what would seem to be an inadvertence committed in the hurry of legislation. If in this we should be disappointed, it would be difficult to conceive what measure she could adopt more offensive to our dignity and rights as an independent country, or calculated more certainly to lead to serious consequences.

*To Ogden Hoffman.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 26 Sept., 1844.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th inst., accompanied by a copy of an affidavit of Henry Cook, a fireman on board of the Mexican Steamer *Montezuma*. In reply, I have to state in reference to the case of the Mexican Steamers that if, after consultation with Mr. Coxe, a doubt

¹Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol 34; text printed from an official copy.

should arise on a point of law, you will state the point distinctly and transmit the same without delay for the opinion of the Attorney General. In regard to facts, consulting with Mr. Coxe as you will on all occasions, you are much more capable of making up a correct opinion than the Department at this distance. Mr. Coxe and yourself will therefore act conjointly on your own responsibility so far as evidence of facts is concerned, observing the rule to act in no case but on clear evidence, and at the same time not to permit the vessels to depart if the evidence be clear that it would be in violation of our neutral obligations.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 7th Oct^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, . . . The friends of Polk now regard his election as about certain. I think the prospect good; but the Whigs are making great efforts, which may tell deeper than their opponents calculate. A few weeks, however, will soon decide, which side shall prevail.

There has been a good deal of excitement in our state in consequence of the movement of M^r Rhett in favour of separate action of the State.¹ The publick sentiment has settled down against his course, and all is now quiet; but the feeling of the state is deep both on the subject of the Tariff and Abolition. If Clay should be elected or Polk not fulfil expectation, in the event of his election, the feeling will burst forth into action. . . .

To George W. Houk.²

Private.

Fort Hill, 14th Oct^r., 1844.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 1st ins^t. followed me from Washington to my residence here, where I am on a short visit.

It is a great mistake, either way, both North and West,

¹ The so-called "Bluffton movement." See note to the letter of September 17, *supra*.

² From a copy kindly furnished by Mr. G. P. Thruston, of Nashville, Tenn., the owner of the original. George W. Houk, a Democrat, of Dayton, Ohio, had written to Calhoun to elicit his views.

that South Carolina is hostile to the Union. There is not a member of our Union more devoted to it than she is; I mean the Federal Union, as it came from the hands of its framers. But she believes that the Union may be destroyed as well by consolidation as by despotism; and that of the two, there is much more danger of the former than the latter. And, hence it is, that while other States look with indifference for the most part at the tendency of the system to consolidation, she regards it with the veriest jealousy as the exposed point, and one that ought to be guarded with the greatest care. According to her creed consolidation must necessarily lead in succession to injustice, oppression, fraud, corruption, violence, anarchy and despotism; and her efforts, accordingly, have been directed to averting these and not to dissolving the Union. And hence her devotion to State rights, which she regards as the only effectual means of averting them, and saving both liberty and Union. She considers those who advocate doctrines and measures tending to consolidation as the most dangerous enemies to both.

If she has taken high ground on the question of admitting Texas into the Union it is not because she has any pecuniary interest whatever in her annexation. On the contrary, she clearly sees that it must act as a powerful drain both on her population and capital; but sees, also, that it is necessary for the safety of the West and South, while it is calculated to advance the interest and prosperity of the North and East. Thus regarding it, she cannot but see that the ground on which annexation is opposed by leading Whigs in the latter sections implies not only a total indifference, but deep hostility to the South and its domestic institutions, a hostility unless resisted and put down destructive of the great object for which the Union was formed—the mutual safety and protection of the members composing it. It is this view of the subject which has given utterance to the strong expressions of some of our people, which has been construed as evidence of the hostility of the State to the Union by those whose acts and declarations clearly prove them to be wholly indifferent to it, except as an instrument of plunder and oppression. What I have written is intended exclusively for yourself.

*To J. A. Stuart.*¹

Fort Hill 21st Oct 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I am glad you have noticed as you have, the statement of the Charleston correspondent of the U. States Gazette of Philadelphia, purporting to give a conversation that I had on my way through Charleston. There is no truth in it, or semblance of truth, except that I expressed my opinion pretty confidently, Mr Polk would be elected, to all my friends who made any enquiry on the subject. With that exception, I said nothing to justify, or any way to countenance the statement; and you are authorized to say so. I made no allusion to my remaining in the office I now hold, or that there was any understanding that I should continue in it. It would have been both indelicate and untrue to have done so. Nothing has ever passed between Mr Polk and myself, directly or indirectly, on the subject. I neither know his views nor he mine on the subject. The whole was [a] base device to influence the Pennsylvania election.

I congratulate you on election; and rejoice, that the tricks resorted to, in order to defeat or rather distract the party in Charleston, have been so effectually counteracted.

In giving my opinion, as to the probable result of the Presidential election, while in Charleston and since my return, I spoke on the supposition, that the abolitionists could not be brought to vote for Clay. Such was believed to be the case when I left Washington by all our friends. I fear, however, that the fact will turn out otherwise. The present indication is, that they will vote for Clay. In that event, I fear he would be elected. Should such be the case, we may look out for a fearful struggle the next four years, which we can not too soon prepare to meet. The first step should be to unite and organize the South. If that can be done, all will be well; otherwise, it is difficult to say what may come.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 12th Nov^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I arrived here on my return from home day before yesterday, accompanied by M^{rs} Calhoun, Cornelia,

¹Mr. Stuart was editor of the Charleston Mercury. The original of the letter was lent by Mr. Yates Snowden, of the Charleston News and Courier.

James and Eugenia Calhoun. We had a very pleasant journey, with fine weather all the way. I have taken lodgings for the winter at a new Hotel, between Gadsby's and the Deposite. James has come on to go to the Virginia University, and will leave in a few days. We left Willey at Fort Hill, with M^{rs} Ryan and her son James. Patrick and John have not yet returned. I had a letter from John yesterday. They were high up on the Mississippi, at Fort Leavenworth, but expected to leave for S^t Louis in a few days. They will be with us shortly, unless they should return by Fort Hill. . . .

I intended to visit your place from Edgefield on my return, and made my arrangement accordingly; but Co^l Pickens told me it was unnecessary; that he had made arrangements for the next year, and laid in all supplies; and that everything was going on well. He will write you fully. He seems to take much interest in your affairs, and informs me, that M^r Mosly, your neighbour, was over every day. I would have gone any how, but I found, that he was so intent on having me to meet all of the gentlemen of the Village at the dinner he had made his arrangements to give me, the next day, that I had to yield to his wishes.

I consulted him on the point, whether it would be expedient to add to your force under existing circumstances, and we both concluded, considering the price of negroes and cotton, and the prospect as to the future price of that article, that it would not be. Negro women were selling at from \$300 to 400, and men in proportion, notwithstanding the low price of cotton.

I received your's and Anna's letters from Paris before I left home, by the former Steamer. The letters by the last, among which there was one from you, written after you arrived at Brussels were forwarded to Pendleton. . . .

To William C. Brown.¹

C. C.

Washington 14th Nov^r 1844

DEAR SIR, I have received your note enclosing an article from the Christian Citizen, headed John C. Calhoun, and

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting.

Written by the Rev^d. Charles T Torrey as you state.¹ The Rev^d Author states; that "three years since, he (John C. Calhoun) sold another man's wife for a harlot. She was the wife of his Coachman; a beautiful and pious girl; a member of the methodist church. The purchaser was a planter in Alabama: the price \$1400. Some months after the Sale, the poor husband having been sent into the upper part of South Carolina, with a coach, for a member of M^r. Calhoun's white family, took the opportunity to flee. He went to Alabama, sought and found his injured wife, and fled in the night on foot. After weeks of hunger and toil they reached the upper part of Maryland. The wife a delicate woman was taken sick and died. Three days the sorrowing man wept over her remains. At last he buried her, with his hands, by the river side, then toiled onwards towards Canada. I saw him some months ago, a sad gloomy, heart broken man."

You have been taught, you say, to look on me as a man of great talents and pure character, and ask me "are the above charges true? If not true literally, are they true in Substance? or are they totally untrue?"

Believing your motive for making these enquiries to originate in friendly feelings and a desire to know the truth, I will answer you. They, then, are not only not true, either literally or in substance, but are totally untrue, and without a shadow of foundation; and have been fabricated by some artful runaway to attract sympathy or acquire distinction, or with some one else for a still baser purpose. My character as a master is, I trust, as unimpeachable, as I hope it is in all the other relations of life. I regard my relation to those who belong to me, in the double aspect of master and guardian, and am as careful to discharge the duties appertaining to each, as I am those, which appertain to the numerous other relations in which I am placed.

How far the Rev^d author stands justified before God and man for publishing the base and unfounded charges he has made against me, or for violating the laws of the land in perpetrating the act for which he is imprisoned, I leave it to others to decide.

¹ Rev. Charles T Torrey, the abolitionist, who was at this time a prisoner in the Maryland penitentiary, and who died there in 1846.

[P. S.] If I am right as to the motives which induced you to address me on the Subject, you will of course take steps to have this published in the journal through which the Slander propagated. I will thank you, if you will forward the paper containing it.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Washington 20th Nov^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, Judge King's nomination will, if my memory serves me, have to be renewed, according to the usage of the Senate.

I must say, that your letter places his character in a light, which I have not heretofore regarded it. I had taken the impression, that although a man of talents, his political association connected him with a set of politicians of a very objectionable character, which subjected him to doubt. Under this impression, I was disinclined to his nomination, without, however, taking any part against it, while before the Senate. It is due to the occasion to say, that the impression made on my mind, has, I am inclined to think, been made on that of many others; so much so, that his nomination will be in great danger, unless it should be well sustained from the respectable portion of your bar and the City, especially, if your two Senators should be opposed to him. I take it, that the wing of the party, usually opposed to the nominations of the President, will be against him, which would certainly cause his defeat; unless he should receive the support of the better portion of the Whig party. If, however, your two Senators will support him, I should think that his prospects would be fair. Without it, there would be great difficulty in obtaining the confirmation of his nomination. I write in confidence, and only for your own eye.

I regard the defeat of Clay and the election of Polk, under all circumstances, as a great political revolution. Great events may grow out of [it], if the victory be used with pru-

¹ Original lent by Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington. Edward King, of Pennsylvania, was nominated as a justice of the U. S. Supreme Court by President Tyler on June 5, 1844; he was renominated on December 4, but on February 7, 1845, the nomination was withdrawn.—Executive Journal of the Senate, VI, 306, 355, 392.

dence and moderation. There is much to be done to bring things right, and save the Government, but in order to be successfully done, it must be done gradually and systematically. I say, save the Government; for to my mind it is clear, that it cannot go on much longer, as it has for the last 15 or 20 years, and especially the last 8.

I am of the impression, an article, such as you suggest for the Review, is very desirable, but that it ought to be delayed untill several other papers, I have prepared, since the close of the session, make their appearance, which will be during the coming session. My two letters to Mr. Pakenham were intended but as the beg[inn]ing of a long correspondence with the British Government which in its progress would involve all the subjects embraced in her course in reference to our country on the question of slavery. In that, I was disappointed, as no reply was made to my second letter to M^r Pakenham; but much, which I intend to bring out, has been brought out on other questions.

To H. Gourdin.¹

Department of State, Washington, 2^d Dec., 1844.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 21st ult. (enclosing one from M^r. Lowden); and that of M^r. Ellmore, of the 28th ult. relating to the claim of the heirs of the late Jno. Paul Jones.² M^r. Lowden is well aware of the steps taken by this Government, and of my disposition to do everything that can be done to effect the settlement of a claim so meritorious and of so long pendency.

Since the Communication to Congress of all the information on this Subject, which the Department possessed, in answer to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of 22^d April last, nothing further has been received. I have, therefore, this day addressed a despatch to M^r. Irwin, a copy of which I transmit, for the satisfaction of those interested, which it is hoped will stimulate him to new and successful exertions in the case. And any new evidence which the parties may have that bears upon the subject, will of course be sent by them

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol 35, text from an official copy.

² See letter of May 20, 1844, *supra*

directly to M^r. Irwin, who has been in correspondence with M^r. Lowden respecting it.

To William W. Irwin.¹

Department of State, Washington, 2^d December, 1844.

SIR: You will perceive by the enclosed papers, which are copies of letters recently received, that the heirs of the late Commodore J. Paul Jones, believing the present to be a favorable time for urging upon the Danish Government a speedy settlement of their just and long neglected claims upon it, have again solicited the interposition of this Department.

In answer to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of 22^d April last, I communicated to that Body copies of all your despatches upon the subject, in reply to the instructions you had received from this Department. I enclose a copy of the printed document containing this correspondence. There is reason to believe that a call will be made upon the Government this session, for further information. And your attention is thus early invited to the matter, to afford the opportunity to transmit the results of your application to the Government of Denmark, in behalf of the claimants, in time to meet any inquiry that may be made, before Congress adjourns. If no further steps have been taken by you in the premises, since your last despatch, No. 18, you will, without delay, address an earnest note, on this subject, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which it may be expedient to mention the interest which the House of Representatives has taken in the case.

Your despatches, Nos. 30 and 31 have been received.

To William R. King.²

C. C.

Strictly confidential.

State Dept 13th Dec^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have delayed writing to you untill I should receive the letters and dispatches by the *Caledonia*. Owing

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Instructions to Ministers to Denmark, Vol. 14; text derived from an official copy. See Twenty-eighth Congress, first session, on, Exec. Doc. 261.

² From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. William R. King, Senator from Alabama from 1818 to 1844 and afterward (1853) Vice-President, was at this time minister to France.

to her long passage, and the delay in receiving what she brought, from Boston, the letters and dispatches by her were not received untill yesterday. Among them, there was nothing from Paris.

This [is] the last day that communications by her on her return can be mailed, which, as I have several letters besides this to write, will compel me to be very brief.

A copy of the correspondence of the Dep^t. with Texas and Mexico in reference to the question of annexation will accompany this, and among them a copy of my dispatch to you. It has made, I learn, a deep impression, as far as it has been read; and I hope it will attract the attention in Europe, which the vast importance of the topics it touches demand. They are of a character to interest every country on both Continents, in their commercial and political relations. If England should consummate her grand scheme of commercial monopoly, disguised under the garb of abolition, it would not only subject the commerce of the world to her control, but would, on all that portion of this continent lying South of Mason and Dixons line, end in a war between races of the most deadly and desolating character; to be terminated in a large portion in the ascendancy of the lowest and most savage of the races and a return to barbarism. England from her position, would necessarily become the patron of the colored races of all hues, negroes, indians and mixed, against the white, which unless France and the continental powers, generally, but especially her, should become the Supporter of the latter, would give them the superiority. The intimate relations of France with Brazil and Spain would seem to make it impossible that she should be indifferent to the fate of the former or Cuba, not to mention her old and long standing friendly relations with the U. States. Nor can it be supposed, that she is so deficient in sagacity, as not to see what a commanding position she might take in conjunction with them and in connection with the U. States. I throw out these suggestions to turn your attention to the great and important bearing of the present remarkable juncture in the political and commercial world. You may have occasionally opportunities of giving events the direction we desire.

Resolutions for the annexation of Texas have been intro-

duced into both Houses. I hope the measure may succeed; but I have my fears. Should it fail, Benton will be responsible for the result. He seems bent on¹ doing all the mischief he can, both to the country and the party. He covers and protects the whigs by his course. His conduct on the annexation question, and that of the Northern wing of the party on the reception of abolition petitions, and of Mass^{ts} in sending an emissary to South Carolina, will be the cause of much excitement during the session. It is difficult to see in what it may all end.

I entirely agree with you, as to the importance of disseminating correct information in France on the subject to which you refer, and you are authorized to incur an expense on that account not exceeding \$500, to be charged to the contingent fund of the Department.² No one can be better qualified to prepare the proper articles for the purpose than Mr Walsh, who you suggest.

The time is so short that I can add no more.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Private.

Washington 13th Dec^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, My official business, as well as my correspondence, has got so far in the rear, and I find it so difficult to bring it up, in consequence of the great increase, which is attendant on the meeting of Congress, of current business, that I am compelled to write very brief letters.

The great question of the session will be the annexation of Texas. It will be brought up without delay in both Houses and pressed with Zeal by its friends. It will, I think, pass the House almost certainly; but I fear, it may be defeated in the Senate, where the Whig party is very strong.

There is much Speculation, as to Mr Polk's Cabinet; and not a little intrigue, it is said, is going on in various quarters. I am perfectly passive and am indifferent as far as I am personally concerned and keep my decision to myself, whether I shall remain in or not, if I should be invited to continue. It

¹ If a pun is here intended, it is, so far as the editor's memory extends, the only jest to be found among Mr. Calhoun's letters written in mature years.

² See Mr. King's letter of October, *post*.

will depend on circumstances. My friends are anxious that I should remain, but whether I shall or not will depend, on what will be the probable course of the administration. If there should be reasonable grounds to infer, that it will accord with my principles and views of policy, I will make the sacrifice. If not, I shall retire. The course of the Northern wing of the party has been very bad on the abolition question, which has caused much dissatisfaction among the Southern members, and will I doubt not cause much through the entire South. The excitement is already great in South Carolina. She is ready to act. If the annexation of Texas is to be defeated by the same spirit, which has induced the reception of abolition petitions, it is difficult to say, what may be the consequence.

A very angry correspondence has taken place between our minister in Mexico and her Government. It will end in words. She is on the eve of anarchy and revolution and is destitute of the means of waging war. The Steamer, which takes this, will take the correspondence with Texas and Mexico, growing out of the question of annexation. It has been well received especially the letter to M^r King, which has created quite a sensation.

I learn from M^r Serruys,¹ that he has been indirectly informed, that it [is] contemplated to remove him to Denmark, because his treaty had fallen to the ground, and that he has, in consequence, become unacceptable to the United States and thereby incapable of rendering any service. This impression, it seems, has grown out of the cause which it is supposed led to the removal of his predecessor Baron Behr.

I regret, that the impression exists, and take much pleasure in saying, that there is no foundation for it. On the contrary his conduct has been such as to make him every way acceptable to our Government, which I wish you to take some early opportunity to make known to his Government. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 27th Dec^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, We have been greatly distressed by the accounts, which your's and Anna's letters give of the suffering

¹ Charles Serruys, Belgian minister in Washington.

of Calhoun from the disease with which he has been afflicted, but are much relieved to learn that it has taken a favourable turn. We shall, however, feel much anxiety, untill we hear, that he is out of all danger, which we hope we shall by the next Steamer. Your's and Anna's anxiety and suffering must have been intense.

I am under a severe pressure of business, and, as I have little to communicate since my last, I shall have to be brief.

Nothing has yet been done in Congress beyond the introduction of various bills and resolutions, and among others, several relating to Texas. The fate of annexation is doubtful. The Whigs, from appearances, seemed resolved to preserve their organization; and, I fear, will unite with little exception, against the measure; while the V. B. Benton¹ wing of the party have evinced a strong disposition to act with them. I hope, however, publick opinion will force them to give up their opposition. Its effects are already appearant. The Globe² has changed its tone, and the attacks from that quarter on me have abated. Benton will, it is said, be certain to be instructed to vote for the measure. With these indications, the prospect is pretty fair, that it will pass the House of Representatives; and if it should, I hardly think, the Senate will assume the responsibility of defeating it.

Nothing yet is known as to the intention of Mr Polk in reference to the formation of his Cabinet. He keeps a prudent silence.

Cotton still continues to fall. Its average price may be said to be about 4 cents per pound. The effects will be ruinous in the South, and will rouse the feeling of the whole section. The pressure of the Tariff begins to be *felt*, and understood, which will lead to its overthrow, either through Congress or the separte action of the South. The feeling of resistance will be greatly increased in consequence of the course of the Northern democrats in reference to the 25th rule.³

Say to Anna, that I would write to her by the present conveyance, as hard pressed as I am for time; were it not that

¹ I. e., Van Buren-Benton

² Francis P. Blair's paper.

³ John Quincy Adams's motion that the twenty-fifth rule of the House of Representatives, "gag-rule," be rescinded, was adopted December 3, 1844.

several letters will go to her from the family by it, which will give her all the news.

I have not had time to take into consideration the subject of a treaty with Belgium, but hope I will by the time the next Steamer shall arrive.

We are all well and all join their love to you and Anna. Kiss the dear children for their Grandfather.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

Washington 29th Dec^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR, My engagements are so onerous, that I am forced to write very few and very short letters.

In answer to your enquiry, how the Western Democrats voted on the repeal of the 25th rule, I am sorry to say, that the great body voted for it. It was, with few exceptions, the votes of the two sections, slave holding and non slave holding, arrayed against each other. They appear to me to be coming daily, more and more, into deadly conflict. To judge by indications, which are constantly occurring, we shall be thrown on our own means of defending ourselves on that vital question. It would seem, that we can look no longer to our northern allies for support in reference to it.

The Texian question is the all important question at present. Its fate is still doubtful. The real opposition is from the Benton V. Buren party, and has its centre in the Empire state, where the opposition, in the ranks of our own party against the South, has ever originated. It was there the opposition of Burr to Jefferson, and of Clinton to Madison, originated. It was by the combine[d] influence of N. York democrats and the Nationals or Whigs, that the oppressive Tariffs of 1828 and 1842 were imposed on us; and now by the same combination, the annexation of Texas is opposed and is in danger of being defeated. Benton is but an instrument in its hands; and yet it is this very N. York wing of the party, which has been so anxiously courted by Virginia for more than 15 years! It is time that she should open her eyes to the real state of things.

Notwithstanding the strength of this combination, I am of

the impression, that if the question of annexation should be properly pressed, it will pass the House this session and if it should, I cannot but think the prospect is fair, that it will force its way through the Senate.

We hear nothing from Tennessee. Co^l Polk seems to be observing a prudent silence as to his course and the constitution of his cabinet. As yet, I see no unfavourable indications.

To William H. Rouse.¹

Washington 7th Jan^r 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I have read your letter with attention and interest. You needed no apology for writing me fully and frankly on any subject, however delicate. Our long and intimate acquaintance gave you the right, and I always hear you with pleasure.

I agree with you, substantially, in all your views, both as it relates to the publick and myself.

We have, indeed, at last reached a crisis. It has been long coming, but come it has. It remains to be seen whether our institutions and liberty will survive it. It has not come unexpectedly to me. Of one thing I feel assured, they will not survive, unless we shall return, in good faith and honesty, to the good old doctrines of '98, and that that can only be done by Virginia taking the lead, at the head of the Southern States. To a departure from them, in many and important instances, the present dangerous condition of our affairs are to be attributed, and it is only by such a return to them, that impending dangers can be averted. No President, however patriotick, sagacious, and energetick, can reform this Gov^t, without the united support of the South, and that can only be had through the lead of Virginia.

As to myself, I was forced into my present position, greatly against my inclination, by a sense of duty. Nothing else could have induced me to accept it, and nothing can induce me to hold it for a single day, whenever I can retire consistently with duty and propriety.

¹ Senator from Virginia, 1841-1845. Original kindly lent by the owner, Mr. C. P. Greenough of Boston.

*To Charles J. Ingersoll.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 9th January, 1845

SIR: On the 30th of March last the President transmitted a message to the House of Representatives communicating a note from A. Pageot, Minister Plenipotentiary *ad interim* of the King of the French to the Secretary of State in relation to the tonnage duties levied on French vessels coming into the Ports of the United States from the Island of St. Pierre and Miquelon; and proposing to place our Commercial intercourse with these islands upon the same footing as exists with the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, as regulated by the act of the 9th of May, 1828, and the 13th of July, 1832.

The President in his Message suggested the propriety of extending the provisions of these laws to the commerce of the Islands in question, but Congress adjourned without having acted on the subject.

Under these circumstances, and at the instance of the French Minister, I beg leave to call your attention to the subject, and to suggest the expediency of some final action on the part of Congress during the present session.

*To John Y. Mason.*²

Department of State, Washington, January 11, 1845.

SIR: The Secretary of State of the Government of the Sandwich Islands, has said in a recent note to M^r. Brown the United States Commissioner there, that the late M^r. Upshur had acknowledged that this government could not claim for our citizens in those Islands the privilege of being tried by a Jury of foreigners. No such acknowledgment is contained, nor is the subject in any way alluded to, in any letter on record whilst M^r. Upshur was Secretary of State. I will consequently thank you to inform me if it is mentioned in any order or other communication from your Department whilst

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6, text derived from an official copy

² John Y. Mason, of Virginia, afterwards noted in connection with the Ostend Manifesto, was at this time Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Tyler. The original of this letter is in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 35, text from an official copy.

he was Secretary of the Navy, and if so to send me a copy of, or extract from, the letter.

To the Publisher of the Madisonian.¹

Department of State, Washington, 23 Jan^r., 1845.

To the Publisher of the Madisonian:

The newspaper now published by you has been selected for publishing the orders, resolutions and laws, except such as are of a private nature, passed during the 2^d session of the 28th Congress; all public treaties entered into and ratified by the United States, except Indian treaties; and amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Should you accept the appointment, you will, immediately on the receipt of this, be pleased to notify the Department of such acceptance, and name the person or persons who, as publisher or publishers, will be entitled to the compensation for the publication herein authorized. To him or them, or to his or their order only, payment will be made. Should a transfer, into other hands, of the paper take place, a notification thereof from the person or persons so named will be necessary.

It is expected that you will, on no account, divide any one act, unless from its great length it should exceed the limits of three pages of your print. And you will not fail, in publishing the orders, resolutions, laws, etc., to observe all the requisites prescribed by the act of Congress of the 20th April, 1818, "to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes," so far as the same have not been repealed by the Amendatory Acts of the 11th of May, 1820, and of the 26th of August, 1842.

During the publication of the laws, you will forward your newspaper regularly to the Department of State. It has been usual for the publishers of the Acts of Congress to furnish the Department with their respective papers for the entire year, and it is expected you will conform to the custom, without, however, additional charge on that account.

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 35; text derived from an official copy. The *Madisonian* was a Tyler organ.

A copy of the pamphlet, containing the orders, resolutions, laws, etc., published at the end of the Session, will be sent to you through the post office, as soon as it shall have been received from the press. You are requested, upon its reaching you, carefully to compare its contents with the publications in your newspaper, and should there be any omission in the latter, within the limits of these instructions, to supply the deficiency without loss of time.

Your compensation will be at the rate of one dollar for each printed page of the above named pamphlet laws, etc., published by you according to these instructions.

Together with the pamphlet, there will be transmitted a form of account and receipt to be signed by you (or in case of a transfer of the paper, by the new publisher or publishers whose name or names shall have been communicated as above directed) and sent to this Department for payment.

*To the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.*¹

Department of State, Washington, Feb. — 1845.

SIR: The following table exhibits the number of foreign missions and consulates, and the number of regular clerks in the Department of State, together with their compensation at different periods.

Years	Missions	Consulates	Total	Clerks	Compensation.
1818.....	7	67	74	10	\$13,400
1827.....	16	115	131	18	17,000
1845.....	24	177	201	14	19,250

From this it appears that from the year 1818 to 1845, a period of 27 years, there has been an addition of only *four* to the regular number of Clerks in the Department of State, of which number only *one* has been appointed in the last eighteen years.

In the period embraced in the table, the number of Missions and Consulates has been nearly trebled, and the duties of the

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy.

Department have, probably, been quadrupled. Many of these additional duties have been performed by extra clerks employed under various acts and resolutions of Congress. Of these, there has been as many, at times, as eleven, exclusive of those employed on the Census. At present there are eight. Nor has there been less than this number at any time (except for short periods) during the last four years.

By the law of August, 1842, it is enacted, "that no extra clerks shall be employed, in any Department Bureau or office at the Seat of Government, *except during the Session of Congress*, or when indispensably necessary to answer some call made by either House of Congress at one Session to be answered at another." However beneficial such an enactment may be in its general operation, it is obvious that it must at times prove embarrassing in a Department, in which there has been an addition of but one to the number of regular Clerks, in the long period of 18 years, during which the population and resources of the Country have been greatly increased, and the duties of the Department increased in probably an equal proportion.

The Act of August 16th, 1842, makes it the duty of the Secretary of State, to lay before Congress, at the commencement of each Session, "An Account of Such Changes and Modifications, in the Commercial Systems of Foreign nations, by treaties, duties, and imposts, and other regulations, as may have come to the knowledge of the Department." Under this act, and under the various calls made by the Senate and House of Representatives for information respecting our Commercial relations with foreign nations, an irregular commercial and statistical Bureau has grown up in the Department, composed exclusively of extra clerks.

It is very desirable that there should be a permanent Bureau of this kind connected with the Consular Bureau; and as the clerks in this Bureau must, for the proper performance of their duties, have a knowledge of the various foreign languages, and a minute acquaintance with foreign moneys, weights, and measures, together with much other general information, they ought to be suitably compensated for their labors.

Both the British and French Governments have such Bureaux, which make very copious reports, on whatever is supposed to be of interest, in the Commercial relations of other Countries. The knowledge which they seem to appreciate so highly, cannot be of less importance to us than it is to them.

Under these circumstances I submit to your Committee, and through you to the House of Representatives the propriety of taking such measures as will (without increasing the expenses of the Government) make it practicable to effect a better arrangement of the Department, in respect to the Clerks employed, than exists at present. I would especially suggest the propriety of passing an act, to authorize the appointment of a Clerk with a salary of \$1450 per annum to take charge of a Statistical and Miscellaneous Bureau, and also of making the usual annual appropriation, in the general appropriation Bill, of \$2,000 for extra clerk hire and copying.¹

The accompanying table exhibits the amount paid for extra clerk hire, and copying, from January 1st, 1841, to December 31st, 1844, inclusive of what has been paid under resolutions calling for information, and other resolutions and acts of a specific nature.

Years	From Contingent fund of Dept.	Fund for Expenses for Reso- lutions.	For Indices papers of Wash- ington.	Total
1841.....	6178. 14	6178 14
1842.....	5686 39	5686 39
‡ of 1843	3491 64	475 00	3966. 64
Fiscal Year 1843-4.....	6322 00	2184. 00	1183 00	9689. 00
to Dec. 31 1844.....	333. 71	4463 60	572	5369 31
	\$22011. 88	6647. 60	2230. 00	30889. 48

Average per Annum 7722 37

The above is exclusive of payments for a proof reader and distribution of Laws, and documents, and for Compiling an Index to the laws amounting to..... 1150

And for compiling and attending to the printing of the Biennial Register which at \$500 biennially would be per an..... 250

Making a total per annum..... \$9122. 37

¹ Such a clerk, called "Superintendent of Statistics," was first appointed by act of August 18, 1856.

To John Tyler.¹

Department of State, Washington, 10th Feb^y, 1845

TO THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary of State to whom has been referred the Resolutions of the Senate of the 4th inst. requesting the President "to communicate to the Senate, if in his opinion not inconsistent with the public interest, whether Mr. Duff Green does now hold, or has lately held any Diplomatic or official station near the Government of Texas, and if so what? when appointed? at what salary? and with what instructions?", has the honor to state, in reply thereto, that M^r. Duff Green was appointed Consul of the United States at the Port of Galveston in Texas on the 12th day of Sept., 1844, and received from this Department his ordinary printed instructions as such, and none other,—that no salary attached to this appointment, and that he neither holds nor has held any Diplomatic, or other official station near the Government of Texas.

To Charles J. Ingersoll.²

Department of State, Washington, 15th February, 1845

SIR: In answer to your inquiry as to what provision it is in my opinion desirable to adopt for a permanent Mission in China, I beg leave to suggest the expediency of making an appropriation for a Minister Resident with a Salary of Six thousand dollars per annum, and an outfit of the same amount, to which there should, it seems to me, be added, a Secretary and Chinese Interpreter with a Salary of two thousand and five hundred dollars per annum. This provision is much less than is made by other governments having similar relations with China, and the rate of compensation is but moderate, having in consideration as well the expenses of living in that country, as the importance of the duties to be performed by the Minister.

¹ Original in the archives of Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy.

² Original in the archives of the Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy. Caleb Cushing had lately been sent out as our first commissioner to China.

*Conversations with Francis Wharton, February 18, 20, 1845.*¹

On Tuesday, February 18, I called on Mr. Calhoun. He was at his lodgings, at the U. S. Hotel, in Washington and I found him in his bedroom, he having only partially recovered from an attack of congestive fever which had much endangered his life. As he rose to meet me, on my entering the room, I was much struck with the emaciation of his frame, and the feebleness of his gait. He was much thinner than before, his eye was glazed, his cheek hectic, and his voice broken by cough. He spoke, after a few moments conversation on other subjects, about the Oregon negotiation. I saw him again on the Thursday evening following, and on both times he enter[ed] very fully into our foreign as well as our domestic relations. He said that the Oregon correspondence was, he trusted, coming to a satisfactory conclusion, and he spoke with great pleasure of the courtesy with which it had been conducted. He was sure, however, come what might, that the South w^d earnestly stand up against the dismemberment of the continent.

The South had always done so;—

e.g. The war of 1812, and the N. E. boundary negotiation, in which he believed he had rendered much service. He mentioned that when Mr. Benton's bill was pressing, to fortify the disputed territory, he called on Mr. Wright, with whom he had previously had no intercourse, and told him a war was inevitable, if the bill passed. He suggested the bill to authorize the president to raise 50,000 volunteers on an emergency. The bill passed unanimously. He wished that on the Texas question, a similar spirit had been manifested by the North. He believed Texas was essential to the interests of the South, and North also. What it might work on slavery, he c^d not say, but he presumed that it would gradually wear slavery southwards.

He said the words "concurrent majorities" were the essence of the constitution. He thought that the safety of the country depended on checks. He objected vehemently to Dorrisism, as breaking down all constitutional checks.

¹A document in the handwriting of Francis Wharton, endorsed "Conversation with Mr. Calhoun, Feb. 1845." Original lent by Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington.

He spoke very kindly of Mr. Adams, saying, however, that adversity had had an influence on him by no means genial. Mr. A. was always in earnest; and when in Mr. Monroe's cabinet, had shown much energy, public spirit, and knowledge of expedients, though but little tact. He was too apt to be rash &c.

Mr. McDuffie he mentioned with great respect:

He said that sh^d he not remain in the cabinet, he w^d return home, and that his mind was firmly concluded not to return to the Senate. His health was decaying, and he was desirous also to finish a work he was then engaged in on political economy.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 26th Feb 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, The last Steamer brought yours of the 28th Jan^r. with letters from Anna to her mother, Patrick, and John.

I am happy to inform you, that I am in a great measure recovered from the effects of my late illness. It was a case of an inflammatory fever, with a strong congestial tendency. My recovery has been very slow; occasioned in part, I doubt not, from being compelled to see company and to attend to business, as soon as I was able to leave my bed.

I have delayed writing to the last day by the Steamer, in the hope, that I should be able to give you information of the fate of the question of annexation of Texas and the formation of the Cabinet. Strange as it may appear, neither is yet known, although it is now but six days to the 4th of March. It is thought the vote on annexation will be exceedingly close; so much so that a single vote will turn the scale either way. It will probably be taken to night.

Of the formation of the Cabinet nothing certain is known. The impression is, that the present will all go out. and an entirely new one formed, at the head of which will be Mr Buchanan. Whether it be true or not, a few days will determine. As to myself, I have personally no solicitude. I am and have been throughout perfectly passive, and have

requested my friends to be so. Indeed, if invited, I should not remain, unless the organization of the Cabinet should be such as to be in the main satisfactory.

I will see Mr Beele on the subject of the patents, and let you know the result by my next; but I must say, I do not see how your right can be secured in them without your name appearing, or being liable to appear, which, although there is nothing wrong in it, would, I think, expose you in your present position to unpleasant imputations.

I am much obliged to Mr Tampier for the present of wine he proposes to send me as a sample, but, if I should not remain in office, which is probable, I would regret his sending it, in that case; as I would not be able to render him the aid, that I would otherwise desire, to effect the object he has in view.

I have not had time to read your publick dispatch, by the last Steamer. Your suggestions in reference to the grade of charge de Affaires, appear to me to be well founded, and will be taken into consideration, if I should remain in office. I see many changes, which should be made in connection with the Department.

I am rejoiced to learn, that the health of Calhoun is perfectly restored. I felt very uneasy about him. I hope the indisposition of the child will prove light. We are all well. Say to Anna that I have no time, or I would write to her. I must conclude, as the time for closing the mail is just at hand.

All join their love to you and Anna. Tell Calhoun that Grandfather hopes he is a good boy; and Kiss him and his sister for me.

*To Richard Pakenham.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 27th Feb^r., 1845

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 20th ultimo, communicating, for consideration, an extract of a letter you had recently received from Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner of Boundary, which contains suggestions for the more rapid execution of the duties of the Joint Boundary Commission, during the approaching summer,

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Notes to British Legation, Vol 7; text derived from an official copy

and recommending Colonel Estcourt's suggestions to the attention of this Government.¹

I have duly submitted your communication to the President, who cheerfully recognizes the soundness of the suggestions therein made.

The attention of Major Graham, the Head of the American Scientific Corps, has also been invited to the subject; and it will be perceived from the accompanying extract of a letter from that officer, explanatory of some of the causes which have superinduced the delays adverted to by Colonel Estcourt in the execution by the American Commission of the labor assigned to it, that those causes were beyond the control of this Department and are not attributable to any want of energy or industry on the part of that Commission, but principally to changes in the original organization of the American Scientific Corps.

It is much to be regretted that circumstances should have arisen to retard in any way the progress of a work in the completion of which the Government of the United States and that of Her Britannic Majesty both feel a lively interest; and I beg you to be assured that no efforts shall be spared by this Department in endeavoring to meet, as far as practicable, the suggestions of Colonel Estcourt in the further prosecution of the Joint Survey and demarcation of the line of boundary in pursuance of the provisions of the Treaty of Washington.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 11th March 1845

MY DEAR ANNA, I leave today for Fort Hill. Yesterday I terminated my official character as Secretary [of] State, and passed the office to Mr Buchanan. Mr Polk did not invite me to continue. In an interview, which he requested, he informed me, that he had concluded to form an entirely new Cabinet, when he proceeded to express his high respect and confidence in me, which he concluded by offering and urging me to accept the Mission to England. I declined accepting in

¹ Albert Smith of Maine and Col. J. Bucknall Estcourt were respectively American and British commissioners for running the boundary under the treaty of 1842. See Moore's *International Arbitrations*, I, 164.

a mild, but decided manner; reciprocating his kind expressions; informed him that I had heard the annunciation of his course without dissatisfaction; that I had accepted the office I held with reluctance and on the condition, that I should retire when the negotiations which brought me in were finished, and concluded by saying, as he had decided that my services could be dispensed with, it releived me from all responsibility and permitted me to return to the repose of private life earlier than I had anticipated, but not than I desired. After some conversation on other subjects, we parted, he renewing his kind expressions, and I wishing him success in his administration. I immediately resigned my office to take effect as soon as my successor was ready to take possession and informed him of the fact

At the desire of M^r Buchanan, I remained in until yesterday. I acted towards him as kindly and liberally, as if I had been invited to continue and had declined, giving him full information, with my advice on all points how to proceed. Throughout I have put myself above the suspicion of dissatisfaction or chagrin, of which I felt not the least. In fact, the course pursued towards me in not inviting me to remain, has relieved me from a good deal of embarressment. Had I been invited, I should, with my views of the probable course of events, judging from the composition of the Cabinet and the language of the inaugural on the subject of the Tariff, been compelled to decline, which I could not have done with satisfaction, on the part of my friends, without assigning my reasons; and that I could not have done without coming at once to an open rupture with the administration under unfavourable circumstances. But, as it is, I retire freed from all responsibility, with the good will of all, including the administration, and the regret, I may say, of almost the whole country, with no small censure on the administration, for not inviting me to continue. I may say, I never stood higher or firmer in the opinion of the country. I have been thus full, because I suppose, that both you and M^r Clemson would desire to know, under what circumstances I retired from office. I doubt not, in M^r Buchanan he will have a good friend in office. . . .¹

¹ What follows relates to another topic, of no historical or political importance.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 23^d March 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote Anna by the last Steamer, just before I took my departure from Washington; and informed her, that on my return, I would visit the Cane Brake and write you, as to the State of your affairs there. I now write to fulfil my promise. I spent one day there, and road over the whole place, with your neighbour M^r Mawbly, with whom I quartered at his request while there, in company with M^r Bland your new Overseer. It may be proper to premise, that his predecessor had left of his own accord without notice a short time before, and without insisting to be paid, for the two months he had staid in the Second year; and that M^r Mawbly after sending for M^r Vaughn and consulting him, in the absence of Co^l Pickens on a visit to Alabama, had employed M^r Bland, at the rate of \$200 a year. He is experience[d] in the business, having been engaged in it for 9 years, and has the reputation of being a good overseer. He is married, but has no children, and is to be found bread and meat.

I found the place, all things considered, in good order. The fences had all been new built, or repaired; the oats were up and looked well; the ploughing nearly finished preparatory to planting. It seemed to me to be well done. He intended to commence planting corn the day after I left. His crop will consist of 120 acres in cotton, 110 in corn and 70 in oats. The Horses and Mules were in reasonable good plight; the hogs I saw looked well, and had, I learned, increased fast, and the sheep appeared to me to be in fine order. There were 19 lambs. I did not see the cattle.

The negroes all continued to enjoy health; and appeared contented. The Houses had advanced slowly for the want of lumber. M^r Mawbly has been, I have no doubt, very attentive. He informed me, that he had written you, that he could not continue his supervision longer than July next; but would cheerfully give any advice to M^r Bland, whenever desired. He puts great confidence in him, both as to skill and attention to business; and, I think, the prospect is fair that he will do well.

I got home yesterday, and found all well except William

Lowndes, who had the measles. He was very sick when I arrived, and spent a very bad night; but seems quite convalescent today. I went over my place to day, and find it in excellent order. It has been greatly improved since you saw it. I venture to say, that few places in the State, are in better order. I have not seen the Devon Bull yet; but hear, that he is a fine animal, and is in good order. . . .

On my return home, I spent a day in Richmond, and had a most cordial reception from my friends. I saw and conversed with all the prominent men of the party, including Mr Ritchie, who presided in a dinner party of about 20 plates, given by my intimate friends. He gave a toast complimentary of me, which was followed by three others, expressly naming me as the candidate for '48. The whole was unexpected to me. My friends there are intelligent, ardent and united. They will open the campaign for the April election on high anti Tariff grounds. Mr Siddon,¹ one of the most intelligent and ardent, was nominated by a large convention, the day I was there, as the candidate, against Botts; and will turn the discussion on the Tariff. The inaugural is regarded as not satisfactory on the subject by our friends.

I also spent a day in Charleston; and was most cordially received, without distinction of party. The Hospitality of the city was voted me. A large party of Gentlemen, not less than 100 dine[d] at the Hotel with me, and a publick dinner was tendered, which I declined. I had requested to be received quietly. I found in Charleston, and as far as I have learned, that the Cabinet and the inaugural are both unpopular in the State; as I believe they are throughout the South, if not the Union. I say but little in reference to either, especially the former. It would be both impolitick and improper. My course towards the President and his Cabinet has been marked with great liberality, and has been felt by them to be so. Mr Buchanan has spoken every where in the highest terms of it, as far as he is concerned. He pronounced it to be above all praise.

William Lowndes joins his love to you and Anna. Kiss the dear children for their grandfather. My health is quite restored.

¹James A. Seddon See his letter, in Part II, *post*.

*To James Buchanan.*¹

Fort Hill, 24th March 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, I enclose several letters which I hope you will have forwarded to their destination.

May I express the hope that Mr. Wise² may be continued at Brazil. I am sure one better qualified cannot be selected to take his place, and I know that it would be convenient and desirable for him to remain longer there.

I am aware that there was no kind personal relations between him and the President, while they were both members of the House, but I know that Mr. Wise took a decided interest in his election and has ceased to have any unkind feelings on his part.

The President can best judge what course it would be proper for him to take, but it seems to me, that a decision on his part to retain him, would be an act of magnanimity that would do him credit.

*To Charles J. Ingersoll.*³

Fort Hill 12th April 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I agree with you in opinion, that the next session of Congress will disclose many divisions and striking circumstances in the distribution of parties and the course of events, and that it is quite uncertain, where the majority will be found in either House.

There is no telling what will be the result of the next four years. Things were never more uncertain, than at present. I look on, from this distant point, silently and calmly.

I am not at all surprised, that you should be tired of the wasting distractions of continual party contest. They have, of late, turn[ed] out as fruitless, as they have been exhausting. I have long believed, that our system has been working wrong, and cannot but fear, that it is reaching a crisis, which it will be difficult for it to pass.

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original. Buchanan had succeeded Calhoun as Secretary of State.

² Henry A. Wise. He was continued till he resigned in 1847. See B. H. Wise's *Life of Henry A. Wise*, p. 119.

³ Original lent by Mr. W. M. Meigs, of Philadelphia.

I am very much gratified to learn, that you are engaged in writing an historical sketch of the late war, and that you have already made such considerable progress in the work. I hope you will make it *more than a sketch* before you are done, especially in its political and philosophical aspect.¹ In that, it is a rich subject, which, as yet, remains untouched. Its battles are nothing comparatively. In your fuller understanding of the subject, in its more interesting aspect, you will have great advantages over all, who have yet attempted the history of that important event in our history.

It is to me, as to yourself, a source of much pleasure, in taking a retrospect of the passed, to reflect, that our long acquaintance has never been mared by a single incident, in the various scenes, through which we have passed together.

I, on my part, have commenced an enquiry into the elements of political science, preliminary to a treatise on the Constitution of the U. States; but know not whether I shall ever have time to finish it.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 25th April 1845

MY DEAR SIR, The last mail brought me yours by the Great Western of the 24th March, and one from Anna to her mother by the same conveyance.

My letters subsequent to that of the 26th Feb., acknowledged by yours, will give you all of the political news up to the date of the last, transmitted, if I recollect aright by the *Hibernia*. Since then, the most important, is the dismissal of Blair and the *Globe*, and the adoption of Ritchie and a new paper to be published by him,² as the organ of the administration. I am not certain, that it indicates any change of policy; but it is a great point to get clear of Blair and his "filthy sheet." Ritchie will be at least decent and decorous; but I apprehend too little elevated for a Government paper, and too much devoted to the old clique and party tactics to produce any considerable change in the policy of Mr Polk and his cabinet.

¹ Ingersoll's Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States and Great Britain finally extended to four volumes. Philadelphia, 1845-1852.

² Thomas Ritchie removed from Richmond and established the *Union* at Washington.

I hope, I may be deceived. I am sincerely anxious, that the administration should go right, and shall take no ground against it, unless I should be forced by its acts to believe, that they are resolved to restore to power the miserable clique, which was overthrown at Baltimore; and on the overthrow of which, Mr Polk was raised to power.

You are right in your opinion, in reference to Everett. Elmore has had the mission he fills tendered to him. He has declined the place, but on grounds which will lead probably to the renewal of the tender, and his acceptance. . . . ¹

*To Francis W. Pickens.*²

Fort Hill 6th May 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I cannot disapprove of your declining the mission to England. I see many difficulties in any Southern man accepting it under existing circumstances, and yet, it is highly desirable that it should be filled, on many accounts, by a man true to the South and all its interests. In addition to the reasons you have assigned, there are others connected with the Oregon question as it stands, which, I fear, would make the position of a minister in England who is true to the South embarrassing, should he be charged with any duties connected with it. I fear Mr. Polk has taken a false view of that important question. The remarks of the inaugural in reference to it, have made it impossible to settle it by negotiation, unless he retracts, or explains away what he has said, which would be almost as embarrassing. But, what I regard as still more unfortunate; it will, I fear, make it impossible to take the only course, if it should fail, by which we ever had any chance of getting the whole Territory; that is by standing still and letting time and emigration settle the question. Our true policy

¹ See the next letter, and Pickens's letter of April 17, 1845, in Part II, *post*.

² Original lent by Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C. See Pickens's letter of April 17, 1845, in Part II, *post*. Duff Green wrote Pickens May 2, saying that he had urged the President to send Calhoun to England. The President replied that he had offered it to another Green presumed him to mean Pickens, and urged Pickens to advise Polk to appoint Calhoun, saying that Calhoun would not hold the position long, that Pickens could soon succeed him, and that meantime (a matter of the greatest importance) Calhoun could settle the Oregon matter, which the President would intrust to him but would not intrust to Pickens. (See the letter of May 22.)

was to treat the subject amicably and quietly, and, if negotiation failed, hold on to the joint occupancy, and leave it to England to terminate it, if she should so decide. I doubt whether she would, had the proper course been pursued. In that case, it would have fallen quietly into our hands.

I saw the danger, and endeavoured to guard M^r. Polk, in my first interview, against it; but, as it seems, in vain. I, also, endeavoured to guard M^r. Buchanan, but I know not whether with more success. A War with England about Oregon would be the most fatal step, that can be taken; and yet there is great danger it will come to that. In my opinion, if prevented, it must be by the Senate and the South. The question might have been successfully managed. I saw my way clearly through it, and left it in a good way. . . .

*To Abbott Lawrence.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 13th May 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I received a few days since your letter of the 30th April, containing the conditions on which you and your friends propose to accept the offer of myself and my son to borrow \$30,000. On due reflection I have concluded to decline your proposal.

In offering to pay annually 100,000 pounds of picked cotton of good quality or its value in the Boston market at the time, on the loan of the proposed sum, my calculation was based on an estimate, that at six cents the pound, we could spare that amount, after deducting all expenses. Believing that it might be safely estimated, that the article would not fall below that price, I felt safe in making the offer. As our means depended on cotton, I regarded it proper to offer it as the basis on which our annual payment would depend until the loan should be reduced. The offer was intended as a business transaction and accordingly our engagement to be met with perfect punctuality as well as the debt to be perfectly secured. Thus intended, I must decline accepting your offer, because at 6 cents the pound, (the present average) we would not be able

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. Abbott Lawrence, the eminent Boston capitalist and manufacturer.

to pay as you propose \$6,000 annually on the principle and interest in addition.

You must permit me to suggest another reason, which, if my impression is correct would of itself compel me to decline. The impression your letter made on my mind is, that your offer is made from a disposition to oblige me on the part of yourself and friends, and that with some inconvenience to you and them. If I am right, as greatly as I am indebted to you and them for your kind feelings, I could not accept, for reasons which I feel assured you will duly appreciate on reflection. When I wrote you, I had supposed that a loan might be effected from the state of [the] money market on terms mutually advantageous. It was only on that supposition that I could make the offer, or accept the loan.

I am much gratified to learn that the manufacturing interest is so prosperous and the prospects so bright. I hope it may be fully realized. I am particularly so to learn that you are so successful in commanding the foreign market. It is impossible for manufacturers, in their present advanced state to attain high prosperity, if exclusively dependent on the home market. The great point for that purpose is to get possession of the foreign market; but for that purpose, high duties instead of aiding, is a great impediment to that. The relation between imports and exports is so intimate that the one depend on the other. This the manufacturers of England begin to understand and hence the immense exertions which they are making in favour of reducing duties and free trade. They have already succeeded in repealing the duty on cotton, in order that they may get the raw material as low as you do and will not stop until they repeal them on food when they shall be able to feed their operatives as cheaply as you do yours. In repealing they look to the foreign trade; and when it shall be fully effected and low duties and free trade become the established policy, they will successfully compete with you in the general market of the world with high duties and a restricted commerce. No one can be more desirous than I am that you should be successful in commanding the foreign market. I would much rather see our cotton go abroad in the shape of yarn and cloth than in the raw state; and when the price instead of being ruled by the foreign shall be ruled

by the home market. When that is accomplished all conflict between the planter and the manufacturer would cease, but until then every measure which restricts our foreign exchanges acts as a burthen on the former. I object to high duties, among other reasons because they are, in my opinion, the great impediment to bringing about so desirable a state of things. I am no opponent to manufactures or manufacturers, but quite the reverse. I rejoice in their prosperity.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 22^d May 1845

MY DEAR ANNA, The last Steamer brought me yours of the 13th April.

I have been very punctual in writing to you or Mr Clemson, excepting the interval of my sickness. If you have received fewer from me, it was because I was almost his sole correspondent in the family, while you had several beside myself. Latterly, however, since I left the Department, I have written you and him alternately.

It was scarcely in the power of Mr Polk to treat me badly. I would consider it, at least, as much a favour to him for me to remain in office under his administration, as he could to me, to invite me to remain. Indeed, as his cabinet was organized and the views expressed in his inaugural in reference to the Tariff and his imprudent declaration in the same in reference to the Oregon question, I could not have remained in, had he invited me. I did my best in a conversation I had with him, a week or ten days before he delivered his inaugural, to guard him against the course he took in reference to Oregon, but it seems in vain. I fear it will give the country much trouble to escape from its effects. It has greatly increased the difficulty of settling the question, and has lost us the only chance we ever had to secure the whole, and may, in the end, lose the whole.

You will have seen, that after I declined the mission, it was offered to Elmore, who declined it, and then to Pickens, who did the same; and that it is now rumoured, that it will be offered to me, with full power to adjust the Oregon question and to

negotiate a commercial treaty. I have no idea it will, and, if it should be, I will certainly not accept, if I can possibly avoid it.

I was not aware until I took charge of the State Dep^t. of the immense influence, which may be exerted through it on foreign and domestick relations. I found its duties had been shamefully neglected. I had nothing to sustain me: the administration without a single advocate in Congress and very feeble in the country, with a most inefficient organ, and both parties, or rather the acknowledged leaders of one party and both leaders and followers of the other, opposed on its leading measure, that of the Annexation: and yet with all these disadvantages, I have succeeded, by a bold unhesitating course, to secure Annexation, and leave a strong impression behind, both at home and abroad, in the short space of less than 11 months. I say secured; for Maj^r. Donalson, our Charge, writes me by a letter received by the last mail, that he regards annexation as now certain. The publick voice of Texas is almost unanimous, and the Gov^t.¹ has been compelled to succumb. While conducting the Texian question successfully by bold and decisive measures, I was conducting the Oregon with equal success, by a quiet, amicable, but firm course. I saw my way clearly through it, and would have terminated the negotiation last winter in time to be laid before Congress, had M^r Pakenham received instructions from his Government, as early as he expected, at [the] stage of the Discussion at which I left it. . . .

[P. S.] If an opportunity should offer, I will forward a half dozen copies of my speeches &c to the State Dep^t. to be sent to M^r Clemson. I have put another volume apart for Calhoun, with his name inserted. I have recommenced in good earnest my preliminary treatise on the elementary principles of political science, and made good progress toward finishing the rough draft. When finished I shall commence the treatise on the Federal Constitution, which I hope to finish in the course of the year, if I can remain at home.

¹ Of President Anson Jones.

*To Andrew J. Donelson.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 23^d May 1845

MY DEAR SIR, The last mail brought me your two letters of the 24th April and 13th Inst; the latter containing the gratifying intelligence, that all the obstacles in the way of the annexation of Texas have been removed, and that there is no doubt now of the consumation of the great measure. It is, indeed, a great measure, in whatever aspect it is regarded, and has been effected under great difficulties. For the very important part you have acted towards accomplishing it, the country is greatly indebted to you. I saw from the first the use, which it would be attempted to be made of Mr. Walker's amendment to the House bill,² and that it endangered the success of annexation. Gen. Houston and the Government of Texas could not have taken any other ground so well calculated to defeat it, if such had been the design, as to have the negotiations opened anew under the amendment. Had it succeeded, whatever may have been the terms agreed on by the Commissioners, the treaty (for such it would have been) would most speedily have been rejected by the Senate. There is a settled and fixed opposition to the measure in all and every form, in that body, which can not be overcome. Seeing this, I could not doubt, that whoever was opposed at bottom to annexation in Texas would take their stand, not in direct opposition to annexation, but against the House bill, and in favor of the amendment; and that all the foreign influence—that of Great Britain and France, would be thrown in the same direction. Under this impression, I took a most decided stand against it from the moment the measure was first offered in the shape of an independent measure by Co^l Benton, and it was with great difficulty and after much exertion, that I defeated it in that shape; in which had it passed, annexation would, from what has transpired, have been clearly lost. The *Government* of Texas would have had the whole game in its own hands, and could have defeated it by delay and throwing

¹ From a copy found among the Calhoun Papers. (See Donelson's letter of April 24, in Part II, *post*.)

² An amendment, offered in the Senate by Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, which, uniting Benton's measure with the House bill, left the President free to make new terms with Texas instead of those in the original House bill.

in embarrassing propositions in its way. I also used my best efforts to defeat it in the shape of an amendment, from the same impression, but in vain. Failing in that, I lost no time in preparing and giving the instructions, based on the House resolutions, which I did as the only possible means of preventing the loss of annexation, and which, most fortunately, you have so ably and successfully carried out. The presenting it in the first instance as an ultimatum was a bold and masterly stroke. On that the success of your movement depended. The course taken by Dr. Smith, Secretary of State,¹ in opposition to annexation surprised me. I had regarded him as a firm friend of annexation. I received two letters from him in 1843; one after I had left the Senate and retired to my residence here, giving me a full account of the intrigues of the abolitionists with the British Government, in reference to Texas, and the countenance which they received from Lord Aberdeen. I enclosed the one I received here, to Mr. Upshur, in a long letter addressed to him, and urging on him the necessity of adopting some decided measure to defeat a scheme, which, if it should succeed, must prove fatal to the South, and the Union. The information which the Doctor's letter contained, and the views I presented, I doubt not had due influence in bringing about the negotiation which followed, and which we may, I trust, now say with certainty, will end in annexation.

I received the information you give in reference to Gen^l Houston's course, in strict confidence, as you desire; and wish you to consider what I write in the same way. I have not looked over my papers, but have no doubt, but that the letter to which you allude, is among them, if it has been received, as I doubt not it has.

*To John Y. Mason.*²

C. C.

Fort Hill 30th May 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I am much obliged to you for your attention to the subject of Miss McKnight's letter, which I enclosed to you.

¹ Ashbel Smith. (See his communication of July 31, 1843, in Part II, post.)

² From a copy found among the Calhoun papers.

istration,¹ and have no doubt he will acquit himself with ability and honor in his highly responsible position. He has my best wishes for his success. Of his friendly feelings towards me, I do not doubt; though candor compels me to say, that I think from some early unfavorable impression he has, or rather, I hope I may say, had formed an erroneous opinion of my motives and course as a publick man, which has prevented him from doing me full justice.

As to the special Mission, I am and have been of the opinion, it would be an injudicious step, and have frequently so expressed myself. The question can best be settled at Washington; and if I recollect aright, I so expressed myself to M^r. Buchanan before I left the Department. I am sure, it is useless for me to say, that whatever movements may have been made in reference to it, were made without my knowledge, and against my judgment. All I wish is, that M^r. Polk and his administration may carry through successfully the Texan, the Oregon, and Tariff questions, with all others which may touch the peace, the liberty, or prosperity of the country.

The dispatch, or rather the letter to M^r. Shannon, to which you allude, was not sent. If you will recollect, it was confined to expressing the views of the Government in reference to the course, which led to the suspension of diplomatic intercourse between him and the Mexican Government. It supported him in general, but expressed disapprobation of the part of his last communication which looked like an appeal to the Mexican people against their Government. The letter was approved by the Cabinet, but it was thought advisable not to send it, until there should be further developments of the course events might take; as things were very uncertain at the time in Mexico. Shortly after, intelligence was received of the breaking out of the Revolution, which ended in the overthrow of Santa Anna. Deeming it highly important that we should be ably represented in Mexico, in the turn events had taken, and that Gov^r. Shannon's position and relation to the Mexican Government were such as to forbid intercourse between them, and of course, to make his service of no avail at so critical a period, I saw the President, stated my views to

¹ As editor of the Washington Daily Union.

him, and suggested the propriety of his addressing a private letter to the Gov'., as a friend, stating the circumstances, which might render diplomatic intercourse of great importance, and the difficulty of opening it with him, and suggesting for his consideration the propriety of resigning under such circumstances. He agreed to adopt the course, and requested me to prepare the letter. The next day I was taken sick, and continued unable to attend to business for more than a month. After my recovery, I brought up the subject with the President at my first interview, and it was concluded to be too late and the administration too near its close either to send the letter I had prepared for Governor Shannon, or to write the letter he intended to address him.

In conclusion, I reciprocate the expression of pleasurable feelings, which the recollection of our association, and that of the other members of the late Cabinet, always excite in my bosom.

M^{rs}. Calhoun joins me in kind remembrance to yourself and M^{rs}. Mason.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 7th June 1845

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 25th April to me and Anna's of about the same Date came by the regular packet.

Your political reflections are just. Nothing is wanting to enable the South to have a decided control in the presidential election, but firmness, but the great difficulty has heretofore been with Virginia, under the guidance of M^r Ritchie. His policy has been to act in concert with the party in Pennsylvania and N. York, as the most certain way of succeeding in the election; and for that purpose to concede something of our principles to secure their cooperation. The effect has been to detach Virginia, in great measure, from the South, and to lower the standard of the principles, which first brought the party into power, and to divide and distract the South. But things have much improved of late in Virginia, as the last election shows. The Whigs have been signally

defeated; but what is still of much more importance, defeated in a fair canvass and by State rights men on State rights principles. The state may now be said to be under the control of our friends; young men of talents, decision and integrity, who are on good terms with M^r Ritchie, but not under his control. They are resolved to oppose him, if he should refuse to sustain our principles, and policy, which he will not do, should he find it would place him in a minority in the State, as it certainly would with their opposition. I hope for much from this state of things. If Virginia should go right, the whole South will rally around her, when victory would be certain, bringing with it the restoration of the Constitution and the reformation of the Government. The prospect is certainly better than it has been for many years.

Far as I can learn, there is no hostile feelings towards me on the part of M^r Polk and the administration. I learn from a friend, who spent several days at Washington a short time since, and had free conversation with the President and most of the members of his Cabinet, that they spoke in the kindest and most respectful terms of me, and my conduct while in the State Department, especialty of my communications to M^r Pakenham on the subject of Oregon. It seems, that they were read in Cabinet, and the highest eulogy pronounced on them, particularly by M^r Bancroft.¹ Nor do I think, that M^r Ritchie is hostile; on the contrary, I have many reasons for thinking, that his feelings have undergone much change of late in reference to myself, but it may be, not sufficient to give me a preference. All things considered, I think, the opposition to me has abated greatly; while my positive strength has greatly increased within the last 12 months.

M^{rs} Calhoun is writing to Anna by the conveyance, which takes this, and will give all the local and domestick news, which will make it unnecessary for me to repeat it. It is excessively dry. I have had but one good rain in upwards of 2 months, and that did not wet the ground thoroughly. . . .

¹ George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy under Polk.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 23^d June 1845

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I fear with you, that Wise is pursuing an injudicious course in reference to the Slave trade.¹ My instructions to him were full and pointed on the necessity of preserving the most friendly relations with Brazil in every respect. It would be greatly to be regretted, if he has taken any Step, calculated to have a contrary effect.

We have had several occurrences of deep interest growing out of the movements of the abolitionists. The Baptist and Methodist churches have both been divided into Slave holding and non Slave holding. The exposition of the cause leading to the separation of the latter has been put forth in pamphlet form. It was written by Dr Bascom;² and is one of the fullest and most powerful vindications of the South and its institutions, which has yet appeared. It will do great good. Gov^r. Hammond has published two letters to Mr Clarkson,³ which are attracting great attention. They are well written and must do good. It is gratifying to see the South taking higher and higher ground on this vital subject. If I had a spare copy, I would send you Dr. Bascom's Pamphlet.

I made a visit to Abbeville last week to erect the monument to my father, mother and sister. I found Mr McDuffie much better than I expected. His Speech is not affected, and he still retains the power of moving his leg. The nerves of sensation are not at all effected. He is cheerful and hopeful. I saw nearly all of our relatives, and found them all well. Crops, with few exceptions, looked badly. We are all well and all join in love to you, Anna and the children. Kiss them for their grandfather. . . .

¹ See Wise's Life of Henry A. Wise, pp. 109-116. Richardson, Messages and Papers, IV, 362-364.

² Henry B. Bascom, Methodism and Slavery, being a Review of the Manifesto of the Majority, etc., Frankfort, 1845 (See subsequent letters.)

³ Two Letters on Slavery in the United States, addressed to Thomas Clarkson, esq., by J. H. Hammond, Columbia, 1845, pp. 51.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Fort Hill 7th July 1845

MY DEAR SIR. You are now so fairly enlisted, and with so much eclat, as the defender of the institutions of the South against the assaults of the abolition[ists], that you will not be permitted to sheath your sword. The object of this communication is to call on you to strike another blow in the cause.

I know not whether you have seen and read the Rev^d D^r. Bascom's Review of the Manifesto of the Majority. It is a very able production, and fully vindicates the course of the Southern portion of the Methodist [Church], in seperating from the Northern portion. The step is a very important one in a political, as well as in a religious view of the subject. It seems to me, it is very important, that the publick attention should be called to D^r. Bascom's Review, and that the praise, which he and his associates, and the whole of the Southern portion of the Methodist Church are so well entitled to for their conduct, in this important affair, should be liberally bestowed on them.

It seems to me, also, that for that purpose, due notice ought to be taken of the work in our papers, to be followed by an Article, of which it should be the subject, in the Southern Review.

There is none more competent to the task than yourself; and I do hope you will not decline it. As you may not have seen the production, I send you a copy for your use, which I received from Tho. B. Stevenson of Frankfort Kentucky. I have acknowledged the receipt of it in a note, in which I expressed, in strong terms, my approbation of the production, and the obligation, which the South was under to the Doctor for it. It accompanies the Mail, which takes this.

To Lewis S. Coryell.²

Fort Hill 19th July, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, The mail of yesterday brought me yours of the 16th with its enclosure, for which I am obliged to you and

¹ Original lent by Mr E S. Hammond, of Blackville, S C

² Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original

shall observe the confidence you request. It is a singular production and is clearly intended to frighten Mr. Polk into unqualified submission. That is the present scheme of the Albany politicians, and the prospect is that they will succeed. The end would be the overthrow of the party and the success of the Whigs, unless, indeed, the portion of the party who rallied at Baltimore to save the party, shall again raise the standard, and make another rally to save it before it is too late. The New York Dynasty may destroy the party, but can never again rise to power. That is fixed.

You give me much curious information and I hope you will continue to write me fully and freely. From present appearance things will fall into inextricable confusion. I apprehended it before I left Washington, and what has since happened has but confirmed my apprehension. Mr. Polk had a clear course. If he had relied on those who elected him, without making war on those who opposed or coldly supported him, and shaped his policy by the Baltimore resolutions, he would have had a brilliant and successful administration, but, as it is, the prospect for him is far from flattering.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Fort Hill 2^d Aug^t 1845

MY DEAR SIR, Although I agree with you that there are several points, on which Dr. Bascomb does not agree with us on the subject of abolition, yet his defense is so full and abounds with so much that is good and well said, that it is calculated to do a vast deal of good in portions of the South particularly, that are not as sound, as our State, that I thought it highly desirable, that publick attention should be called to it. I think it the more desirable on account of his high standing and influence in his church, and as the head of the Kentucky University, where we need strengthening. It is a powerful antidote to the poison, attempted to be disseminated by C. M. Clay² in that State. He would feel the compliment of a well written article, and I still hope, you will

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

² Cassius M. Clay, the noted abolitionist

prepare one for the *Mercury* or some other of our papers, if the *Review* should be closed. It need not occupy more than a column; and some general expression might be used to except the parts, we do not approve, to which he could take no exception. The object of the Article might be limited to a complimentary notice and to attract publick attention.

I am gratified to learn, that you have turned your attention, with so much Zeal, to agricultural improvements, and wish you the greatest Success; but you must not think of looking on with indifference on publick affairs. As often as we have been disappointed, we must still persevere to put and to keep the Government right. Perseverance and boldness are the two great qualities, without which nothing can ever be effected in politicks, that will be permanently useful. I may well claim the right of retiring and closing my publick life; but you younger men, who are still in the prime, and are capable of rendering great service, must not think, that you have served out your tour of duty yet.

I take great interest in agricultural improvements, and will certainly make you a visit, should I ever be in your vicinity. So far from considering it an intrusion, I should regard it quite a compliment to receive Mr Allan's publication. I have never yet written anything on agriculture. I regard myself but an undergraduate; to receive and not to give instruction. Indeed, if I were inclined to write, I have not leisure amidst my other occupations. I would give you such a sketch of my Hill side draining, as you desire, but it is with me so much a matter of mere application to my particular place, that I should find it very difficult to lay down any, but a very few general [directions], by which to construct the drains. I make it, in my case, a mere matter of good sense. I have never seen its application, but on my own place. The descent must be just such, as to carry sand, which, I suppose, to be usually about 3 inches in 10 or 12 feet, but it depends a good deal on circumstances, particularly the volume of water. The greater the less descent is necessary, but the ditch, in that case, must be made proportionally large and strong. If your brother takes much interest in the Subject, he had better make a visit and inspect mine. I would be glad to see him, and he could better understand the subject, by one day's inspection, than by reading a volume. I have succeeded so well, that a field,

which is very rolling, has now the 13th Crop; the two first in corn, and the other 11 in cotton, with the exception of one in wheat, and is free from Gullies or [*illegible*] spots. But which is still stranger, the present crop is equal to any it ever bore, although it has not been manured, except a small piece of old ground, I took in. Its yield, for the last three years, has not averaged less, than 240 pounds of clean cotton to the acre, and I expect as much this year, as dry as it is. It was oak, hickory and pine land of good quality; more light than heavy.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 12th Ag^t 1845

MY DEAR SIR, . . . You have formed a very correct opinion of the State of political affairs with us. The Administration is very weak. Its course has neither indicated wisdom nor firmness. My letters from Washington, (one from a very intelligent and well informed observer) says, that there is to be an entire change of policy; that the V. Buren party remain discontented, notwithstanding that they have been the recipients of almost all the Executive favours, and that the Administration now see it, and are resolved to take an independent course. It is strange, that they did not see, from the first, that the proper course was to command, and not to purchase them; that they stood in a position from their passed misconduct, to be commanded, with ease and certainty; but that to attempt to purchase them, was but giving them power, and that to do that, was but to change their relative condition, and to enable them to command the administration, instead of being commanded.

All join in love to you, Anna and the Children. Tell them that I wish to see them much and Kiss them for their grandfather. I will write Anna next.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Fort Hill 30th Aug^t 1845

MY DEAR SIR, You state some facts, that are new to me, in reference to circumstances connected with Dr. Bascom's

¹ Original lent by Mr E S. Hammond, of Blackville, S. C. (See Hammond's letter of August 18, in Part II, *post*)

pamphlet, and the feelings of the Southern Methodists towards it, and which are entitled to much consideration in relation to the subject of your letter. I had read it cursorily, and although there was a good deal, that I could not approve, yet it was so much sounder on the subject of abolition, than what I had expected from him, and that quarter, that it seemed to me to deserve an encouraging notice from the South, with an allusion, that would not be offensive, to the parts which did not accord with our opinion. I however, acquiesce in the conclusion to which you have come, as you have paid much more attention to the contents of the pamphlet, than I have, and are far more familiar with the connected circumstances. You must, however, permit me to say, that I think you do not do the Doctor justice, in identifying his opinions either with Casius or Henry Clay on the subject of abolition. The former is one of the most rabid of fanaticks, and goes all lengths against the South and its institutions. I do not think the latter an abolitionist, but I should be glad to think him as sound, as Dr. Bascom on all points. But enough of this.

You are right in taking all possible precautions in your correspondence with Tappan. If you give him the least chance to pervert what you write, and misrepresent you, he will be sure to use it. A fanatick, to promote his object, regards neither truth, justice nor honor. The course you think of taking is the right one. The last of the topics, you think of discussing, to trace to its true cause the decay of the South, deserves an elaborate investigation, which I hope you will give it. It has been often touched on, but has never yet been discussed and presented in the full light, it ought to be. Abolish custom Houses and let the money collected in the South be spent in the South and we would be among the most flourishing people in the world. The North could not stand the annual draft, which they have been making on us 50 years, without being reduced to the extreme of poverty in half the time. All we want to be rich is to let us have what we make.

I made several years ago, the experiment of rolling cotton seed in plaster, which was very satisfactory, and nothing prevented me from following it up, but my great distance

inland. I am glad you are making such experiments. You are setting a highly useful example to our large educated planters, in being doubly engaged; in defending our institutions, and improving our agriculture. It is what all owe to the State and the South, and I hope your example will be extensively followed. I am endeavoring to do something both ways.

If the Administration should act with firmness and discretion, we shall either have no war with Mexico, or one, that will give little trouble, unless England should countenance her, and that she will not do, unless she should calculate on heavy difficulties with us about Oregon. That and not Texas has all along been the dangerous question; and I, from the first, so regarded it and acted accordingly. England is exceedingly averse to war with us on many accounts, as we ought to be [to] one, with her. It would be calamitous in the extreme to both countries. But, if we should force her, she will resist us on the Oregon subject. M^r Polk made a profound blunder in alluding to it at all in his inaugural. The last administration said all that should have been said in a short Message to the Senate in answer to a call of M^r Allen, just before the close of the session.¹ Nothing could be more imprudent, or more improper, than the remarks he made. It has left the subject in the worst possible condition. As it stands, I cannot see any other alternative, but for him to back out, or a conflict with England, if Congress should sustain the inaugural. I left the subject in a fair way, and felt confident of conducting it with success. The annunciation of the inaugural alarmed me, and I fear the worst. Much will depend on the course taken by the Southern Senators. My fear is, that England will despair of settling it, and run it into the Texan question. If so, she will greatly encourage Mexico to take hostile measures.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 18th Sept^r 1845.

MY DEAR SIR. . . . As to politicks, I can say little. I am much urged to return to the Senate. My inclination is against

¹ Message of February 19, 1845, in response to Senate resolution of December 11, 1844. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, IV, 361.

it; but the state of our affairs, external and internal, is so critical, that I should feel it my duty to serve, if the state should request me. I fear the Oregon question will lead to difficulties with England. The administration, I fear, will not meet it, as it ought to be. In its present entanglement, it requires not only great skill and prudence, but great firmness and decision to avoid a conflict between the two countries. Whether we shall have war with Mexico or not, in my opinion, depends on the fact, whether we are likely to have one with England or not, in reference to Oregon. It cannot be doubted, that Mexico is entirely under the control of England; and that she will be strongly opposed to a war between us and Mexico, unless she should conclude, that she will be forced into a war with us about Oregon. In that case she will, of course, desire to unite Mexico with her, as an ally. With the aid of British gold and British officers, she would be a very useful one to her and not a little formidable one to us. I say forced into a war; because I believe she is exceedingly desirous, on many accounts, as we ought to be, to avoid a war; yet folly and weakness may force the two countries into deadly conflict. . . .

To James H. Hammond.¹

Fort Hill 28th Sep^r. 1845

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received yours of the 26th Ins^t, and you must excuse a hasty answer, as I am on the eve of leaving home on a visit to my son in Alabama.

I concur in the opinion, that we ought to take the highest ground on the subject of African Slavery, as it exists among us; and have from the first acted accordingly; but we must not break with, or throw off those who are not yet prepared to come up to our standard, especially on the exterior limits of the Slave holding States. I look back with pleasure to the progress, which sound principles have made within the last 10 years in respect to the relation between the two races. All, with a very few exceptions, defended it a short time since on

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward S. Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

the ground of a necessary evil, to be got rid of as soon as possible. S. C. was not much sounder 20 years ago, than Kentucky now is, and I cannot but think the course the Western Baptist and Methodist preachers took, in reference to the division of their churches has done much to expel C Clay and correct publick opinion in that quarter.

I think you ought to rejoice, if the abolitionists should bring out Brougham and M^c Calla against you. It would open a fine field and give you the audience of the world. You would have nothing to fear from the rencountre; nor would you have need of any one to come to the rescue. If any assistance should be needed from me, as to advice, or information, it would be cheerfully given.

I fear the Tariff question will not be met by the administration as it ought; but I am of the impression, that it is too soon for us to say yet, which course we ought to take, except that we shall withdraw all support from those in power if they should deceive us. We war against both the principle and the oppression, and ought never to be satisfied until we have put down the one, and freed ourselves from the other. When we shall see the whole ground and know our position in reference to those in power, and the Northern wing of the party, we shall then be able to say, what course we ought to take; and that we shall before the session is over, if our delegation shall do their duty, as [I] trust they will.

As to Oregon, my hope for preserving peace mainly relies on the indisposition of England to go to war, and the possibility of getting a majority in the Senate to take the proper course in reference to it. I am of the impression, that the whole of the atlantick states are opposed to war, if it can possibly be avoid[ed], and the administration too, if they could get out of the scrape. We cannot bully England; but if a majority can be got in the Senate against recinding the Convention of joint occupancy on our part, I doubt whether England would recind it on her part;¹ and time may extricate us from our difficulties. All I think depends on the Senate.

¹ The convention of October 20, 1818, with Great Britain, providing for joint occupancy of the Oregon country, provided that either government might terminate this arrangement, on giving a year's notice.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Cane Brake 13th Dec^r 1845

MY DEAR SIR, . . . You will have seen, that I have again been elected to the Senate, much against my inclination, but under such circumstances that I could not with propriety decline accepting. I am now on my way to Washington with M^{rs} Calhoun and Cornelia, after remaining a few days at Fort Hill on my return from Alabama. . . .

I had a very interesting tour in the West. I was received every where in a manner sufficient to gratify the feelings of any, the most illustrious for talents and public services. All parties every where united without distinction, in a demonstration of respect, not exceed[ed] by that shown to Gen^l Jackson in passing through the same places, and much greater than that extended to any other citizen. I every where was received as the guest of the place, and passed without expense, or charge through every town to and from Memphis.

On my return home I found all well and that my crop, considering the severity of the drought, had yielded well. I shall have the place in fine order by the end of the coming year, when I shall commence a regular system of manuring.

M^{rs} Calhoun and Cornelia join their love to you, Anna and the children.

[Postscript.]Washington 26th Dec^r 1845

. . . I find myself here under circumstances involving great responsibility. There is, I fear, great hazard of war with England on the Subject of Oregon. The question has become greatly complicated and the country, it seems, looks to me to avert the Calamity of war. I shall not hesitate to do my Duty, be the responsibility what it may. If the peace of the Country can be saved it shall be, if it can be by my exertions. The great point, as things now stand, is to prevent the adoption of the Resolution to give notice to terminate the Convention of joint occupancy. If that can be effected, and Great Britain should not become the aggressive party, time will be gained, when I hope the difference may be Settled. If the Resolution should pass, I fear there will be no hope of maintaining peace.

We are all well and in comfortable quarters for the Session. Mr. Calhoun and Cornelia unite their love to you and Anna. Kiss the children for their Grandfather.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Cane Brake 14th Dec^r 1845

MY DEAR JAMES. . . . I have read the Message hastily.¹ I fear we shall have trouble about Oregon. I cannot doubt, if the recommendation of the Message be carried out into acts, the termination will be war with England. I hope there is a good prospect to reduce the Tariff greatly. The present scarcity of provision in Europe will do much to effect it. The Message is not satisfactory in reference to it, although it is fully as good, as I expected. Your sister and Cornelia join their love to you.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 16th Jan^y 1846

MY DEAR JAMES. . . . I see in the portions of your two letters, which refer to myself, strong evidence of that abiding friendship and deep solicitude in all that concerns me, which you have ever manifested towards me. But you must permit me to say, that I do not think you have attributed to their true cause, the motives, which induced me to accept my appointment to the Senate, or properly estimated the effects, which it is like to have personally.

You seem to think, that I yielded to the solicitations of a few persons, who were not my real friends, and that I came under pledges to renounce all pretensions to the Presidency. Neither is the case. The pressure on me to accept came from all parts of the Union, and every party, urging me, as I regarded the peace and safety of the country, not to decline, if the place should be offered to me. But as strong as the pressure was, I would not have yielded my aversion to return to public life again, had I not a deep conviction, that there was

¹ President Polk's first annual message.

great danger of a war, the end and consequences of which no man can see; and that I might by possibility do something, to avert so great a calamity. I could not but see the danger and responsibility I would have to run in encountering the strong current in favour of war, which had been created by the folly and weakness of the administration; but I would have been unworthy of the high place, in which my friends desire to place me, had I yield[ed] to such considerations. Such are the circumstances under which I accepted the place and the motives which induced me to accept. I did so with a full knowledge of the consequences, reluctantly and only from a sense of duty; but without any pledge, such as that you allude to, or any kind whatever; and let me add, without any one ever suggesting the policy or propriety of such a pledge, except Col Pickens. This I mention, however, in strict confidence. I have never mentioned it to any one else. I attributed it in him to error of judgement. Nothing could induce me to give such a pledge; not from any desire I have to fill that high office, but from what I regard the indelicacy and impropriety of such an avowal on the part of any individual.

As to my course here, and the effects it may have on me, I am guided solely by the views I entertain of the best means of preserving peace consistently with the honor and interest of the country, without regarding the management and intrigues of Administration, or opposition, or any of the cliques, into which they are broken, or what effect my course may have on my future prospects. To defeat the War, in my opinion, is to gain everything, and to fail to defeat it is to lose all. It would leave us of the South little worth having. I regard it as quite uncertain, whether it can be defeated or not. The only hope is in the Senate. It may be there, if the Whigs should be united and act the part of patriots. I fear they will not. We are, indeed, in a strange state. The party desiring peace constitute a great majority both in Congress and the Union, and neither our Executive nor that of Great Britain desire war, and yet things have been so managed, on our part, that it is difficult to avoid it; calamitous as it must prove to us.

We are all well with the exception of colds. I am laboring under a severe one, accompanied by a bad cough, but without

any other bad symptoms. Cuddy is much delighted and enjoys herself much. She has made a very favourable impression, and is indeed a fine girl.

All join their love to you and James.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Washington 16th Jan^y 1846

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . The question of peace and war is still very uncertain. Every thing will depend on the Senate, and the course of Whigs in the body. From present indications notice, in some form, will be given. If it should be in the unqualified form reported by the committees of Foreign relations of the two Houses, I would regard war almost certain. I hope, that it may be qualified by making it a condition to offer the 49th, as the basis of a compromise, or even a reference to arbitration, if nothing better can be done.

My position is one full of responsibility. I shall meet it by a fearless discharge of duty. Thus far, I have not been unsuccessful, although badly sustained by the Whigs in my first move; I refer to the amendment I offered to Hannegan's resolutions.¹ Had they not opposed taking a vote on them, the real war party would have been separated from the others, and left in a lean majority of less than a dozen. They acted better in reference to Allens notice for leave to introduce his joint resolution to take the whole continent under our guardianship, which enabled me to achieve a decided victory.² While I am not sanguine, I do not despair obtaining the control, and preserving peace, by combining in all my movements the highest discretion with the greatest boldness and promptitude. I have with me the wise, and the patriotick of all parties; and I shall be supported by the almost united voice of Virginia and S. C. with the most talented portion of the South, and the convictions of my own mind. No one can realize the disasters, which would follow the war, should there be one. I fear neither our liberty nor constitution would survive. . . .

¹ Resolutions of December 29, 1845, declaring that Oregon (to 54° 40') was a part of the territory of the United States, and that the Government had no power to part with any portion of it.

² William Allen, Senator from Ohio: notice of December 18

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 23^d Jan^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, Your warm and cordial approbation of my course, in reference to the Oregon question, is highly acceptable to me. It is one full of responsibility and difficulties, but under a high sense of duty to the country and its institutions, I shall tread it boldly, without regard to consequences to myself personally. Whether I shall be able to succeed in averting pending calamities time only can decide. The odds are greatly against me. The South, most unfortunately, is divided. The Whigs are timid, jealous and distracted, and many who act with me have but little resolution; while the extreme men,—those who go *for all or none*, that is for war, are bold and decided. But the worst of all is, that the Administration, while it professes to desire peace and express[es] great confidence that it can be preserved, go for unqualified notice,—a measure, which under the circumstances must almost certainly lead to war. If it should not lead to compromise, such certainly will be the result; and that it will not, we have the President's own declaration, that there is no hope of a satisfactory compromise.

But as bad as this State of things is, I do not despair. I cannot doubt, but there is an overwhelming majority in both countries opposed to war. They are yet quiet, because they do not fully realize the danger; but as it approaches they will be roused, and utter a voice that will I hope be respected. I also believe, that those charged with conducting our affairs, have been looking more to popularity, than duty, and have been acting under the impression, that they could at pleasure avert the calamity to which they have exposed the country; but when they find their mistake, will be glad to seek the aid of the moderate to save themselves. Under this joint influence of both causes, I hope, if we of the peace party should not be able to prevent notice, we shall be able to amend the resolution for giving it, so as to reopen the negotiations on the basis of the 49th parallel, or to authorise a reference to adjust the conflicting claims of the two countries.

In the meantime the change of ministry in England² must

¹Original lent by Mr. E S Hammond.

²Sir Robert Peel's ministry resigning and being succeeded by one formed by Lord John Russell.

have a strong bearing on the question, and I am of the impression a salutary one on the whole; but as we shall have in the course of a few days much fuller information, than we now have, I forbear to speculate on the subject. I shall send you the first spare copy of the Pres^ts Message with all the documents, which I may get from the printers. It is the only one of any importance which has been printed.

You ask me what you can do to aid in maintaining the great cause of peace. You can do much. Few men wield a better pen than you do. If you can get admission into the columns of the *Constitutionalist*, or any other democratick paper in Georgia, You might do much to rouse publick attention in that State to the dangerous condition in which the country is placed and especially the South. The abolitionists are all for war, with the avowed intention of crushing us and our institutions, headed by Adams and Giddings.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 29th Jan^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, We have been very much disappointed in not hearing from you, or Anna by the last Steamer, which I attribute to some accidental failure, as I learned at the State Department yesterday, they had not heard from you, nor received your duplicate of the treaty, though Mr Serruys¹ had received his.

The Steamer, which takes this, will take letters to Anna from her mother and Cornelia, which will give all the domestic and social news, and which will leave me nothing to communicate, but the political.

You will have seen by previous conveyance, that I have taken my stand on the side of peace, with what success time only can decide. Thus far, the effect has been a very considerable abatement of the war fever, both in Congress and the Country. The arrival by the last Steamer has contribute[d] farther to abate it, as the news is considered very favourable. Indeed; it is so much so, that there ought to be, in my opin-

¹ Charles Serruys, Belgian minister. The treaty alluded to is the treaty of commerce and navigation with Belgium, negotiated by Mr Clemson, and signed November 10, 1845.

ion, no hesitancy on the part of our Executive to take immediate steps to terminate the controversy. I hold it almost certain from the contents of the English papers and from what I learn through other channels, that the British Government is prepared to adjust the difference by agreeing to the 49th parallel as the basis of the boundary, while I am quite certain, that an adjustment on that basis would be acceptable to a large majority of the country and Congress. And yet, I fear, that it is still uncertain, whether we shall be able to avert the opposite termination; an appeal to Arms. I fear that there is a state of uncertainty and hesitancy on the part of M^r Polk and his Cabinet. I have no doubt, but that they are sincerely desirous of peace, and see that peace cannot be preserved, without a compromise, but dread taking any step to compromise, in consequence of the unfortunate declaration of the inaugural, that our title to the whole was clear and unquestionable. That, with the course of the organ and other party papers, has created an party in the Western States, which go against all compromise; and it is the dread of so large and decided a party, which causes the hesitancy. That party goes ardently for notice, forthwith and unqualified, under the belief, that it will prevent all compromise, while the administration urge notice as the most certain means of producing compromise and securing peace. Their joint influence, I fear, will be sufficiently strong to carry it through both Houses; but, I hope, we may be able to qualify it, by making it a condition, that when the notice is given, that it shall be accompanied with the offer of the 49th as the basis on which to adjust the difference; or, if that should fail, a reference of the question to arbitrators. Without some such condition, I fear notice will lead to an appeal to Arms, for I doubt whether, if the British Government should offer the 49th, it would be accepted by our Executive, unless Congress should express an opinion, which would make it his duty; in so awkward a condition is M^r Polk placed in reference to this delicate subject.

In the meantime our relations with Mexico have again become very delicate, which may involve us in a war with her. If it should, I greatly fear that a war would follow almost as a matter of course with England about Oregon. England

would not willing stand by and see us overrun Mexico; and if she should feel it for her interest to side with Mexico, she will decline an adjust[ment] about Oregon. I took this view of the subject, while charged with the negotiations, and was anxious to avoid such a result. For that purpose, I was desirous of settling the Oregon question as speedily as possible, when I saw there would be no difficulty in settling our difference with Mexico.

Allen's resolution against the colonization of this continent by European powers, which was laid on the table in the first instance on my motion; has been taken up and referred to his Committee. It would indicate, that there had been a change of opinion on the part of the Senate in reference to it, but such is not the fact. It will be rejected by a decided vote when reported back.

I hope you all continue to enjoy good health and the children to grow and improve finely. I hope also you have got my letters written at Alabama and since my return.

All join in love to you and Anna, and the children. Kiss them for Grandfather.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 25th Feb: 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I received yours and Anna's by the Cambria, and we are all happy to learn that Anna has recovered from her indisposition, and that you and the children were well. They must, indeed, be growing finely and improving much from her account of them, after making full allowance for the partiality of a mother. I have a great desire to see them.

I think, I wrote you, that I was suffering under a bad cold, accompanied by a severe cough. It continued so long, that I began to get uneasy; but am now in a great measure recovered. My general health continued good during the whole time. I will not, however, dwell on what may be called personal and domestick news, as M^{rs} Calhoun has written Anna by the Steamer, and has no doubt filled her letter well, with all of that discription. Her letter was entrusted to M^r Swit, a Belgian gentleman, who returns by the Steamer.

I informed you in my last, that we had not heard from you by the *Britania*, that your duplicate of the treaty had not been received at the Department. It turned out, that the letters from you and Anna had been overlooked in the Department, and that M^r Buchanan was mistaken, when he informed me, that your duplicate had not been received, as I afterwards learned by M^r Markoe. The letters were received when it was too late to write by the *Britania*. I fear my letter made you very uneasy about them.

I will submit your proposition about your negroes to Andrew, before I give an answer. Your proposal is based on fair and equitable principles. As soon, as I hear from him, I will write to you and inform you what we will do, when you can determine what you will do. Negroes have risen considerably in consequence of the high price of rice and sugar. I hope it may prove permanent. If we should agree to take them, we would expect to allow you the fair average price at the time.

The price of cotton is still low; but I cannot doubt, it will rise, as the crop is certainly short by 200 or 300 hundred thousand bales. We have not yet sold. Our crop yielded about equal to our calculation.

I have not heard from your place; from which I infer, that all is going on well, as I informed the overseer and old M^r Mawbly not to write, so long as things were doing well, and no advance needed from me. I will forward the package you refer to, as soon as the new Minister arrives, and I have received it. The compliment of the Belgian Government, I hope with you, will be returned; but I apprehend, that nothing will be done, or can be, until we shall dispense with Charges by substituting resident ministers in their place. My impression is, that the change is desirable; but I fear M^r Buchanan has not nerve enough to recommend it. I would of course be rejoiced to see you transferred to Berlin, should Wheaton¹ be to S^t Petersburg, as he ought to be. You would be, I doubt not, of service there, but I can give you no reason to expect such good luck. I do not think M^r Polk

¹ Henry Wheaton, minister to Berlin. (See his letters of December 24, 1845, January 26, 1846, *post.*)

much disposed to favour my friends, though I do not think him hostile. The first opportunity I have, I will ascertain from M^r Buchannan, how he is pleased with the manner you perform your duty, as you desire. Markoe thinks very highly of it.

Things are in the same state of uncertainty, that they were, when I last wrote. It is now certain, that there is a decided majority in Congress and the country opposed to war, and in favour of a compromise on the 49th; and, if we may judge from Sir R. Peel[']s disapproval of M^r Packenham's rejection of our offer, he is ready to compromise on the bases of that line. And yet, I fear, that the question of peace and war is still uncertain. The parties seem, as if they cannot get to gether. It is understood, that our Government, or rather Executive, will not make the first move towards the renewal of negotiation, and it is to be feared, that the English Government has gone as far as it can until ours makes another. In [the] mean time the vital interests of both are in danger of being sacrificed on a mere question of etiquette.

I concur in the views you express in reference to the management of the questions belonging to our foreign relations. It has been such, as to entangle our relations with England, at a critical moment, when they ought to have been on the best footing, and to offend all Europe, when we had the greatest need of Conciliating the Continental powers.

I have not, as yet, taken part on the question of notice now before the Senate; but shall before it terminates. I have waited developments. The Whigs are uncertain allies, and I have to act with caution.

This is the last day for the Steamer and it is now nearly 12 o'clock at night, and I must stop.

Say to Anna, I shall next write to her, and would have done so by this, had it not been for the pressure of engagements. I am compelled to see company almost incessantly, which, with my correspondence and senatorial duties, leave me no leisure. My love to her and Kiss the children. Tell them how much I wish to see them, and that their grandfather is delighted to hear that they are such fine and good children.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d March 1846

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . I enclose you a copy of my speech delivered last week on the Oregon question.¹ I shall enclose several to M^r Clemson, but the one enclosed is intended especially for yourself. Many of my friends think it the best I ever delivered. It was certainly received in a manner highly calculated to be gratifying to myself and friends. I received congratulations on all sides when I sat down, even from the most violent of the 54° 40 men. Such was the anxiety to hear me, that the crowd began to collect at 8 o'clock, and long before the hour the galleries and the passages were blocked up. Thousands had to retire for the want of room.

I spoke very late in the debate, after, indeed, it had begun to drag very heavily, and delicacy forbid me from touching on the subject of title. I felt the delicacy of my position, and could not (knowing the great anxiety to hear me) but feel some solicitude; and was not a little relieved when all was over, and I could perceive from indications all around, that I had not fell below expectation.

But in the midst of these gratifying indications, I soon saw, that I had excited the jealousy of party leaders on both sides. Their Organs, the *Intelligencer* and the *Union*, gave sure indications of that. I had addressed notes to the editors of both in the morning requesting them not to publish the reports of my speech, until I had an opportunity to see and correct them; but in spite of all the precaution I took, the *Intelligencer* published without regarding my request and against my remonstrance to its foreman who brought me the report at night when it was too late to correct, and what was more indicative of party jealousy, inserted it in the midst of other matter, without even mentioning it, or giving the least hint, that I had addressed the Senate. It was with great difficulty I could prevent the *Union* from publishing without my correction, and when it published, it was done without affording me an opportunity of correcting the proof, and then placed on the outside of his paper, where usually matters of no importance are inserted, without adverting to it or making any remarks. I mention these things, not that they annoy me in the least,

¹See Works, IV, 258-260, speech of March 16.

but that you may know to what petty jealousy I am subject. My letter to King was treated the same way, but it forced its way against all attempts to keep publick attention from it, and such will be the case in the present instance, if I may judge from what has already occurred.

I have said more about myself, my dear daughter, than I would to any one else, not from any feeling of vanity, but because I know it would gratify you and M^r Clemson to learn in what manner my effort on such a question was received by the audience on the occasion. As to the publick at large, if I may judge from the papers and my letters, I never made an effort of the kind that was received with greater favour, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging. The praise of the papers have been in many instances extravagant, and from quarters which one would not expect. I give as an example an extract from Mike Walsh's paper,¹ which is the organ of what may be called the lowest strata in the New York population.

As I have many letters to write before the steamer leaves, and as your Mother writes by that which takes this, I must conclude with Grandfather's love and kisses to the dear children.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d March 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I received by the last Steamer your two letters. As to M^r Grund² and his publication, which you enclosed, I cannot learn, that they have made the least impression, or that they have been even noticed. I am of the impression, neither deserve notice, as far as you are concerned. My former letters will have informed you of the mistake in relation to the non reception of the treaty and your's and Anna's letters; and that originated with the Secretary. The treaty is now before the Senate, and will be acted on probably this week. Your letter to M^r Mably and the package have been forwarded to him; the one by mail and the other by a safe private conveyance. I enclose a letter to you from your Overseer. You will see that all are well, and, I doubt not, your business is going on well. I wrote under so much haste

¹ The Subterranean.

² Francis J. Grund, U. S. consul at Antwerp, author of several books on America,

in my last and preceeding letters, that I omitted to notice the compliment bestowed on me by M^r Bouron,¹ the editor of the *Moniteur* and what you said in reference to republishing my speeches in England. A notice so highly complimentary from so competent a judge is indeed very flattering and acceptable, and I wish you to present one of the copies of my speech on the Oregon question (herewith enclosed) to him in my name, as a mark of my respect. I must refer you to my letter to Anna for particulars, as to its reception on this side of the Atlantick.

I would of course be glad to see the volume of my speeches and &c republished in England, including the present and a few others omitted in the American edition. If you find it can be done, I will furnish the additional speeches.

Of the other copies of my speech on the Oregon question, one is intended for yourself and the others to be disposed of as you please. The translation and publication of one in the German language might have a good effect.

I enclose also a pamphlet on the copper mines of Lake Superior, which may be interesting to you. They are said to be rich both in silver and copper; indeed, to be more so than any other known mines.

On the subject of politicks, I can say but little that is satisfactory. Our affairs have become much entangled both at home and abroad. You will see in my speech on Oregon, that I have reasoned the question of notice, as it stands on the face of the *Message*; and have opened a door for M^r Polk, and the 54. 40 men to support compromise *now* in the veiw I take, in consequences of a change of circumstances. But, I fear, that the real truth of the case is, that the *Message* was in its character diplomatick, and that notice was recommended to play the game of intimidation—a desperate game certainly with so great a power as England. The result has proved such, as ought to have been anticipated; great uncertainty as to the real intention of the Executive, and the division and

¹In a letter of January Mr. Clemson had reported to his father-in-law that "Mr. Bouron, the editor of the *Moniteur* (the official paper of this country [Belgium]), remarked to me the other day that he had gained more information from the study of your speeches (I loaned him the copy I have) than from any work he had ever read, and that the solution of many questions treated here found a solution in a phrase in your speeches. He also remarked that your speeches were infinitely superior to anything of the kind on this side of the Atlantic."

distraction of the party, with the loss of confidence on all sides, and a timid vacillating course on the part of the Executive, afraid to compromise or to take any other step.

It is a state of things from which I fear the worst. In the meane time, our relations with Mexico is becoming critical, in consequence of the position, which our army in Texas has been ordered to take on the del Norte, below Metamoras, and far in advance of our settlements, without any appearant reason, as far as I can see. Under such circumstances, I cannot but regard the future as uncertain; and the contingency of war and peace as doubtful, while a moderate share of sagacity and firmness might in a short time, secure the blessings of the latter and avert the calamities of the former.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 29th March 1846

MY DEAR SIR, As I have written you and Anna by the Steamer, which sales on the 1st April, I now write simply to inform you, that the treaty has been ratified by the Senate in a manner highly honorable to you.¹ There was but one vote against it, and that only on general grounds, opposed to all reciprocal treaties in reference to Navigation. It seems to be generally admitted, not only that the treaty was highly advantageous, but that it was the best treaty of the Kind we had ever made. The result was the more honorable, from the fact, that when first taken up, a few days since, I had great fears from the extent of the opposition indicated, and the quarter from which it came, that it would not be ratified. Some objections were made to the details, but the main were directed against all treaties of the Kind, and ground taken that none of the existing should be renewed. So strong was the opposition, that there appeared no prospect of ratification without material amendments, especially by limiting its duration to a short period, say three years. But at the next meeting discussion brought out fully the merits of the treaty, when it passed with the smallest possible minority. I had to

¹ The Senate on March 26 voted to ratify the treaty of commerce and navigation with Belgium. (See Exec. Jour. Sen., VII, 42, 55-57.)

take a part in the discussion. The vote was highly gratifying to me and does great credit to you.

I enclose a letter received by mail. We all continue well and join love to you and Anna and children.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 1st April 1846

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . I sent a few days since a copy of my speech on the Oregon question and Fremont's report¹ to you and also to James. I hope they both have been received.

The Oregon negotiation has been wretchedly managed. The difference ought to have been adjusted long since; but as it is, it is so entangled, that much uncertainty still hangs over it. I cannot, however, believe that there should be such folly and mismanagement as to involve the two countries in war.

My speech has been received, I may say, with unbounded approbation. I wrote to James a few days since.

We are all well and all join their love to you including Cudy. She has enjoyed herself much.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 25th April 1846

MY DEAR SIR, We are very happy to learn by your's and Anna's letters by the last Steamer, that you are all well and the children are improving so much.

Judging by what we witness at home in reference to the management of our foreign relations, I am not surprised to learn, that they are so badly managed abroad. I do not see how the management here could be worse. With proper management the Oregon question and the Mexican difficulties could have been long since settled, and the embarrassment and consequent great sacrifices attendant on the State of uncertainty for the last six months all avoided. But, I trust, the wisdom and firmness of the Senate has overcome the folly

¹ Of his Western explorations,

of the administration, and that the Oregon question will ere long be settled and war avoided. Our triumph has been complete, in both Houses of Congress and the country, of which the majorities in the two Houses on the resolution for giving notice affords an indication. With little exception, the vote separates the war and peace parties. The former is rather weaker and the latter stronger than it indicates. In the Senate the former does not exceed eight out of fifty six. In the country, I would say, the peace party is still stronger in proportion. This great change has been effected by the Senate against the entire influence of the Executive; a great majority in the House; and a strong current in their favour in the Community, and the weight of the press against us. The only difficulty in the way of reaping the fruits of this great victory is, that the notice may be used, not as a means of reopening the negotiations on our part, but of extorting an offer from Great Britain. In that case, the offer, if made by Great Britain, may be an ultimatum; and that in turn gives rise to new difficulties. I trust, a course so hazardous may be avoided, but I fear. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 12th May 1846

MY DEAR SIR, The last Steamer brought a note from you to M^{rs} Calhoun including the lace you sent her, and with which she is much pleased, and a letter from Anna to Cornelia, but nothing from Brussels for myself.

The letter from Cornelia to Anna, accompanying this, will give all the local and private news. I have still no information from your place, from which I infer all are doing well and getting along well, for I directed not to write unless something was wanted, or went wrong. But it may interest you to learn, that crops are looking well throughout the South.

Since I last wrote no political occurrence has taken place except the hostilities between ours and the Mexican forces on the del Norte. The papers will inform you as to what has occurred, and what action has been taken by the Executive

and Congress. The Senate you will see has not as yet decided on the question in its bearings on our relation, as to war or peace with Mexico; but the question whether we shall recognize what has occurred as war, or declare war, will come up probably in two or three days. It is a grave question, and will probably be much discussed.

I deplore the occurrence every way and in every respect. As a Mexican question, it is to be deplored without looking beyond; but I regard that far less so, than its effects on our European relations. I fear, that it may arrest, or even defeat the settlement of the Oregon question, and introduce the interference of both England and France before it is concluded.

I have not yet read the documents, and of course have not made up my mind definitely as to the stand I shall take; but I fear the weight of the responsibility for this sad state of things will rest with our Executive.

We are all well and all join their love to you and Anna with Kisses to the children.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Washington 14th May 1846

MY DEAR ANDREW, You will have seen by the papers that war is declared, and the course I deemed it my duty to take in reference to it. Never was so momentous a measure adopted, with so much precipitancy; so little thought; or forced through by such objectionable means. I saw the danger from the first, as soon indeed as it was known, that Gen^l Taylor had been ordered to take post on the del Norte, and said to my friends, that the movement ought to be arrested and that I would do it, if my position on the Oregon question, which required, that I should maintain my relations with the administration, would permit it. I went so far as to state the same to several of the leading Whigs, and added that some of them to whom the objection did not apply, ought to make a movement. They thought with me as to the danger, but made no movement.

As soon as hostility commenced, and it was understood that the President intended to send in a Message, it became ap-

parent to me, that war would be the result, unless the ground should be taken to separate the repelling an invasion, from war constitutionally considered. I apprised my friends of the danger, and arranged it with them to make the distinction and to take a stand on it; but the Message so blended the two, that they found it impossible to separate them in the House, and finally, from the fear of being isolated, voted for the bill.

In the Senate, we succeeded in separating the two, and sending all that related to preparation and repelling invasion, to the Committee on military affairs, and that which related to war to that on foreign relations. I then supposed, we should have time for a deliberate discussion of the latter which I felt assured would have limited operations for the present to repelling invasion. But in this I was disappointed. Contrary to the order of the Senate, the Committee on Military affairs reported a bill including both the raising of force and a declaration of war, and which is worse, our friends in the Senate had attended a Caucus, and thoughtlessly agreed to it. I saw at once the case was hopeless, and took without hesitation the course I did. No other alternative, indeed, was left me.

I fear what was done in a hurry will long have to be repented at leisure. If the war should not be settled speedily by some fortunate occurrence, it will prove one, I fear, of great disaster. It has dropt the curtain on the future; but my apprehension is, that it will arrest, and even probably defeat the arrangement of the Oregon question, and invite the interference of the great European powers. But time will show; and we must abide its disclosures. It only remains for me to do my duty in the new position in which the country is placed.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 28th May 1846

MY DEAR SIR, . . . You will see by the papers, that our Army has achieved brilliant Victories over the Mexicans, who by the by fought well. The Military feeling of the

country is much excited and very high. There is no country, not even France, in which there is a stronger inclination to war. Our people are like a young man of 18, full of health and vigour and disposed for adventure of any description, but without wisdom or experience to guide him, and I fear that we shall have the fate which usually befalls such. While I admire the spirit, I regret to see it misdirected. The war might have been easily avoided; but now that we are in it, the only question is how shall it be brought most promptly to an honorable termination? Should it be prolonged, it may involve the country in much danger and great embarrassment. I shall be very solicitous to learn how it will be viewed by England, France and Europe generally. I am not without apprehension, that it may prevent the settlement of the Oregon question; and finally involve us with England. It presents to her powerful motives each way,—to a peaceful and to a hostile policy. Neutrality will enable her to absorb a large portion of our commerce; while it would enable us to overrun Mexico and dictate a peace according to our own terms, probably.

The Tariff will be taken up in the House, as it is understood, next week, and the prospect is thought to be good to pass the bill for reducing it, as reported by the Committee. The session, I fear, will continue until August.

I enclose letters to Anna from her mother and Cornelia, which will give all the news. Tell Anna, I will write her by the next Steamer. Kiss the children for their Grandfather. Love to all.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 29th May 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your letters of the 16th and 22^d Inst. They both give strong proof of your friendship, which has ever been so true, and good sense.

I have seen enough of publick men to come to the conclusion, that there are few, indeed, whose attachment to self is not stronger, than their patriotism, and their friendship. The principle difference is only in the degree that the former is

stronger than the latter, and hence a very few, indeed, can be relied on in great political emergencies, where adhering to the right endangers their political standing and present popularity.

But I make allowance for all this in conducting publick affairs; just as the mechanick does for friction in that of machinery. We must take men as they are, and do the best we can with them, constituted as they are. If all were disinterested patriots, there would be little difficulty in constructing or managing the political machine; and very little merit in doing either.

I have been put to a severe test during the present session. I came here to preserve peace both in reference to Oregon and Mexico. I saw they were connected questions, and that both might be satisfactorily adjusted without appeal to Arms; but that in the order of things, the Oregon must be first settled. After that was done the Mexican would settle itself without difficulty. I accordingly directed my efforts in the first instance to the former. The task was difficult. The Administration, the House, the Country, and a strong party in the Senate, were in favour of a course, which would certainly lead to war. I succeeded in arresting it, and that too with great gain of popularity and publick confidence.

In the mean time, the executive, acting with profound secrecy, ordered our Army to take position on the del Norte opposite to Matamoras, against authority of law and Constitution. As soon as it was known, I saw the danger, would have moved to arrest it, if possible, had not my position on the Oregon question, which required, that I should maintain my friendly relations with the administration, in whose hand the negotiation was placed by the Constitution, prevented me. At this period, I saw some of the leading Whigs, to whom I communicated my apprehension, and my reasons for thinking the movement ought to be arrested, and why I could not attempt it, and why also I thought one of them ought, to whom the objection to my making the attempt did not apply; but without succeeding to induce any one to undertake it.

That followed, which I apprehended, when the only alternative to war left was to limit, in the first instance, our preperation to repelling hostilities; and to gain time thereby to consider and determine on the propriety of a formal

declaration of war. I immediately went to work to prepare our friends to take that ground, but the Executive pressed forward the two together so decidedly, that our friends in the House had not time to rally, and were swept by the force of circumstances without time to reflect or express their opinion, to join in the vote for war. In the Senate we succeeded in separating the two, by sending the military preparations to the Committee on Military affairs, and the part of the message, relating to war, to the Comtee on foreign relations. It placed the control in our hands; and had not Benton gone away, and reunited them by reporting the House bill, without striking out the parts relating to war, and refering that to the foreign relations, I would have succeeded in effecting the object I had in view, which would have made the war, for the present, merely one to repel invasions, without placing the country in a beligerent condition. But as it was, I was forced, without having an opportunity to express my opinion, except very briefly, to take the stand I did.

It has, for the present, weakened me with the party and the unthinking portion of the Community, and made it unadvisable, now, to take the course you suggest, relative to the coming election. My present position is to wait quietly for a good opportunity, and the subsiding of the existing excitement, to put myself right before [the] country and the world. In the mean time, what I have lost with the thoughtless, I have more than made up by the increase[d] hold on the confidence of the reflecting. I have no apprehension as to the final result.

We are all well, and your sister and Cornelia join their love to you and the boys. Tell William, I have got his letter and will answer it the first leisure. I hope he is getting on well with his studies.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 11th June 1846

MY DEAR ANNA, When I tell you, that I am engrossed in preparing my Report on the Memphis Memorial,¹ in which I

¹ See Works, V, 246-310.

intend to do full justice to the subjects involved in it; and that I have written by the Steamer, that takes this, to M^r Clemson in reference to his place and the political occurrences since my last, and that the same conveyance takes a letter from your sister to you, which I may safely assume gives all the domestick news, I am sure, you will not expect a long letter from me, as long as is the interval, since the date of my last to you.

Indeed, I have but little left to write about, but myself, which you know is not a very prolifick one with me; but I am sure there is none more welcome to you, who has ever been so devoted a daughter. I am then, in good health, but am still troubled with a cough, especially in damp weather, of which we are in a spell long enough and dark enough to do credit of the Belgian climate. As yet, we see no end to it. My cough neither effects my appetite, sleep nor appearance; and I hope it does not affect any vital function. So much in reference to myself personally. Politically I have more to say.

I came here to preserve the peace of the country, if it could be, consistently with its honor and durable interest. It was menaced with an English and a Mexican war, in consequence of the great mismanagement by the Executive of the Oregon and Mexican questions. I may now say with confidence, that I have succeeded with the first. For particulars, I refer you to my letter to M^r Clemson. I say I, for I think I am fairly entitled to the credit, and that, I would say is the opinion of the Senate and the country. I have not been so fortunate with the last; but, I trust, that the victories of our Army, and the effect, which the Oregon treaty, (as I may now call it) will have on Mexico, will soon bring that to a close.

Had time been afforded for discussion even a single day, I feel confident, that I would have been able to limit the Mexican war to the repelling of hostilities, in which form, it would almost of itself come to a close, with the termination of the Oregon question; but, as it is, the end is more uncertain. Personally, I have lost something with mere partisans, in consequence of the stand, I was compelled to take towards it; but I have more than compensated it, by the increased hold it has given me, on the confidence of the patriotick and reflecting. But, it has had one effect, which I am sure will surprise

you. It has been the occasion to make publick, the bad feelings of Co^l Pickens towards me, which I had believed, for sometime, he had cherished. Taking the advantage, of what he regarded as the evidence of the war being popular, and my stand not so, he came out openly in a speech in a publick meeting at Edgefield against me, in strong denouncing language, as I learn.¹ My friends were much more surprised at his course, than I was. I had seen in his letters for some time, his deep devotion to M^r Polk and his administration and measures, and a cooling off of feelings towards me, although disguised, under what he was pleased to call, the frankness of a friend. I know, besides, that a very objectionable article, in the Southern Riview (which treated me rudely) on the Memphis convention,² was written at his request. It came to his knowledge, that I knew the part he had taken in connection with it; and to excuse himself, he wrote me a letter endeavouring to explain away his share, but acknowledging he had reviewed and corrected the article. I saw at once it was time to close our correspondence, and accordingly, dropt it on my part. He understood me, and made his speech to give me, as he hoped, a decisive blow. When I tell you, that I have ever treated him kindly, and that nothing whatever has been done by me to offend him, you no doubt will wonder what he aims at. I do not know, but can conjecture. He is full of emulation, and has a strong infusion of envy, jealousy and vanity in his composition. His loss of popularity in the State, has made him look to Polk and his administration for alliance and support, and especially, Buchanan. He I believe corresponds with him and Polk constantly; and believes, that my position is the only impediment to his success. In confirmation of my conjecture and his understanding with Buchanan, I learned he called the opposition to the Tariff a Humbug and Denounced those, who were for reducing it as traitors.

As to myself, his course gives me no uneasiness. I regret that one, with whom I have been so long on friendly terms, should prove himself so unworthy of my [*remainder missing*].

¹ But see Pickens's letter of December 13, 1846, in Part II, *post*.

² See Southern Quarterly Review, X, 377.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 11th June 1846

MY DEAR SIR, . . . The most important political news is, that it is now almost certain, that the Oregon question will be settled. The last steamer, the one which takes this, brought an offer for its settlement, which was submitted to our Executive, and by it to the Senate. We promptly approved of it by a decided vote of more than three to one, and returned it to the Executive; so that nothing remains, but to reduce it to form and sign and ratify the treaty, all of which I suppose will be speedily done. The settlement is based on the 49th to the Strait of Fuca, and along the middle to the Ocean, with the navigation of the Oregon river to the Hudson bay Company below the 49th to the ocean, and securing the English settlers in their possessions. I do not regard the modifications of any importance.

The Settlement is a great point, just at this critical moment, when we have a war on hand, which might have become formidable, if it had been left open. It is to me a great triumph. When I arrived here, it was dangerous to whisper 49, and I was thought to have taken a hazardous step in asserting, that Mr Polk had not disgraced the country in offering it. Now a treaty is made on it with nearly the unanimous voice of the Country. I would have had an equal triumph on the Mexican question, now the Oregon is settled, had an opportunity been afforded to discuss it. As it is, I have been forced to take a stand, which for the time has weakened me with mere partisans, but strengthened me with the patriotick and reflecting. I shall wait patiently for a fair opportunity of presenting my views fully in relation to it, and have no fear of regaining more than has been temporarily lost. The war has opened with brilliant victories on our side and I trust, may soon be brought to a close. I give it a quiet, but decided support, as much as I regret the occurrence.

I have just finished the rough draft of a report on the navigation of the Missⁱ. and hope to present my report on the Memphis memorial, of which it forms a part, in 8 or 10 days.

I write Anna by this opportunity, as well as yourself, and you must excuse me, in adding no more.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 2^d July 1846

MY DEAR JAMES, My long delay in answering your last has been caused by my engagement on my report on the Memphis Memorial. I made it on Friday, and will transmit you a copy as soon as it is printed.¹ Ten thousand copies were ordered to be printed. It rests on the strictest state rights doctrines, and comes, I think, irresistably to the conclusion, that the federal government has the right to improve the navigation of the river. It will I hope remove the only barrier, that remains between the Union of the South and West. I hope it may merit your approbation.

The settlement of the Oregon question has given great, and, I may almost say, universal satisfaction. I[t] was effected in the nick of time. It is now known that had the English proposition been delayed 5 days, until the news of our declaration of War against Mexico had arrived, the Settlement would not have been made. As it was, there was a division in the British Cabinet on the subject of the offer. How great the folly to endanger the Oregon settlement by the rash, thoughtless and unwarranted movement of our troops to the Del Norte! Your views in reference to that, and Slidell's conduct are perfectly correct. Much effort has been made to misrepresent my course in reference to the Mexican war, in order to render it unpopular; but, as far as I can learn, without much success. If I have lost anything with the thoughtless, I have been more than compensated by the increased hold I have obtained on the reflecting and patriotic.

The course of Co^l Pickens towards me, on the occasion, has surprised every one here but myself. To me it was not unexpected. I could not but see by his correspondence during the early part of the session, that his affinity for M^r. Polk and M^r. Buchanan was greater than his attachment for me; and that as it increased, his attachment was gradually turning into hostility. A fact finally came to my knowledge, which left no doubt of his unfriendly feelings, and that it existed, while he was yet corresponding with me, as a friend. The

¹See Works, V. 248-310.

fact I allude to is, that a very unfriendly article in the Southern Review was written by the Editor at his request, and that he furnished a speech of his on internal improvements, from which to draw the materials, in part, to prepare the Article. It came to his knowledge, that I knew the fact; and he wrote me an explanatory letter, which made it worse. In it, he acknowledged that the Article had passed under his revision, but claimed merit, that he had obliterated some passages more objectionable than any retained. I, of course, could not answer such a communication and do justice to my self, without widening the breach between us. He saw by my silence how I regarded it; and seized the occasion at Edgefield to give me, as he supposed, a deadly blow. It has recoiled.

I deeply regret his course any way. I regret it, that the son and son in law of my two best friends Co^l Pickens and Co^l Simpkins, and one with whom I am related and have been for many years on friendly terms, should put himself in a hostile attitude to me, without receiving the least offense or injury from me. I am utterly at a loss to conjecture the cause, unless it is, that he seeks the alliance of Tennessee and Pensyl^a as the means of gratifying his badly regulated ambition; just as Preston and Thompson sought that of M^r. Clay. They came to the conclusion, that the path of duty to the South and the Country was one that led neither to honor, nor emoluments; and, I fear, he has come to the same.

I have no fear, that his rude assault will hurt me; but I intend, on some proper occasion, to place my course on the question he has seized on, in its proper light; as I trust I have by my report, my course in reference to the navigation of the Mississippi.

I thought it due to our relation to give this statement, as painful as I know the narrative must be to you.

I would be glad to hear from you. We shall not adjourn before the 5th Aug^t.; so that your letter would reach me here, should you write promptly.

How does Willey come on? I will write him in a day or two. Your sister and Cornelia are well, and join their love to you and Willey. It is probable that we shall take the White sulfer Springs in Virginia on our way home.

*To Henry A. S. Dearborn.*¹

Private.

Washington 2^d July 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter came too late to meet the object of your wishes. The appointments of Generals are all made. But I apprehend, had it come in time, it would have been of no avail. The spoils principles are in the ascendancy, and there is little chance even in War, that any office would be bestowed, except for partisan services. Seeing this and prescribing for myself an independent course, I have ceased to apply for office for my friends.

There has indeed been a [strange?] change of political relations in your state, which has placed you and your old associates in a false position. Indeed the old political organization is worn out, and the time has come, when there ought to be a recast of parties better suited to the exigencies of the times. We want a real honest conservative party based on broad constitutional grounds, and looking to the permanent prosperity of the country. As things now are, the spoils doctrines are in the ascendancy in both of the old parties, and rapidly working the corruption of the people and the down fall of our free popular institutions.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 11th July 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I have little to add since my last. The most important occurrence is the passage of the Tariff bill through the House, nearly as reported by the Committee. Its fate in the Senate is doubtful; but I think it will pass. The protectionists have, indeed, little to gain by delay. It is clear from the vote of the House, that the days of protection is numbered. If its advocates are wise, they will agree to the best terms they can now get. The longer the adjustment is postponed the worse for them.

The South and the West have never been so strongly united before; not only in reference to the Tariff, but the publick bonds, the warehousing policy; and all other questions save

¹Text derived from a copy furnished by Mrs J. S. H. Fogg, the owner of the original.

Oregon, which now that it is settled, will soon disappear. To this desirable result, my report on the Memorial of the Memphis Convention has greatly contributed. The improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi was the great barrier, which kept them assunder and threw the West into the arms of the east. I hope I have forever removed it, by showing that the power is clearly embraced by that of regulating commerce among the states. As far as I can learn the conclusion to which I have come will be sustained by both sections. I send you a couple of copies.

With the exception of the Mexican war, the course of events thus far this session has been more in conformity to my views, than what they have been for many years. I fear the war will not come to a speedy termination; and that it will prove very expensive. Nothing could have been more easy than to avoid it; while, I fear, few things would prove so difficult, to terminate. I am waiting for a suitable opportunity to state my opinion, as to the course, which ought to have been pursued in reference to Mexico. . . .

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 29th July 1846

MY DEAR JAMES, The Union I send you will give a full account of the proceedings of yesterday, and the passage of the bill to reduce [the] Tariff. The excitement was intense all day. The Amendment will send the bill back to the house for concurrence, which makes its fate still doubtful. New York and the Wright's wing generally are at heart opposed to it, but I think dare not defeat it.

The Whigs will make violent efforts to produce a reaction. They yield their hold on us with deep growles.

If we [were] clear of the Mexican war, the prospect would be fair. I greatly fear it will give much trouble and replunge the country in a large debt.

I hope to get a provision inserted in a bill reported by Mr Evans to exempt all roads now authorised by law from the Duty on rail road iron. It would do much to complete our Southern roads, and to Unite the South and West.

I am glad to learn that Willie is well and doing well. I fear from what I hear that you may have suffered from the same hail storm, which passed through your neighborhood. Mr Burt tells me his crop is ruined.

I intend to take the white sulphursprings on my way home, and to spend 8 or 10 days there. You must not fail to make us a visit on our return home which will be early in September.

I wrote Willie a few days since and hope he has got my letter.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 30th July 1846

MY DEAR SIR, The Steamer, which takes this, brought me yours of the 27th June, but without the letter, which you state Anna had written to me. It was either not sent by accident, or has miscarried.

Nothing has yet been done with the diplomatick bill; nor do I think anything will be done this session. I hope something may be at the next session. This has been too much engrossed with deeply exciting subjects, to permit much attention to be bestowed on those of a less exciting nature. We have just passed on a measure, which caused very deep excitement; I refer to the bill for reducing the duties,¹ which, I trust, is but the first step to a strictly revenue bill. The whigs are already rallying for its repeal. The country will be deeply excited at the next election. I do not fear the result. It will give an opportunity for full discussion before the people and cause the true character of the protective system to be better understood by the community. Our only drawback is the Mexican war. Its expense will be enormous; and I fear, like the Seminole war, will afford pretext to renew high protective duties. No doubt the war will have its good, as well as its evil. It will afford an opportunity for the display of patriotism and valour; but it will at the same time disclose our financial weakness; involve us in a heavy debt; give a strong central tendency to our system; prevent

¹ The "tariff of 1846."

reform and greatly strengthen the Spoils principle. Without it, the prospect would be bright for a thorough reform, but as it is, I can see but little prospect of reform.

The Subtreasury is now before the Senate and will doubtless pass. Indeed, it is not a little remarkable, that all the great measures I have advocated are in a fair way of being consummated, even to that, in reference to the publick lands. And what adds to it, is that those, who are cooperating in consummating them, are far from being actuated by views friendly to me.

We have rumours of change in the State Department. It is said that Mr Buchanan will be nominated to fill the vacancy on the supreme bench in the course of the week. I think it not improbable. The only doubt is, that he cannot pass the Senate. The impression is, that the 54 forties will unite and reject him; but I doubt it now, that the bill for reducing the duties has passed. The Whigs will be inclined to court him, and get [h]is cooperation in Pennsylvania in order to effect a repeal. Should he be appointed, I am inclined to think Mr McLane, our minister in London, will be selected to take his place, which I would regard as a very great improvement. . . .

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 8th Augth. 1846

MY DEAR JAMES, I expect to leave tomorrow morning to join your Sister and Cornelia at the White Sulphur Springs on my way home. I write in the midst of confusion and haste and you must excuse the brevity of my letter.

I am glad you so highly approve of my report. It has been well received almost without exception. It never could have been better timed. The veto of the Harbour bill¹ gives it new interest and importance. The President, in his unwillingness to take my ground, placed his veto on grounds wholly indefensible. Nothing now is left for all interested but to rally on mine. They may stand there, without the fear of a veto.

¹ Message of August 3. Richardson, Messages and Papers, IV, 460-466.

With the exception of the Mexican question, the events of the session are eminently favourable to us. Already have the administration, and the country become heartily tired of the war, and are as anxious now to get out of it, as they were to get into it. My course in reference to it stand[s] vindicated in the opinion of all, without my uttering one word in my defense. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 8th August 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I leave here in the morning tomorrow for the White Sulphur Springs where M^{rs} Calhoun and Cornelia are waiting me to join them; and write in all the haste and confusion incident to the adjournment of so long a session, so that you must excuse the brevity of this communication. . . .

The course of events during the Session, with the exception of the Mexican war, has been as favourable to us, as we could possibly expect. Indeed, our measures have been forced on the administration and the party, as the only expedient by which they could save themselves,—very much, for the most part, against the inclination of the former and a large portion of the latter. If I do not mistake our ascendancy will be still more complete at the next Session. The administration and the country are already tired of the Mexican war; and are in as great haste to get out of it, as they were to get into it. My course, in reference to it, stands vindicated in the opinion of all, without my saying one word in my own defence. Nor will my triumph be less certain and decisive in reference to my Memphis Report. The President's veto of the harbour bill will ensure its complete success. His veto message is a poor document. He would not take my ground, and has been forced on that, which is wholly indefensible, and has left nothing on which all the interests involved can rally, but on the ground taken in the report. On that they can safely stand, without fear of the veto.

Col^l Pickens, with M^{rs} Pickens, Miss Susan, Miss Jeter and Miss Harris of Edgefield, passed through here a few days since on a tour to the North. Contrary to my expectation, he called

on me as soon as he arrived. I received him coldly and did not return his visit the next day, and declined doing so until he explained his course, which was made known to him through several of my friends, who called on me and conversed with me on the Subject. He disavowed the charges made in the papers, and on the authority of many present at the meetings, and authorised M^r M^c Duffie and others to make known his disavowal to me, which was accordingly done. On the strength of it, I returned his call. I found him alone, with the exception of M^r Holmes, our member from Charleston. He repeated the disavowal in his presence in Strong language.¹ It leaves an ugly question to be settled between him and others on whose authority the charges were made.

I am glad to hear, that you are all so well, and that the children are growing and improving so much. Kiss them for their grandfather, and tell them I love them. My love to Anna.

*To Jabez L. M. Curry.*²

Fort Hill 14th Sep^r. 1845 [1846].

MY DEAR SIR, It is my intention to take the route by Tala-dega, when I next visit Alabama, should I go by private conveyance. It is a portion of the state, which I desire to see. It adds much to the inducement to take it, that it would enable me to meet again an old friend, for whom I entertain so sincere a regard, and to spend a day with him and his family. But it is quite uncertain, when I shall make my next visit. It will be out of my power to do so this fall.

I send you a copy of my Memphis report,³ and hope the view I have taken of the important subjects, of which it treats, will meet your approval. I feel assured, that on none other can they ever be permanently settled, and that they must exercise a powerful disturbing influence over the regular action of the government until they are settled.

I am not surprised, that some of my warm political friends

¹ See Pickens's letter of December 13, 1846, in Part II, *post*

² This fragment is lent by Dr Curry, to whom it was addressed when he was a student in the Harvard Law School

³ See Works, V 246-310

should still entertain doubt. I have lived too long not to know how reluctantly the clearest proposition is admitted against preconceived opinions. But I have great faith in the final triumph of truth, and never have I been more certain of its triumph, than in this case. I regard the Report, as one of the most effective State Rights papers, I ever put forth, and that too on a portion of the Federal constitution heretofore the least understood. It draws a broad line between internal and external improvements; and restricts the Federal government more rigidly to those belonging to the external relations of the states, than any other view ever taken. Indeed, I have heard no objection to the argument, as it relates to the improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi. The only one I have . . .

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 15th Sep^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, . . . The course you indicate as proper to be taken in reference to Mexico, however wise, is one, which I cannot hope that the Administration would be induced to adopt. Indeed they have taken up such wild conceptions in reference to the proper policy to be pursued in relation to our foreign relations, that I have ceased to make any attempt, directly or indirectly, to influence them.

I fear with you that the interference of France and England will finally take place. Thus far, England has acted with the utmost delicacy and propriety, but I cannot think, that she and France will stand by quietly, and see Mexico stript of a large portion of her territory without interfering. The most, which can be hoped is, that they will assent to a considerable cession on the part of Mexico, on condition of a joint guaranty of the residue, to which we, as well as they, must be parties; but it is hardly to be expected that our Government will agree to such an arrangement.

We had a rough, but interesting journey from the White Sulphur Springs home. We returned by the way of Wytheville and Abingdon to the Warm Springs in North Carolina. At Wytheville, I remained two days to visit the ancient resi

dence of our family on Reed Creek,¹ a few miles from that place. They made a noble location of several miles up and down the creek including 3000 acres of fertile low grounds and a large body of rich high lands. I saw no finer, or more beautiful country any where on my route. It is now in the possession of wealthy and respectable families, connected with us through the Montgomeries, who returned to the country after the termination of the old French war. They pointed out to me the place where my father resided, and also your grandfather and the rest of the brothers. We were entertained with unbounded Kindnes and hospitality. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 20th Sep^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, On my return home a few days since, I found Anna's letter of July, and since then, I have received yours of the 11th August.

Your remarks in reference to my Memphis Report shows, that you rightly appreciate the state of parties with us, and its probable effects, in bringing about a reorganization of parties. It is working its way slowly, and what is remarkable and not a little significant, with little opposition from any quarter. There are many, who are cautious about endorsing it, but a still greater number, who appear to be still more, about opposing it. There is no danger, as you seem to fear, that it will quietly slide out of view, if not discussed and agitated at once. Polk's veto of the Harbour bill, and especially the indefinite and unsatisfactory grounds on which he placed it, will prevent that. As it stands, the whole subject of Light Houses, buoys, Beacons, and the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi, as well as Harbours must remain unacted on, unless there can be a general rally of the parties sufficiently strong to force him to yield, or to overrule his veto. I regard this state of things very favourable to bring about a rally on the report, by causing a more full and careful examination of the subject, than it has ever heretofore received by the publick; especially, if the unfortunate Mexican war, should in the mean time be brought to a close. . . .

¹See Colonel Starke's biographical sketch, *supra*.

To Thomas G. Ulemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 9th Oct^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I agree with you, that our foreign appointments, for the most part, are bad. They are made, indeed, much more with the view of obtaining influence at home than a regard to the competency of the appointees to discharge the duties of the office conferred on them. It is a part of the spoils principle, and can only be removed by putting it down. . . .

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 29th Oct^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I should be happy to see M^r Perrin, and if you should see him I would be glad you would say so to him. I would be glad to converse with him on several subjects. He is a very sensible, worthy man, and every way worthy of confidence.

I have just finished the preperation of a paper giving my views on the subject of changing the mode of appointing the electors, in compliance with the request of several of the members elect of this District.¹ It is a subject of great importance, touching the very vitals of our state constitution. I have gone pretty fully into the subject. I hope what I have said will forever put down the scheme of adopting a general ticket in our state. I declined coming out before the election, to avoid the imputation of improper interference. By coming out after, I shall secure a more favourable hearing. My communication, I suppose, will appear in the Messenger next week, or the week after.

I am of the impression, I wrote you before I left Washington and stated the fact of exchanges of visit between Col Pickens and myself, the circumstances attending it and my state of feelings in connection with it. I could not ask, or expect him to go further, as far as I was concerned, in making explanations. It was impossible for me to return his visit until he made explanation. This he did by a full and explicit denial, that he referred to me, in what he said. He

¹ Works, VI, 254-272.

made it to Mr M^c Duffie. On his report of the fact to me, I returned his visit, without hesitation. Holmes was there, when I stepped in, and he took the occasion to repeat, in his presence, his disavowal fully and explicitly. All I regret, in reference to the subject is, that he should permit the report to circulate so widely and so long without a publick denial. I think he owed it to himself and the occasion to make it. It would have placed the whole affair on a better footing before the world. It, however, much more concerns himself, than it does me.

I have never expressed any dissatisfaction in reference to his explanation. My acceptance of it is proof, that I regard it satisfactory as far as I am personally concerned. Indeed, I have hardly ever alluded to it, and when I have, it has been in the most delicate way. The whole affair has been the source of deep regret and pain to me, unmixed with ill will or unkind feelings, much less resentment. I have felt far more deeply for the wound he has inflicted on himself, than any he has on me; and if I could, I would heal it, and restore him to his former position in the state; but I fear that is impossible; the more so, in consequence of the way he has left it before the publick, by his silence. . . .

*To Lewis S. Coryell.*¹

Fort Hill 7th Nov. 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, I infer from your letter just received, as well as from information derived from other sources, that we are on the eve of a great political struggle.

I fear nothing from the Tariff. That, instead of a source of weakness, will prove about the only prop to the Democratick party. The great danger is to be traced to the course of the Administration in reference to the Oregon and Mexican questions, and the use they have made of their patronage. They have by these distracted and divided and disheartened and alienated the party to an extent unknown heretofore. If the Whigs were in a condition to avail themselves of the

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original.

advantage, our defeat would be inevitable; but they, fortunately, are in a condition not much better. Distraction pervades their ranks. Their alliance with abolitionism, antirentism and all the other isms has left them in a state of almost complete decomposition. It will be difficult for the Northern portion and the Southern to act together, tainted as the former is so deeply by abolitionism. Indeed, I regret to see that many of the democrats in the North are not by any means free from the taint. Wilmot's proposition¹ will prove an apple of discord, that will do much to divide the party.

Should Mr. Wright² be defeated, as you think, it will have a powerful influence over coming events. To the Whigs it would give great encouragement, while it would prostrate entirely the old hunker portion of the Democratic party, who, in my opinion, are responsible for all the disasters, which have befallen the party. The next session will be one of development, and deep and exciting interest. Before it ends, we shall see the direction, which the many and powerful causes now in operation, will take. I feel that my position is one of great strength and influence, and I shall use it for the best good of the country and its institutions.

I was not ignorant that the person to whom you refer, had strong political affinities in a certain direction, growing out of the part he took at the last presidential election.

To ——— ——— ³

Fort Hill, 7th Nov^r. 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, I am obliged to you for enclosing to me your two articles. They do credit to your patriotism. It requires all the energy of men like you at the North and North West to save the Union from the torch of the fanatics and the demagogues who are idly attempting to use them for their own purpose.

The evil is with you, and must be remedied there by the wise and good in your portion of the Union, combining to

¹ Better known as the "Wilmot Proviso," for the exclusion of slavery from the territory to be acquired from Mexico.

² Silas Wright, governor of New York, defeated for reelection.

³ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mrs. J S H Fogg, the owner of the original.

resist it. The South is looking on, not without interest (for she is deeply devoted on the high principles of patriotism to the Union) but calmly and without dread for herself. She stands on her rights, and feels that she can defend them. She has made up her mind, both as to her rights, morally and politically, and her capacity to defend them, and has ceased in a great measure, to discuss the question, or publishing anything in relation to the subject, except to note the progress of the evil among yourselves. In this state of mind, it is difficult to get any of our papers to publish anything from your papers on the subject, except to that extent; not but we highly appreciate the character and efforts of men like yourself, who we know constitute a large portion of the intelligence of the North, but because our mind is made up to meet whatever alternative may be forced on us. We believe the battle is to be fought with you; and the time is come, when the men of the North must make up their mind to rally for, or against abolitionism. It has been forced into politics with you, and it must now be put down politically, or triumph with you, with all the inevitable consequences that will follow,—disunion among others.

In this state of feeling, I can give no assurance that any of our Journals will publish at this time the two articles; and let me add with frankness, especially the one, which so strongly advocates a measure, to which we of this state are almost unanimously opposed.

I have written you thus candidly and frankly because I think the time has arrived when the two parties of the Union should fully and truly understand one another, on the important question involved. It is proper for the North to know, that we have made up our mind to defend our rights, and if she has made up her mind to assail them, on her be the consequences.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

c. c.

Fort Hill 21st Nov^r 1846

MY DEAR ANNA, You evince good judgement, in preferring a new and growing country to an old, and decaying, or even a stationary one. With all the inconvenience of the former,

there is something so heartsome in the yearly growth and improvement of a new country, which more than compensates for it. Indeed, so strongly do I feel the charms of a growing and improving country, that I would be much disposed to place myself on the very verge of the advancing population and growth of our country, were I to follow my inclination. There is, however, one drawback to a reflecting mind, that the growth and improvement, which cause the pleasure, are but the precursors to the evils which afflict an old and highly improved and civilized country. But while we prefer our own country, we must not under value Europe. She has done great things and is destined to advance far beyond the point of improvement and civilization, she has yet attain[ed]. The great progress made in the last hundred years in subjecting matter to the control of mind, especially in facilitating the means of intercourse, has made Europe a new country. It has roused up her energies; and greatly increased her capacity to add to her population and improvements. The danger is, that it may lead to political changes long before she is prepared to make them available to her prosperity and happiness; and thereby throw her back, instead of accelerating her progress. If the present institutions of Europe and this country, could be preserved for one century more, without convulsion or revolution, it would be difficult to form a conception of the progress, which they, and, I may add, the whole globe would make [in] improvements, civilization, and increase of population.

So you see, my dear daughter, I am inclined to look on the present state of things favourably, in reference to Europe and to our country, and to be highly conservative in reference to both. What I dread is, that progress in political science, falls far short of progress in that, which relates to matter, and which may lead to convulsions and revolutions, that may retard, or even arrest the former.

I am rejoiced to hear, that you are all in such good health, and that the dear children are growing and improving so much. I long to see them, as well as yourself and M^r Clemson; and hope that circumstances will justify your early return. Should cotton rise, to a good remunerating price, I do not think M^r Clemson would lose even in a pecuniary point of view by it; especially, if the projected railroad should be extended from

Aiken to Greenville, or Pickensville, as is not improbable. Its extension is now the subject of a good deal [of] discussion. Two routes are spoken of; one from Columbia to Greenville by the Way of Newberry Court House, and the other from Aiken by the maine ridge to Pickensville.¹ Should the latter be selected, the road would pass about 6 miles from the Cane Brake.

As to politicks, either general, or in reference to myself, individually, I have but little to add to what you will see in the papers. The Whigs have gained in the late elections greatly on the Democrats. The cause is to be traced to the great errors of the Administration; its course in reference to Oregon; the Mexican war, and its neglect and even proscription in many instances of those, who supported M^r Polk, in order to conciliate those who opposed him. The prospect is, that the party will be defeated at the next election for President, unless, as my friends think, they should rally on me. Whether the prospect of defeat will bring the party to their sense and to a return to their old principles, remains to be seen. In case it should, they may rally on me. Personally I feel little, or no interest. I agree with you, I have nothing to gain by any office, which can be bestowed [by] the people or the government. I trust what little reputation I have gained rests on a more solid foundation, than any which can be conferred by holding any office, even the highest.

John has just returned from Eugenia's wedding. She is now M^{rs} Parker. He is the son of M^{rs} Parker, who resided near the old place; a physician by profession, and is said to be a very worthy man. John was one of his attendants, and says that they had a very large and gay wedding party. Willie recovers slowly. . . . I enclose a letter from him. All the rest are well and join their love to you, M^r Clemson and the children.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 12th Dec^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR, The Mail of yesterday brought me your letter of the 30th Nov^r, addressed to Pendleton.

¹ The former route was selected.

From what I hear, I do not doubt, but your Tennessee correspondent is correct in his statement. It seems certain that Col Benton is to be the Organ of the Administration in the Senate, which, as Wright and he are bosom friends, would seem to indicate pretty certainly, that the latter is designed to be the Successor, should Polk despair of running with success. Should such be the arrangement, the other portions of your correspondents statement, that the press has already been subsidized and that the Post Master General¹ is in the movement, in all probability is true. . . .

As to the state of parties here, I infer from all I can learn, that both parties are in a state of great distraction and disorganization. What will grow out of it, would be difficult to conjecture. I can see no immediate end of the Mexican War. It seems certain, that an attack is contemplated on Vera Cruz both by sea and land; but mainly by the latter. Great reliance seems to be placed on the success of the attack bringing Mexico to terms. I doubt it; while it seems certain that a failure would tend greatly to prolong the war. I wish we could be fairly and honorably extricated from it. Its termination would be followed by great prosperity under the reduction of duties, while its long continuance would be followed by many evil consequences, and among them the elevation of the Whigs to power and the restoration of a protective Tariff.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 27th Dec^r 1846

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, The Cambria brought me M^r Clemson's letter of the 14th Nov^r, and yours to Cornelia of a corresponding date, which I forwarded to her immediately, after taking the liberty of reading it. I rejoice to learn, that you, and M^r Clemson and the Children are in such good health, and that they continue to grow and improve so finely. After making all allowance for maternal partiality, I must believe, that they are all that could be desired. Indeed, all, who have seen them report them to be such. I enclose an Answer to Calhoun's letter.

¹Cave Johnson of Tennessee.

I also enclose a letter from your Mother, which will give you all the domestick and local news, I presume, of Pendleton and its vicinity.

Patrick is now here, and looking remarkably well. He has been complement[ed] by being elected the Col^l. of a Regiment of volunteers in the city of N. York, unanimously and without solicitation. He is here in order to have it called into service, and be permitted to command it, without losing his commission in the line. Objections have been made by the department, but he hopes to overcome them. However opposed to the declaration of war, I cannot object to his going, and greatly prefer his going at the head of the Regiment, than as a subaltern in the line. He would be the youngest man with a Col^l's commission, in Service.¹

James continues to give good indications. He seems to be much attached to his studies and to be pleased with the institution. Co^l and M^{rs} Preston have been very polite to him. I begin to have much hope of him.

Andrew and family were well, when I last heard from them. He has there five boys. He is very busy in preparing for a large crop to make up for the shortness of the present.

My own health is good, except, which is usual with me here, bad colds. I am very comfortably quartered at Hills, and have M^r Burt and Martha in the joining room. The winter thus far has been pleasant.

Congress, as yet, has done nothing; but will, I suppose, begin in earnest after the 1st Jan^y. The Mexican war is the great and absorbing question. Many now begin to see, that it is like to prove a very troublesome and embarrassing affair, to say no more; and to think, that I was right in opposing it. There is no seeing when or how it is to be ended. It is like to turn out, as the war in Algeria has—a war between races and creeds, which can only end in complete subjection of the weaker power—a thing not easily effected in either case. We have to boot the Slave question mingled up with it. The present appearance is, that the Scheme of the North is, that the South shall do all the fighting and pay all the

¹ Patrick Calhoun was made colonel of the Fifth New York Volunteers, but the regiment was not mustered into service. He was promoted first Lieutenant of the Second Dragoons in 1847, captain in 1853, and died in 1858.

expense, and they to have all the conquered territory. It is understood, that the North is united on Wilmot's proposition to a man, and intend to act on it when the country is conquered. What is to come of all this, time only can disclose. The present indication is, that the South will be united in opposition to the Scheme. If they regard their safety they must defeat it, even should the union be rent assunder.

As to myself, I am waiting for developements before I take my stand. My inaction and silence make position more imposing. When the time comes to act, I shall do what duty requires be the consequences what they may. I desire above all things to save the whole; but if that cannot be, to save the portion where Providence has cast my lot, at all events. We never had a darker, or more uncertain future before us; and all from the rash step of rushing into war, when it could have been easily avoided, and when, if avoided, we had so clear a prospect before us. The Oregon question was as good as settled, and the settlement of that, would have left little difficulty in settling the Mexican, which would have given a long and almost certain prospect of peace and prosperity.

Say to Mr Clemson, that I have no farther intelligence about his place, since I passed by, and that Mr Harris has made another enquiry as to whether he would sell, through his father in law. I forwarded his letter to his overseer as soon as received.

My love to him. Kiss the dear Children for their Grandfather, and tell them I wish to see them much.

*To John Calhoun Clemson.*¹

C. C.

Washington 27th Dec^r 1846

MY DEAR GRANDSON, Your letter made your Grandfather very happy. He was happy to hear from you; happy to learn that you were well and to see that you could write so pretty a letter. He sent it to Grandmother in South Carolina, that she might be made happy too by reading it.

You must tell your sister, that she must learn to write too, and that I wish to get a letter from her.

You must also kiss her for Grandfather.

¹Son of Mr. and Mrs. T. G. Clemson, at this time in Brussels.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 30th Jan^y 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Nothing stands between the country and unbound[ed] prosperity in all branches of its industry, but the unfortunate Mexican war. All now acknowledge its folly, and desire most heartily to get out of it as soon as possible; but it is hard to do that, without the lead and cooperation of the Administration. If they had sufficient sense and nerve, it could be easily accomplished. I have pointed out the way, and offered my best efforts to aid in conversation; but they hesitate; and will I fear, untill plunged into inextricable difficulties.

I have thus far been silent and inactive, in hope some opportunity would offer to enable me to act with effect. None has yet offered, and I fear none will. If none should, I will take the first good occasion to express my opinion fully, as to the course, which ought to be pursued.

My-friends think I never stood higher, or stronger than I now do. Time has justified the wisdom of my course, in reference to the Mexican war; and the caucus machinery, which has ever been opposed to me, is evidently giving away. The election of Hunter and Mason to the Senate is proof conclusive, that it is rapidly on the decline in Virginia.¹ I hold it to be now certain that there will be no more Baltimore nominations, or if there should be, the nominee will be assuredly defeated.

The Administration has been endeavouring to build up, through Benton, the old Van Buren party, but all in vain. They will probably next try the Cass party, but, I think, with as little hope of success. We hold the balance, and it is felt.

My health, with the usual exception of cold and cough, during the winter here, has been pretty good—fully as much so, as I could expect with the little exer[cise] I take, and the course of living in such a place as this.

My love to Anna. Kiss the dear children for their Grandfather, and tell them how much I want to see them.

¹ R. M. T. Hunter and James M. Mason had been elected senators from Virginia, the latter to fill a vacancy, the former for the term 1847-1853.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 17th Feb 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I enclose two copies of my speech on the Mexican war.¹ It has been well received; and has made a deep impression. The best proof of the depth and strength of the impression is the fierce war it has drawn down on me from the Administration through its organ here. Those in power see that they have involved themselves and the country in a war fraught with the most disastrous consequences, and from which it will be difficult to extricate themselves. They begin to feel, that their doom is sealed; and hence their bitter and malignant attacks under the garb of defending the liberty of the press.

The country is, indeed, in a sad Condition, and the principles and doctrines of the Republican party are in a fair way of being permanently subverted through the weakness and folly of the administration. Should the war continue scarcely the vestige of any one of them will be left; free trade will sink under an oppressive debt to be paid by the impost; the Sub-treasury will end in a more intimate connection of the Gov^t. with the paper system than ever; economy and retrenchment will be lost in the vast and irregular expenditures of the war, and the patronage of the Government will be extended beyond all former examples.

I shall meet the assaults on me with perfect composure and with every confidence of rising above them in the end. The war cannot be continued; and a defensive position must be ultimately assumed.

You must excuse a short letter. The pressure of my engagements is great. I have scarcely a spare moment.

My love to Anna; and kiss the children for their grandfather.

*To Duff Green.*²

Charleston 9th March 1847

MY DEAR SIR, I have just returned from addressing a very large and enthusiastick meeting. It is said to be the largest

¹ Works, IV, 303-327

² Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

ever held here. I find perfect unanimity here, including Whigs and democrats. I never have been received even here with greater unanimity and enthusiasm than ever. I got your letter and prospectus. I placed the later in the hands of several intelligent friends. It met their entire approbation.

I find the impression here is, that \$25,000 would be necessary to place a daily paper at Washington on a solid foundation. I have had a full conversation with several capitalists, who are firmly attached to the cause, in order to ascertain what portion of it can be raised here. They required time to consider and decide. They are to inform me as soon as their decision is made, when, if it should be favorable, I will write to leading friends in other states. I think the indications here favorable but it will take time to make arrangements. The fate of the Constitutionalist has cast a damp. Ten thousand dollars was raised here to support it. The whole has been lost without doing any good.

The selection of the editor, you know, must depend on the leading contributors. I suggested your name, as if sounding; and I am bound in candour to say, there was no reponse. Nothing was said in disparagement of you, but I was forced to infer that it did not meet with approbation. As to myself, I am inclined to think that the course your prospectus indicates, to restore the old organ and its editor, under its proper name, would be a very successful move; perhaps the most successful, which could be made; but it is, I fear, too bold to obtain the assent of the timid, who constitute so large a portion of any party. I would individually be glad; nay rejoice to see you restored to your old position. I have confidence in your friendship, and am grateful for your support in passing through some of the eventful periods of my life; but I feel confident you will see that the relation I bear to you of a private character and the position I occupy in the party put it out of my power to speak in anything like a tone of authority on the subject.

I have written you in the spirit you requested, but it is proper to add that I do not consider that there is anything yet settled in reference to the paper or its editors, and that I would be most gratified to see your great experience and talents associated in conducting it, should it be established.

As to myself, I look wholly to the cause and would really rejoice to see some one take the lead and receive the appropriate honors of leadership instead of myself. I am most anxious to retire to the quiet of private life, after my long and laborious publick service; but it seems to me the more I do, the more I am compelled to do, and the farther I recede from retirement.

I shall write you again, when I hear from my friends from Charleston about the paper.

M^{rs} Calhoun joins her kind regards to yourself, M^{rs} Green and family.

I enclose this to M^r Bull to avoid the espionage of the post-office.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 19th March 1847

MY DEAR SIR, I received yours of the last Steamer but a short time before I left Washington.

On my return, I met M^{rs} Calhoun in Charleston waiting my arrival. My reception by the city authorities and the citizens generally was warm, and even enthusiastick—never more so. I remained four days, and addressed a crowded meeting in the Theater the evening preceeding my leaving. It was literally crowded, and hundreds had to retire from the impossibility of getting in. I was unfortunately labouring under a severe cold, accompanied by hoarseness; but I succeeded in making myself heard, in a short address of about 30 or 40 minutes.¹ I dwelt wholly on the slave question, its danger and our means for resisting it. The time is come, when it must be brought to a final decision. The next Session will indicate what that will be. From present appearance it will be one of the most important sessions since the commencement of the Government. . . .

¹ See Works, IV, 382-395.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 20th March 1847¹

MY DEAR SIR, I returned home on Tuesday last with your sister, who met me at Charleston, and had the pleasure of finding all well, except old Peggy, who has been quite dangerously ill, and my place in as good a condition, as I could expect, in all respects.

I received your last letter at a period of the session, when I was so much engaged, that I had not time to answer it. The sittings of the Senate were exceedingly laborious towards the end of the session, and I was forced to take a very active and prominent part.

The grievance of which you speak, in reference to the proposed substitution of a horse mail from Abbeville to the Double wells on the Georgia rail road, admits of no remedy, but the repeal of the act of Congress passed three years since, which makes it the duty of the Post Master General to have the mail carried in the cheapest manner, without reference to the mode of conveyance.² It was to go into operation with the respective lettings in the several portions of the Union, and this is our turn, it will be put into operation on all our routes, and among others to the present stage line from Pendleton to Hamburg. The act was passed by the North, to carry out the scheme of reducing the postage so low, as to charge a large annual burthen on the revenue from the imposts, and that the income of the Dept. might not be reduced so greatly, as to cause reaction, the plan was adopted to cheapen the transportation of the mail by breaking up the mail stage accommodations, in which it had but little interest, comparatively. There is I think no hope of its repeal, so that we must grin and bear it, as well as we can. The only remedy will be for some one to bid for the line sufficiently low to take it, and establish a hack. It is the way we propose to do Athens, which must hereafter be our route to Augusta, Hamburg and Charleston.

¹ This is perhaps the most appropriate point at which to mention that a letter of Calhoun to C. N. Webb, editor of the Roanoke Republican, dated March 20, 1847, printed in Niles's Register, LXXII, 210, was omitted from the list on p. 45, *supra*. The omission was not discovered till the proofs of that page had passed.

² Act of March 3, 1845, ch. 43.

Can you not come up this spring? We would all be very glad to see you. All join their love.

To Druff Green.¹

Fort Hill 28th March 1847

MY DEAR SIR, I see by the contents of your letter, that you have misunderstood me on a point, where I had supposed my meaning was very obvious. By *private* relations, I had no allusion to our personal relations, either of confidence, or friendship. It would, indeed, be absurd to make either of them a cause of delicacy in giving a preference to you. I alluded to our family connections through the tie of marriage.

Nor do you seem to understand, what I intended by the expression of my position to the party, who support me. It is not that of a leader aspiring to the presidency, but that of an individual, who, in the discharge of his publick trust, looks only to his duty and only expects their support from their concurrence in opinion with him. Occupying that position towards them, as associates and equals, and not as partisans, or followers, I assume no right to dictate, nor do I admit the right on their part to dictate to me. It is the relation of independence on both sides; and I feel it to be a matter of delicacy, to respect it especially when they stand in the relation of contributors to the support of a cause, which I would advocate without reference to their support, or opposition.

Having explained my meaning, I deem it proper to repeat, that I neither doubt your friendship, or capacity. On the contrary, I place a high estimate on both. I know of no one, who in my opinion, would conduct a paper with more ability, or greater fidelity. I go further. As you lost an honorable and profitable position by your adherence to the cause, I would rejoice to see you again in the same position and in the conduct of a paper of the same name. The triumph would be that of truth and justice; and as far as I can contribute to it, consistently with a due sense of propriety, and the success of the cause, I will do so. Further I cannot go. I cheerfully

¹ Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard For General Green's reply of April 6, see Part II, next

yield my own claims to such consideration, and no friend can ask me to go further. I ask no sacrifice of any friend, which I would not cheerfully make myself. Indeed, I would much rather make the sacrifice, than ask a friend to make it.

But when the funds are raised, it will, then, be the time to consult as to the editorship of the paper. Whether they will be or not, I fear is doubtful, from the reason I alluded to in my letter. I have not yet heard from my Charleston friends with whom I conversed on the subject. A word as to myself.

You seem to think, that I permit other persons to prejudice me against you, and that I have not given you the support I ought. As to the first, you greatly mistake. When I know a man, no one can influence my opinion, and what is more, very few undertake to do so. I take care to check it at once, when attempted, as I know to what unfounded conclusions, the jealousy of the mutual friends of a prominent individual will lead them. In addition, I am of that temper that I would rather be betrayed, than to suspect on light grounds. Besides, I feel, that I may be deserted, but cannot be betrayed: having, as I always have, had truth for my only guide; and no motive for concealment. I entertain not a thought, which I am not willing should be known to the world; and have not ever written a letter, which I am not willing it should be published. It is hard to betray one, who can with truth say as much.

As to my want of giving you due support, I know not when I have had the power of doing so, and abstain[ed] from doing it, when it could be done with propriety. Indeed I might ask when have I ever had the power to wield any portion of the patronage of the Government, since the termination of M^r Monroe's administration! During the short period, I was in M^r Tyler's administration, he engrossed the whole; and I came in under circumstances, which did not permit me to take a stand against it.

The only instance you allude to, is that of 1840, when by uniting with the Whigs, I might have made you in connection with Gales and Seaton the printers, against Blair and Rives.¹ I now think as I did then, that standing opposed to the Whigs on all the great questions of the day, as I did, that I could

¹ See the letters of January 17, 18, 1840, *supra*

not without loss of character and confounding my position, do other than I did; and had hoped that such would be your own conclusion, when you came coolly to reflect. I deeply regretted to be placed in the position, but thinking as I did, and still think, had you been my brother, I would have acted as I did. I acted on my own conception, uninfluenced by any others. As highly, as I value friendship, and as much disposed, as I am, to support my friends, I cannot yield my conception of what is right, or wrong to either, while I would cheerfully make any personal sacrifice for the purpose. Had I withheld my support on the occasion, from any motive on my part of personal ambition or advancement, I would have been inexcusable; but that I suppose, you can hardly think, although I [am] forced to infer, that as long as you have known me, you have never fully realized how subordinate I hold such considerations, when they come into conflict with what I believe to be right. Even in early manhood, when I felt their impulse far stronger, than I now do, they could never over rule my sense of right. I regret, that one, who ought to know me, as well as you ought, should under estimate my character, as I am forced [to] think you do, on such a point.

Let me add in conclusion, that while I think, there is a great opening for a truly independent and able paper at Washington (never greater in my opinion) and that no one is more able to conduct such an one than yourself, I would be very sorry to see you undertake editing a paper there, unless on calculations founded on the prospect of its ultimate profit. But if you can see your way looking to it, clearly, and can find the means to start one, even a weekly sheet at first, on your own independent hook, avowing your object to be, to restore the principles of the party, which brought Gen^l Jackson into power, but which were defeated by the introduction of the spoils principle and the party machinery of the Albany Junto, and the treason of M^r Ritchie and others like him, and assuming the old name of the Telegraph, you would pre-occupy the ground, and rally the whole South and a large portion of the old party everywhere to your support. The prospectus you prepared, would be the proper basis, modified to suit the suggestions made. Place it on the high ground of

an independent press, holding principle paramount and never subordinate. In my opinion, it would stir up the South, and hasten its efforts to raise funds to establish on a firm foundation, a press at Washington.

You ask me if I read the Union. I do not take it and rarely see it. I expect him to do his best in the way of abuse. He sees, that my overthrow is necessary to save the hunkers.

*To M. A. Allan Brown.*¹

Fort Hill 9th April 1847

DEAR SIR, Regarding you to be one, entertaining strong political attachment to me, as you state yourself to be, I answer you as a friend.

If to be devoted to popular institutions; if to believe in the principles and policy, which brought the Republican party into power under Mr. Jefferson; if to prefer country to party, and dare to oppose party, when party deviates from its principles or policy, is to be a Republican, then am I one, and ever have been, and never more so than now. I had supposed, I had given too many and trying proofs of my Republicanism judged by these tests, to have my Republicanism doubted at this late day. I have often before opposed the party when in power, to save both it and the country. I have often before been denounced by partisans and party papers for doing so; but time has ever, as it will now, prove me to be in the right. It has been my fate to oppose the party, "when in power and full strength, and to come to its rescue, when fallen or out of power. It is again in a fair way, I apprehend, to lose power, because it has greatly departed from its original faith, and embraced the principles and policy of its opponents to a far greater extent, than is supposed, by those, who have not carefully watched the course of events. The Republican party would ever triumph, and never be in danger, if true to its principles and policy. I would say to you, and other political friends, who may have given too hasty an ear to the abuse of mere partisans

¹ Of Wilkesborough, N. C. Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. F. E. Shoup, of Columbia, Tenn.

and party papers who go with party right or wrong, wait and see. To time I always appeal against their clamour.

I enclose you a copy of my address to the citizens of Charleston.¹

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 11th April 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . The spring has been very backward; but the weather has been warm and dry since the commencement of the month, and vegetation has pushed forward with great rapidity. The woods begin to assume their summer garb, and every thing seems gay and cheerful. This morning is a lovely one,—of the most agreeable temperature. The birds are sending up their joyous notes in every direction. We, however, begin to want rain, to bring up our corn and cotton, and give vigour to the growth of small grain.

As to politicks, things as yet, continue much as they have been, when I last wrote you. Ritchie continues his abuse, to which I have no objection. He has been long my secret foe, he is now an open and bitter one. Whatever impression he may make against me for the time, will in a short time react. I do not think, that there is the slightest prospect, that the old Hunkers of which he is the Organ, can ever again be resuscitated. They are incredibly corrupt;—alike destitute of honor or honesty. They know, that I have sustained the democrattick party for the last ten years, and that without my support, they would have been prostrated forever by the explosion of 1837. They know, that my support has been of the most disinterested character; and yet they hate me, with a deeper hatred, than what they do, their professed opponents, simply because of my opposition to the spoils principle and the caucus Machinery,—the only cohesive power, that holds them together. But their days are numbered, and they see it; and hence the gnashing of the teeth, and bitter curses. I take it with perfect calmness. They shall have more cause for Wailing before I am done. The last session is but the prelude to the next, when the day of reconing will commence. . . .

¹ Of March 9, 1847; Works, IV, 382-395.

*To Duff Green.*¹Fort Hill 17th April 1847

MY DEAR SIR, The mistake, which I think you and the most of my friends make in reference to myself is, that you do not fully realize how completely I hold my own advancement subordinate to what I deem my duty to the Country. Even in the ardour of youthful aspiration, when the Presidency was an object of desire, I never could bring my mind to yield to a measure, or course of policy, which I thought wrong, to obtain that high office; much less can I now, when it is no longer to me an object of desire. Had I arrived at the Presidency by any other way, than an upright, and fearless discharge of what I conscientiously believed to be my duty, I would have been much more flexible, and under the influence of friends; but as it is, when I do not agree with any one portion, they have been too apt to suppose, that I had been influenced by those, with whom I happen to agree. You make this mistake as to my course in 1840. It may be, that the motives of those on the occasion, to which you refer, was such as you suppose; but, be that as it may, in making up my opinion, I had no consultation with them, nor had their opinion in relation to the subject to which you refer, the least influence with me. I am always happy to hear the opinion of my friends and often avail myself of their suggestions, in modifying my course; but rarely ever in taking it. I have said thus much, because, I think, you not infrequently fall into error, in attributing, what is the result of my deliberate judgement to the influence of others.

I entirely agree with you, that the Presidential election ought to be held in reserve, with the restriction, that no one of the old hunkers or their nominee by the Baltimore convention, shall get our support. I regard that portion of the party, as incurably corrupt. In their folly and profligacy they made the Mexican war, without seeing, that the successful general will ever be sure to turn the party, in this country, out of power, which makes a war. They began to see it, when it was too late, and hence their desire to have a Lieu^d General and to strike a blow at Gen^l Taylor during the last

¹ Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

session. And hence, also, the sending of Gen^l Scott, in the hope of exciting their mutual Jealousy and dividing their political friends on the Presidential question. Indeed, the movements, on the part of both parties, have looked to that exclusively. It is to be hoped, that the very few, who look exclusively to the country, by taking an independent stand, and keeping in reserve their influence, may finally throw it, where something may be done to advance the publick good.

I am glad to learn, that you have closed a satisfactory arrangement, about your mountain property, and I hope that your expectation will be realized, but let me repeat my hope, expressed on a former occasion, that you will not engage in publishing a paper, unless you can see your way clearly. Your first duty is to your family.

My Charleston friends appear disposed to make an effort to raise the necessary funds to establish a paper for the support of the South, on a solid basis, provided the other Southern States will cooperate, or at least a part of them. But, I fear, that their attention is so much absorbed in the events of the Mexican war, and that they are so much entangled by their party connections, that nothing will be done.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 6th May 1847

MY DEAR SIR, I am very happy to hear by yours by the Cambria, that you are all well.

The views you take in reference to Ritchie, and the position in which it has placed me in reference to the hunker portion of the party are perfectly correct. They are incurably corrupt; and I am glad to be seperated from them by their own act. It places me on ground perfectly independent of either party; to act according to the dictates of my own judgement. The days of hunkerism is numbered. M^r Polk is the last of the dynasty. It never can rise again to power. The folly and the vice of the party have destroyed it. He sought by the Mexican war to perpetuate the power of the party, but it will prove the means of his and their overthrow.

As things now stand, he will make Taylor his successor by making the war. It has made him the available candidate, and that of itself will be sufficient to rally a majority around him. Indeed, it would seem to be an established principle with us, that the party in power, which makes war, will be sure to be turned out of power by it;—if successful, by the successful General; and if not, by the opposition. When that comes to be understood, as it will be, if Taylor should be elected, we never again shall have a war, when it can be averted. Had the administration had sufficient sagacity to see it, Taylor never would have been ordered to the del Norte, and there would have been no war. As much as I am opposed to military chieftains for presidents, I shall, thus thinking, be content to see him elected against Mr Polk, or any one, who contributed to make the war; and, let me add, against the nominee of a convention, either democrat, or Whig. But I go no farther. I shall stand fast on my own doctrines, and act in conformity to them, in any emergency, including the Presidential. It is the only way, by which I can serve the country and preserve my character. . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 10th June 1847

MY DEAR ANNA, If I have not written you more frequently, it is because Cornelia and your Mother write you constantly, and that for the last several packets, it has been necessary for me to write to Mr Clemson, in reply to his letters and on business. It happens, for the first [time] for a considerable period, that there was no subject, which required I should write to him, and that your letter to me, was the only one received from Brussels by the packet before the last. The last steamer which sailed took no letter from us to either of you, as we were absent in Abbeville in attendance on Kate Townes Wedding. I think she has done well; but as Cornelia sends a long letter to you, in company with this, I take it for granted, she will be very full in her narrative about the wedding and all that relates to our visit to Abbeville, so I shall pass them over.

I am happy to hear, you are all so well, and that the children

are making such progress; not in what is called learning only, but what is vastly more important at their age, in good sense and habits. I hear such favourable accounts of them, that I am extremely desirous of seeing them again, as well as yourself and M^r Clemson; and sincerely hope, the time is not distant, when he shall think it for his interest to return to the U. States. If cotton should ever rise to 8 or 9 cents, steadily, as I hope it will, now that the immense stock, which had accumulated will be reduced to nothing by the end of the year. The present crop, thus far, is by no means promising. It is generally very backward, small and not a good stand. Besides, that planted on the Mississippi bottom has been in a great measure ruined by the Fresh. I saw not more than two tolerable crops on my visit to Abbeville, and neither of them much, if any more forward, than mine. With their exception, mine is the best by far I have seen this season. The weather has been unfavourable, and insects have abounded. We have not had since the 1st Week in April a single day that could be called warm, and are yet sleeping under a blanket, and 'till lately under two. We have rains now, but it is still too cool to give any great impulse to the growth of cotton.

I met in Abbeville Hammond at M^r M^cDuffie's, and spent a night with him there. He gave the same account of the crop, as low down as his residence, and I do not doubt it is much the case over the whole cotton region. He speaks very favourably of his experiment in marling and the use of plaster of Paris; and enthusiastically of his efforts in reclaiming the swamp land on his tract. From what he states, they must be equal to the best lands in the Union, while the expense, is far less than it was supposed it would be at first. Should M^r Clemson return, it would be worth while to look at the lands adjacent to him. The situation has great advantage in climate and position.

I am not at all surprised, that the state of things in Belgium and Europe, generally, should excite the feelings and sentiments you have so strongly expressed; and yet, bad as is the state of things there, it must, with the exception of this year of famine, be vastly superior to what it is in any other part of the old continent. We are for the present far better off; but it may be doubted whether we are not treading the path, that

will lead in the end to a similar or worse state. Certain it is, that the preservation of our institutions and liberty occupy but little of the attention of our Government, Federal, or State, or that of the people. Wealth and power engross the attention of all. We act, as if good institutions and liberty belonged to us of right, and that neither neglect nor folly can deprive us of their blessing. I almost stand alone, in taking a different view, and soon I fear shall be entirely out of fashion.

We have a most uncertain future before us. It began with the Mexican war. It has reached a critical point. I see nothing that can prevent us from taking the city, but what is to be the end of that, no one can tell. The present indication is, that we shall go on and subject, and hold in subjection, if we can the whole country; and who can tell to what that may lead? The only thing that seems probable is, that the Army and Navy are to become the controlling influence in the country, at least for another Generation.

I am looking on calmly, but with deep interest, with the fixed resolve to do my *duty*, regardless of all consequences. The next session must be one of the most important, that has yet taken place. It will lead to many developements, and give us a glimpse of what is to come. My position is one of entire independence of party, and of great command; but it will require much firmness, prudence and foresight to meet its duties, and responsibilities. I hope I will not prove unequal to the task it may impose.

We are all well, and all join their love to you and M^r Clemson and the children. Kiss them for their grandfather and tell them how glad I am to hear they are so well, and behave so well.

Willie has not yet returned, but we expect him next week.

To Duff^r Green.¹

Fort Hill 10th June 1847

MY DEAR SIR, I received your two last letters, the one written at New York and the other after your return from

¹Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

Washington, in which you urge me to attend the Convention to be held in Chicago on the 4th July.¹

After giving the subject the most deliberat consideration, I cannot concur with you in opinion as to the expediency or propriety of my attending.

My opinions in reference to internal improvement, both in reference to the Lakes and the Mississippi, have been fully expressed in my remarks at Memphis and the report on the proceedings of the Memphis convention. I have seen no reason since to change, or modify my opinion on any point. If I were to go to the Chicago convention, it would only be to repeat them, and to expose myself to the attack of those, who may be disposed to go farther than I can go, with my views of the Constitution, aided and backed by all, who may be politically opposed to me; while I would expose myself to the imputation of the very motive you assign for my going, and would lose more weight with the South, than I could possibly gain in the West.

Such are the objections, which occur to me, regarding the subject in the light you do, in reference to myself and my political advancement. But political advancement has ceased to be for a long time any object to me, personally. I would accept the Presidency on no condition but to reform the Government and carry out the principles and policy with which I am identified; and I have no idea that it will ever be tendered me for that purpose. All that remains for me is, to finish my course with consistency and propriety, and that I can only do, by an honest and manful discharge of my duty, while I remain in publick life. I am thankful to my friends for the interest they take in my elevation to power. One of the strong motives I would have to accept should it come to me, in a manner I could accept, would be to serve those, who have stood by me through so many trying scenes. Their attachment to me, has been the result of a community of sentiment in reference to the principles and policy of the Government; and, as such, I have ever regarded it, as alike honorable to them and me. Many of them, you among the others, overestimate the chance of my elevation, by not taking the proper

¹ The Northwestern Harbor and River Convention.

view of the nature of the difficulty in my way. It may all be summed up in one, that I am not in favour of the spoil's policy. They who seek them are for the present masters of the country; and so long, as they continue to be so, ever will resist successfully my elevation. Nothing but a reaction, which shall rouse the country to a sense of its danger, which may not occur, until too late, can ever elevate me to power. That such should be the case, I have no reason to complain. I selected my course with a full knowledge, that such would be the case; and so far from regretting it, I would do it over again, if it was in my option to choose. I am not disappointed, and have none of the feelings belonging to the disappointed. But, I must say, that I am occasionally mortified, at seeing how little I am understood by some of my oldest and most faithful friends, and you among them, as I infer from some of your remarks in your letter from N. York. It is a grave charge to say, a man is unmindful of his friends. If I know myself, I would rather injure myself than a friend; and have ever been more unmindful of myself, than of them. It is I, who head without hesitation, or dread of consequences every assault on our common principles, and, if I have been careless of them, I have been much more so of myself. It would be a much truer estimate of my character to say, when duty is concerned, I am not only regardless of friendship or enmity but of myself. As to the case of Morton, my impression is, that I neither took part, nor voted. When I saw how badly the democrattick party was acting on the Wilmot proviso, I saw little choice between one, or another of the party, or between a democrat, or a Whig. Besides Williams, whom he turned out, gave a statement in his favour; and yet, it seems, this miserable affair, is the proof that I am not mindful of my friends. It had nothing to do with any friend. If he had been rejected it would have only made room for some other, equally objectionable.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

c. c.

Fort Hill 15th June 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Your views in reference to our political condition and affairs is so good, that I have little to

add. I regard my position the best that it could be, in the present state of our affairs. By having done my duty fully in reference to the Mexican war, as it relates both to its origin and the mode it ought to have been conducted, I stand free of all responsibility, and independent of both parties, and their entanglement. It is difficult to say, which is most so in reference to the war; the administration and its party, as its Authors, or the Whigs for the folly and weakness of having voted for a war, which they had in discussion pronounced to be unconstitutional and unprovoked.

I regard everything in reference to the war and its consequences as still uncertain. Whether victorious, or defeated our situation is bad. If the former, it would seem impossible almost to stop short of the Conquest of the country; and then comes the question; What shall we do with it? to annex it would be to overthrow our Government, and, to hold it as a Province, to corrupt and destroy it. The farther we advance, the more apparent the folly and wantonness of the war; and the more fully will the wisdom and patriotism of my course be vindicated. Indeed, already have the assaults on me terminated, except from the Would be Lieu^t General. But his ravings prove not only his wounded pride, and his spite, but that he regards my position as strong. . . .

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 1st July 1847

MY DEAR JAMES, There begins to be a good deal of feelings in this quarter in reference to the navigation of the Savannah River and M^r Sloane has been appointed by the farmers society to attend the barbecue in Calhoun's Settlement on the 3^d Inst. to present the views and feelings of the people hereabouts, as it is expected the Subject will be agitated on the occasion. His opinion at present is rather adverse to the practicability of rendering the river capable of steam navigation, except at an enormous cost. In this, I think he is mistaken, am I am sure he would be very happy to find he is.

I have conversed with him freely, as to what would in my opinion, be the proper mode of proceedings on the part of

the meeting to bring the subject fairly before the Legislature of our state and Georgia. The subject is one of great importance and I hope will be prosecuted with vigour.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 8th July 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . There is not much to be added about politicks to what I wrote you last. The difference between North and South is daily increasing, in reference to the Slave question. It is hard to say to what it is destined to come. From every appearance, it will at least break up the old party organization. The indication is daily becoming stronger, in favour of General Taylor. The administration is evidently greatly alarmed at his popularity. Their fate is, however, sealed, whatever may become of the General.

The prevailing opinion seems to be, that there will be peace ere long. I regard it, as doubtful. I have no doubt, but the administration is most anxious for it, and that Mexicans desire it, but when they come to fix on terms, there will be great difficulty in agreeing. The former must insist, after so much blood and treasury, on a large cession of territory, and the latter will feel great repugnance to such cession. But be the terms, what they may, our difficulty *within*, will commence with the termination of those with Mexico.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 24th July 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . We have had little of publick interest of late. The Mexican war has been at a stand. There is ever[y] now and then a movement in favour of General Taylor. The indication still is, that he will be the popular candidate, in opposition to the caucus nominees. I think with you, that my position is the most eligible of all the publick men of our country. It is the only independent one; and I can see symptoms, that it begins to be felt.

I do not in the least doubt, but that you are right, as to the European terminus of our steam boat line; or as to the means,

by which it was selected. It was done as everything with us is done, through favouritism.

It is apparent, that the conflict between North and South is every day becoming more pointed and determined. If nothing else should be in the way it, of itself, will do much to break up the old party organizations.

All join in love to you and Anna and the children. Tell them how happy Grandfather is to hear that they are so well, and are such good children.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 13th Aug^t. 1847

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . I am not at all surprised, that the victories our arms have achieved in Mexico should make so deep an impression in Europe. They had greatly underestimated our strength and military skill; but I fear their development will have more pernecious influence at home, than beneficial abroad. I fear my forebodings will be realized to the fullest extent. The bitter is yet to come. I look forward to the next session of Congress, as one pregnant of events of the most momentous character. We shall, before it terminates, begin to realize the train of events, to which the Mexican war was destined to lead. I shall go prepared to speak the truth, fully and boldly, and to do my duty regardless of responsibility. The next news from Mexico will probably bring information of the occupation of the Capital by Scott and his army.

All join their love to you and M^r Clemson and the children. Kiss them for their Grandfather, and tell them I wish to see them much.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 6th Sep^r 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I agree with you, that the political condition of all western Europe is very unsettled, and especially France. Nor are we much better off. Our future is very uncertain. The old parties are disorganized. The adminis-

tration weak; and the termination of the Mexican war, and what will grow out of it, uncertain. We must wait for the developments of the next 12 months to know where we are. In the meantime, Clay and his friends are making a great effort to bring him out again, as a candidate, and will probably succeed. Taylor has lost ground greatly, and will probably be ruled off. He has written too many letters, and some of them very illy advised. Wright has died,¹—a severe blow to the Hunkers; and Benton is denouncing the administration, whether to break with them, or control them is uncertain; probably the latter. We (the State rights party) are making an effort to establish an independent press at Washington, as the organ of the South. A large amount has already been subscribed, and it is hoped, it will be in operation by the meeting of Congress. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 24th Oct^r 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . You will have seen by the papers, that the City of Mexico is in possession of our army, and that the prospect of conquering peace is as remote as ever, as I suggested it might be in that case. Thus far, not an anticipation of the administration has been realized; and yet, if we may judge from indications, they are resolved to go thoughtlessly forward, when it is clear, whether defeated or successful, the result will be unfortunate to the country. If we should succeed in conquering the whole what shall we do with it, or what can [we] do with it without ruin to our institutions? If we fail where shall we be? . . .

To Waddy Thompson.²

Fort Hill, 29th Oct^r 1847.

DEAR SIR, I have read your letter with attention, and will answer it in the same spirit of candour and freedom, with which it is written.

¹ Silas Wright died August 27, 1847.

² Printed in the American Historical Review, I, 314, 315, from which it is here copied. It will be remembered that General Thompson had been minister to Mexico.

We do not disagree, as to the cause of the war, nor as to its certain disastrous consequences in the end, let it terminate as it will. We also agree in the opinion, that the war ought to terminate, and that my position requires me to use my best efforts to bring it to an end. But the great practical question is; How can that be done?

In deciding that question, it must not be overlooked, that both parties by large majorities stand committed by their recorded votes, not only to the war, but that the war is a war of aggression on the part of the Republic of Mexico, aggression by invasion and spilling American blood on American soil, and thus committed also to the Rio Grande being the Western boundary of the state of Texas. It is true, that very few of either party believed, that there was any just cause for war, or that the Rio Grande was the Western boundary of Texas, or that the Republic of Mexico had made war on us by the invasion of our territory, or any other way; but it is equally true, that by an act of unexampled weakness, to use the mildest terms, both stand by admission on record to the very opposite of their belief. And what is worse, they have by this act of unpar[all]elled weakness, committed large portions of both parties out of Congress to the war, as just and unavoidable on our part.

The effect of all this, with brilliant achievements of our arms, have been greatly to weaken the opposition and to strengthen the party in power, and to make it impossible, in my opinion, to terminate the war in the manner you propose. I go further, to attempt it, would only tend, under circumstances, to weaken those, who make it, and give a new impulse to what is called the vigorous prosecution of the war, instead of bringing it to a termination. I thought so at the last session, and so informed Mr. Berrien¹ and the other Whig members, when he presented his amendment, and such in my opinion has been the effect, and will continue to be its effect, if it should be renewed at the next session. The course I adopted then, or rather suggested, was the only one that had the least prospect of bringing the war to an end. I stood prepared to carry it out, if I had been supported; and, if I had been, the carnage and expenses of this campaign, would

¹ John M. Berrien, Senator from Georgia, 1825-1829, 1841-1852.

have been avoided. I shall take my seat prepared to do all in my power to bring it to an end, consistently with the state of things, in which I may find the country; but I fear with as little support, as I had in opposition to the war, or in my attempt to terminate it, at the last session. The fatal error of the Whigs, in voting for the war, has rendered them impotent, as a party, in opposition to it; and let me add, that while I agree with them in the policy of preserving the peace of the country, as long as it can be consistently with honor, I fear their timidity, as a party, on all questions, including peace and war, is so great, as to render their policy of preserving peace of little avail. It is not only in this instance, that it has disclosed itself. Even on the Oregon question, they gave away, before my arrival at Washington, on Cass's resolution, and rendered it very difficult to re[co]ver what was then lost. To go farther back; they made but feeble efforts to preserve peace during Jackson and Van Buren's time on the Maine boundary question, and permitted me to stand alone in open opposition to Gen^l Jackson's course, in reference to the French indemnity, backed by the report of the Committee of Foreign relations in the Senate, which, had it not been for the mediation of England, would have ended in War. I rose in my place in the Senate, after the report was read, and exposed and denounced the whole affair, without a voice raised in my support. It is this timidity, when they are right, in questions connected with our foreign relations, and their errors, in reference to those appertaining to our domestick relations, which keeps them out of power, notwithstanding their individual respectability, and prevents them from performing, with effect, the important duties of an opposition. I am sure you will excuse this free expression of my opinion, in relation to a party, with which you rank yourself.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 9th Nov^r 1847

DEAR SIR, I received by the last mail your note, with the Message from M^r Cameron; and will thank you to say to him,

¹ Original lent by Mr R. P. Maynard.

that I am obliged to him for his proposed arrangement, but that I had previously made another arrangement for the session.

I foresee a session of great distraction and confusion. The old party organization cannot much longer hold together. The want of sincerity and honesty on the part of both parties has confounded the country and the Government, and caused a state of things, from which it will be difficult to extricate ourselves. I confess, I do not see the end. My own course is clear and easy; to do my duty, without regard to consequences personal to myself. If our institutions are destined to be overthrown, I am resolved, that no share of the responsibility shall rest on me.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 13th Nov^r 1847

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your last. It is my intention to be at Washington by the commencement of the session.

The position of the country is very critical. Great caution and great firmness combined are necessary to extricate it from its present difficulties; and you will have to exercise them in an eminent degree to make your paper effective and successful. With them it may do much. Look to the country exclusively, avoid as much as possible personalities, either of praise or censure, and limit yourself to statements of facts, and calm and impartial discussion. I hope you have not taken a step, which will involve you in any pecuniary difficulties.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 10th Dec^r 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I have not been here long enough to form an opinion, what course parties will take during the session. The Whigs have a small, but apparently decided majority in the House, and the Democrats a large, but not a very reliable majority in the Senate. The session will be an eventful one. It will be difficult for either of the old parties

¹ Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

to hold together. I anticipate much confusion and distraction. I send a copy of the Message. It is very long, very undignified and full of false assumptions. You will see that things have progressed to a point, where it is difficult to advance or retreat; but I will write you more fully on political subjects hereafter. . . .

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Washington 11th Dec^r 1847

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . You of course have seen the Message and the course it indicates to be pursued towards Mexico. The impression here is, that it is intended to conquer and subject the whole country. That at least will be the result if the course should be pursued; and if it should be, the end will be to hold it as a conquered Province or incorporate it in the Union.¹ Either will overthrow our system of Government. It may, indeed, have a different termination, which few yet dream of; and that is, to be held by the Army and Volunteers as an independent country. Keep this to your self. I have never whispered it before to any one; but it is not an improbable result. The country is in a most critical condition. It will be hard to save it. . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 26th Dec^r 1847

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, . . . Congress, as yet, has done but little, and will not do much more, until after the 1st Jan^y. On the fourth of that month my resolutions,² in reference to the Mexican war, will come up, when the discussion on that exciting and important subject will begin. The prospect is, that I shall be able to carry them. If I should, it will do much to arrest the war. If they should be defeated, We may look for the entire conquest and subjugation of Mexico. What a fearful result it will be for our country and institutions!

¹ See Prof. Edward G. Bourne's article, "The United States and Mexico, 1847-1848," in the *American Historical Review*, April, 1900.

² Works, IV, 396

Already the interest in favour of its entire conquest and subjugation is exceedingly strong; and will, if not arrested by the vote of the Senate, become overwhelmingly so. Our people have undergone a great change. Their inclination is for conquest and empire, regardless of their institutions and liberty; or rather, they think they hold their liberty by a divine tenure, which no imprudence, or folly on their part, can defeat. When my resolutions were first introduced they were regarded by many as of little importance and uncalled for; but at present they are viewed in a very different light. For my part, I consider them, as among the most important I ever introduced, regarded in their practical bearing on the course of events hereafter. I only hope, I shall be able to do them full justice in what I may say. If I should, I feel much confidence, I shall be able to arrest the present headlong enthusiasm for war, which is rapidly impelling the country to its destruction.

Give my love to Mr Clemson, and the children. Kiss them, also, for their Grandfather and tell them how much I wish to see them.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 4th Feb: 1848

MY DEAR SIR, . . . My speech¹ has had a very wide circulation and the impression is, that it has made a deeper impression than any I ever delivered. It brought to the surface the strong feeling, which had been working below in favour of the conquest and holding as a Province, or annexing all Mexico; and which I can hardly doubt, if not intended, was looked to by the administration, as not an undesirable result. It has done more. It has turned the tide and brought the Union to a disavowal; but, I fear, that things have gone so far, that it will be found difficult to avoid a result so disastrous, as it would prove, should it occur. It seems, at least, pretty certain, if I had not promptly made the movement, and taken the stand I did, such would have been the result of the War. Strange as it may seem, neither side had the least conception,

¹ See the preceding letter, and Works, IV, 396-424

that there was any danger of it, when I introduced my resolutions. Both were disposed to regard this, as a mere abstraction and an unnecessary precaution, but now all take a different view.

The effect has been, to give a new direction to the debate on the supplies of both men and money; and one, on the part of the opposition, far more efficient. It is making on their side far deeper impression on the country, so much so, that nothing short of a treaty, or adopting the plan I suggested, can save the administration, if even that now can. The indication at present is, a disposition on their part to adopt the policy of a defensive line. If nothing else, the financial difficulties will compel them to treat, or fall back.

The Presidential question is of course a leading topic. Clay's friends have made great efforts to bring him forward, but, it is said, in quarters which ought to know, without success. My impression still remains, that Taylor will be the Whig, or rather the popular candidate, against what may be called the Administration Candidate. Who that will be is doubtful. At present the prospect of Cass would seem to be the most promising . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 20th Feb: 1848

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, . . . As to politicks, things are very much as they were, when I last wrote M^r Clemson. We have constant rumours of peace, but I can see no certain prospect of getting it. The policy I recommended in my speech is gaining friends; and I am of the impression, if peace is not made in a reasonable time, there will be a majority for it in both Houses and the Union.

The Presidential election is the constant topic of agitation and conversation; but is involved in perfect uncertainty. The whigs are divided between Clay and Taylor: the latter I think will prove the stronger. The democrats are still more divided, as to the individual to be selected. But these are not the only divisions. There are others in reference to measures, which pervade both, and the two combined leave everything uncertain.

I keep aloof, standing independently on my own ground, seeking nothing either from the Government or the people. I would not change my position for that of any other. . . .

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Senate Chamber 23^d Feb. 1848

MY DEAR ANDREW, The treaty with Mexico has just been laid before the Senate, and read. It will be warmly opposed, but I think it will be approved by the body. It will be a fortunate deliverance, if it should be. A sudden impulse in that case, would be given to commerce, accompanied by a rise of price in our great staple so soon as it is known in England.

The Slave question will soon come up, and be the subject of deep agitation. The South will be in the crisis of its fate. If it yields now, all will be lost.

I enclose a speech by M^r Yulee on his amendment to M^r Dickenson resolutions.¹ They express substantially my views. Indeed, (in confidence), he is one of the members of our mess and has conversed with me freely on the principles, which control the question involved; but the execution is all his own. Love to all.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson. C. C.

Washington 7th March 1848

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, The letter from home enclosed with this, and mine to M^r Clemson will give you all the Pendleton and political news, so that you must regard this but a brief answer to your's by the *Britania*. I am happy to hear that you all, except yourself, escaped the Influenza, and that you have recovered from its effects.

You must not suppose, that in contending against corruption and interest, that I am impelled by the hope of success. Had that been the case, I would long since have retired from the conflict. Far higher motives impel me; a sense of duty;—

¹ Speech of David L. Yulee, Senator from Florida, February 14, 15, and 17, 1848, on resolutions offered December 14, 1847, by Daniel S. Dickinson, Senator from New York, in favor of annexation of territory without the Wilmot proviso

to do our best for our country, and leave the rest to Providence. I hold the duties of life to be greater than life itself, and that in performing them manfully, even against hope, our labour is not lost, but will be productive of good in after times. Indeed, I regard this life very much as a struggle against evil, and that to him, who acts on proper principle, *the reward is in the struggle, more than in victory itself*, although that greatly enhances it. So strong is my faith in this belief, my dear Daughter, that no appreciation of my efforts, either by the present, or after times, is necessary to sustain me in struggling to do my duty in resisting wrong, especially where our country is concerned, although I put a high value on renown. You will thus see, that in struggling against the downward tendency of our country, it is not because I do not take a just view of human nature, as you suppose, but because I am actuated by higher motives, than what you attribute to me. But enough of this.

I am not surprised, that the powers of Europe so much dread changes. They are right; because what are called reform, will lead to anarchy, revolution and finally to a worse state of things than now exists, through the most erroneous opinions now entertained both in Europe and this country by the movement, or popular party, as to in wh[at] liberty consists, and by what means, it can be obtained and secured. Their opinion of liberty is, neither more nor less, than Dorrisism. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 7th March 1848

MY DEAR SIR, The last Steamer brought a letter from Anna to me, the only one received by it. I am happy to learn by it, that she had entirely recovered from the attack of the Influenza, and that you and the children had escaped and were in such excellent health.

Since I wrote you last, the only occurrence, in the political world on this side, of marked importance, is the treaty with Mexico. It is now under deliberation in the Senate, and has been for the last nine days. No decisive vote has yet been

taken; but I do not doubt, that the Senate will give its advise and consent to its ratification. The final vote will probably be taken tomorrow, or next day at farthest.

Its fate will, however, be still uncertain. Some important amendments have been made, to which the Mexican Government may object, although I do not think it probable. The greatest danger is, that the Government may not hold together until the treaty is exchanged. Nothing but the countenance of our Government, and the support of capitalists interested in preserving it, can continue it in existence. It is, indeed, but the shadow of a Government.

As to the terms of the treaty, they are not such as to confer any eclat on the war, or the administration. I cannot of course speak of them in detail, but may say, the end of all our expenditure of blood and money is, to pay the full value in money for the country ceded to us, and which might have been had without a war, or for the 10th part of its cost by taking a defensive line from the first, as I advised. The desire for peace, and not the approbation of its terms, induces the Senate to yield its consent.

The presidential election is in as great uncertainty as ever. The whigs are violently divided between Clay and Taylor, and the democrats know not who to rally on. It is, indeed, a mere struggle for the spoils, and the selection of both parties will in the end be governed solely by the availability of the candidate, and not his qualifications.

I enclose two letters for Anna, which will give all the home news.

The winter has been delightful, and highly favourable for agricultural operations.

My health is good.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 22^d March 1848

MY DEAR SIR, . . . The Cambria brought us the intelligence of the Revolution in Paris, the overthrow of the late dynasty and the establishment of a Republick. Your letter, tho' dated as late as the 24th Feb., makes no allusion to it;

from which I infer the intercourse by the railroad had been interrupted. It is, indeed, a great event,—I would say a terrific one for Europe. No one will say where it will stop. France is not prepared to become a Republic. I hope the Governments of Europe will look on without interference, and let the process take its natural course. It seems to me, looking on from this distance, that interference would but increase the flame and spread it more widely. But it is too early yet to speculate. We wait impatiently for the next arrival. As to ourselves, I feel pretty confident, we shall have peace with Mexico, or if we fail in that, we shall take a defensive position, which would in effect terminate the war. That closed, we shall have no exciting question, but that connected with the Wilmot proviso, and the Presidential election. The fate of both is still in a state of great uncertainty. It is impossible to say, with any certainty even now, who will be the candidate of either party.

All were well when I last heard from home. My health is as good as usual, and I have been less subject to colds than what I was last winter and the one before.

Love to Anna and the children.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 1st April 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I am very happy to learn by your's and Anna's letters by the Caledonia, that you were all well, and that Belgium was so quiet, and disposed to pursue, what appears to me at this distance, so wise a course; to maintain her institutions and nationality and to prepare to defend them. I hope there will be the same good sense on the part of other European powers. Thus far the revolution in France exhibits to the inexperienced eye a fair prospect; but I see much to excite in me deep distrust as to the result. Indeed, I have no hope, that she will ever be able to establish any government deserving to be called a republic. She has on this side of the Atlantick much sympathy but little confidence among the thinking. The subject of tendering our congratulations was brought up in the Senate yesterday, on resolutions offered

by M^r Allen. A short running debate took place in which I took part. I send the sheet containing it, which will give the views presented by myself and others.¹ There is a decided majority in the Senate against hasty action, or expression of opinion. The Senate will wait the action of the National Convention. I enclose also my remarks on the 10 Regiment Bill.² They are badly reported and printed, but will give a correct conception of the grounds on which I placed my objections to the bill.

I also enclose a letter from her Mother to Anna, and two letters received under cover for you.

Since I wrote you by the last Steamer we have had no political occurrence worthy of note. The prospects of a peace with Mexico still continues good, and the uncertainty, in reference to the Presidential election is still as great as ever.

My love to Anna and the children.

To Thomas G. Olemson.

C. C.

Washington 13th April 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I was disappointed in not receiving any letter by the Hibernia from Brussels.

Since I wrote you by the preceeding Steamer, nothing material has occurred on this side of the Atlantick. The prospect of peace with Mexico has not changed, and the presidential question continues as doubtful as it was.

Our attention now is turned from ourselves to your side of the Ocean. We are all gazing with intense interest on the mighty scenes, which are exhibiting there, and wondering where they will terminate. Germany seems to be in a fair way to be completely revolutionised, and I hope permanently improved. I have much more hope for her, than France. Her old institutions, as I suppose we may call them now, furnish an excellent foundation, on which to erect, if not a federal Republick like ours, a federal constitutional Government, United at least in a Zollverein league, and something more intimately united politically, than at present. If the

¹ Works, IV, 450-453.

² Ibid., 425-449.

States of Germany should not attempt too much, the events, which have occurred may do much to strengthen them and better their condition. With these impressions, I shall look with anxiety to the proceedings of the Diet, which was to meet on the 2^d of April.

I am glad to see Belgium acting so wisely. Thus far the course of events there indicate much moderation and wisdom, as they appear to me, looking on at this distance.

I fear the prospect for France is not so good. I look more to the reaction from Germany to save her, than any other cause. If the latter should take a firm stand to preserve its nationality, to adopt wise constitutional reforms, and to form a more intimate commercial and political Union, it could not but have a powerful and salutary reaction on France, and might lead to some stable constitutional form of Government with her. Otherwise, I see little hope of such a result.

You must regard all this, as little more than the expression of hopes.

I received by the last mail the enclosed from your overseer, which although addressed to me on the outside, is addressed to you within.

I hope you all continue well. My health still continues good, although subject to colds, and never entirely free from a cough.

I hope, notwithstanding the state of things in Europe, you will be able with your family to make us a visit in the summer or fall.

My love to Anna and the children. All were well, when I last heard from home, a few days since.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 15th April 1848

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter indicates much and mature reflection on the character and tendency of the present great crisis of the civilized world. It is clear, that the old monarchies on the continent of Europe are about coming to an end. The intelligence and progress of the age have outgrown them; but it is by no means certain, that they are so advanced

and enlightened on political science, as to substitute more suitable ones in their place. I fear they are not. It seems to me, that what is called the progress party, both in this country and in Europe, have not advanced in political knowledge beyond *Dorrism*; that is, the right of a mere majority to overturn law and constitution at its will and pleasure. They must be cured of this radical and most dangerous of all errors, before they can substitute in the place of those that may be overthrown, better Governments. Nothing but woful experience can apply a remedy; except perhaps in Germany, where the advantage of an existing system of confederation of states, and the dread of France from the experience of the first revolution, may lead to establish a federal system some what like ours. I have far more hope of her, than of France, or any other of the continental Countries. Indeed, I look to her to save Europe, including France herself.

What I propose to publish on the subject of Government is not yet prepared for the press. I had hoped to have had it prepared last fall; but was so interrupted, as to fall far short of my calculation. I am, and fear will continue to be, too much occupied here during the session to do anything towards its completion, but will resume it, as soon as I return home. I do not think anything will be lost by the delay. I do not think the publick mind is yet fully prepared for the work, nor will be, until there has been such failure and embarrassment in the French experiment (which will be made under highly favourable circumstances) as will bring into distrust and doubt, *Dorrism*, so as to prepare the publick mind to have its errors and consequences pointed out, and to reflect seriously on the question; What are the elements, which are indispensable to constitute a constitutional popular Government?

I am obliged to you for the suggestions you have made, both in reference to the topics to be discussed, and the precautions to be adopted in securing the copy right. My plan is to divide it into two parts; an elementary treatise on political science, to be followed by a treatise on the Constitution of the United States, not in the shape of commentaries, but a philosophical discussion on its character and constitution in illustration of the elementary Treatise. To avoid details, as much as possible, I propose to annex the various Speeches,

Reports and letters, in which I have discussed Constitutional questions, and to refer to them in illustration of my opinion of the various parts of the Constitution, to which they relate. I hope I may have so far completed my labours, before I leave home next fall, as to enable me to submit the work to your perusal.

I wait the meeting of the Convention in France and the German Diet with deep interest. They will afford much light by which to judge the future.

I see no reason to doubt, but we shall [have] peace with Mexico. The administration intended to conquer and annex the country, but were defeated by my speech on my resolutions which so effectually turned the tide of publick sentiment as to compelled them to take Trist's treaty.¹

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Washington 16th April 1848

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . Everything here is in a state of uncertainty, in reference to the Presidential election. The parties are more distracted than ever. Clay's address² has done him great injury with his party. It has in particular deeply offended the Southern portion.

In the mean time, the address of the Barnburners, just come out, has weakened and distracted the Democratick party. They take strong ground against us on the Wilmot proviso, and proclaim that they must be received by the Baltimore Convention to the exclusion of the Hunker delegates from the State. That I take it will be impossible, and a permanent split, with the loss of the State will be the result. I trust, out of all this confusion, a sufficient number of both parties will be found to be independent enough to make a rally to save ourselves and our institutions. As bad, as you suppose things to be here, it is not worse than the reality.

We are waiting with impatience for farther information from Europe. I have little hope from France, but a good

¹ The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, signed by Nicholas P. Trist as commissioner for the United States

² Clay's speech at Lexington on the Mexican War, November 13, 1847, is probably referred to.

deal of reliance on Germany. She has the materials for a good Gov^t, if they should be skillfully used. But we shall soon see.

My love to Margeret and the children.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 28th April 1848

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, The Sarah Sands brought me a letter from M^r Clemson and one from you to Cornelia, but none was received by the Acadia from either of you.

I was happy to hear of the continued good health of yourself and M^r Clemson and the children, and how much they grow and improve.

We all, on this side of the Atlantick, look with intense solicitude on the great events, transpiring in Europe, and no one more so than myself. As frequent as the arrivals of Steamers now are, and as short as is the interval between their arrivals, there is no abatement of the anxiety with which each succeeding one is looked for. If there be the interval of but a few days, as much and more exciting news is expected, than formally there was after one of a month. I look, perhaps, with greater solicitude for the unfolding of the great events now in progress in Europe, as they afford me an opportunity to test the truth or error, of the principles, which I have laid down in my elementary discourse on Government. It is as yet in the rough draft, waiting the completion of the rough draft of the discourse on our system of Government. I cannot doubt the correctness of the principles, I have laid down, for they are drawn from facts in the moral world, just as certain, as any in the physical; but I am solicitous to see, how far they are subject to modification in their practical application to the present condition of the civilized world, which is so very different from any, that ever preceded it in many respects. There are powerful, long established, and widely extended errors now at work, which tend to universal disorder and anarchy throughout Christendom; while on the other hand there are powerful causes in operation to counteract

them, and which, I trust, and believe, in time, will overpower them, and give a fairer prospect, than has ever yet existed, to the cause of real liberty and civilization. But in the meane time, it is to be feared, there will be great disorders, conflicts and suffering. You will see, that I am still hopeful. Had such a revolution,—so wide and so rapid, occurred 50 years ago, I would have dispaired, and regarded it, as the commencement of a great retrograde movement in the most advanced and civilized portion of the world. Even now, I regret—greatly regret its rapidity, extent, and too thorough and radical character, especially in France. It ought never be forgotten, that *the past is the parent of the present*, and that the past condition of Europe, which has given birth to a state of advance and civilization, far exceeding any heretofore known to the world, could not be a bad one. It may have, indeed, contained, within itself, causes calculated to retard, or prevent a farther progress, but these ought to have been removed cautiously, as experience pointed them out, without overthrowing all at once the peace of Governments, and the social condition of communities, which led to such great and happy results; especially as such an overthrow must of necessity be accompanied by such universal embarrassment and distress, and run the hazard of a retrograde, instead of an advance movement, in the condition of the race.

I had, my dear daughter, no intention of writing you such a letter, when I took up my pen. I commenced with the intention, to relate the ordinary occurrences of the day on this side of the Ocean; but the allusion to the far greater, taking place in Europe, has led me, insensibly, in the direction I have taken. You must take it, better for worse, as I have not time to write another, or space, more than briefly to touch on, what I intended to make the subject of my letter.

My health continues as usual. When I last heard from home (a few days since) all were well and doing well. Your mother had turned to guarding and improving the yard, which Willey writes, has kept her employed, cheerful and hearty.

With love to M^r Clemson, and kisses for the children.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 13th May 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I have been disappointed in not having received, either from you or Anna, any letter by the last two Steamers. It is at all times a source of pleasure to hear from you; but it is especially so at the present, when Europe is the scene of such extraordinary events. I know not how they may appear to you, who are in the midst of them; but to me, who look on at so great a distance, they appear to be without a parallel in the history of the world. They are, indeed, so much out of the ordinary course of events, that it is difficult to form an opinion, as to the results they will lead. My apprehension is, that the old system of things have been overthrown, before Europe had become prepared to establish a new and better; and that a long period of confusion and disorder, if not anarchy, may intervene before order can be restored, especially in France, where the impulse was first given. With this apprehension, I regard it of vast importance, that Great Britain should resist the shock, that has overturned so many Governments; and, of course was gratified to learn that she had passed successfully the crisis caused by the movements of the Chartists. If they had ended in a revolution, it would have greatly increased the force and prolonged the period of the convulsion, through which Europe is now passing. But as it is, it will contribute, I hope, not only to shorten it, but to guard thereby against one of the greatest dangers to which she is at present exposed. I refer to that which may be apprehended from Russia, in case Europe should be thrown into a state of distraction and disorder for any considerable period. In that event, her power might prove irresistible and her sway be extended over the greater part of the Continent.

As to ourselves, We are going on much as we did for the last four years. Everything still remains in a state of uncertainty; the Mexican question, the Presidential election and all. It is just as uncertain, whether we shall have peace with Mexico, or not, and who will be nominated by the two conventions (although one meets in 9 days, and the other shortly after) and which of the two, who may be nominated, will be

ected, as it was three months ago. In the meane time, another question has been started, which may involve us in as great difficulties, as the Mexican; I refer to the Yucatan. It is now under discussion. I expect to speak day after tomorrow, if I can get the floor, and shall discuss it fully.¹

I had a letter from home a few days since. All were well and the crop looking remarkable well. It has been remarkable cool for the season of the year for the last few days, but I hope not so much so, as to hurt the fruit, or crop materially.

My love to Anna and the children. I fear the state of things in Europe may prevent your intended visit, which I would greatly regret on yours and our own account. We anticipated much pleasure in seeing you all, and still hope we shall not be disappointed.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 22^d May 1848

MY DEAR JAMES, I am happy to have your approval of my remarks in reference to the French Revolution. I see they have attracted much attention in England, and drawn forth high compliments. I regard the failure of the Chartists in England as you do. It was the turning point of affairs in Europe. Had they succeeded, it would been long—very long, before order and authority would be restored in Europe; but as it is, the revolutionary movements have gone, probably as far as it is destined to go, at least for the present. . . .

As to politicks, every thing still remains in a state of uncertainty. Although the Baltimore Convention is now in Session, no one pretends to form an opinion, as to who will be the nominee. Report from Baltimore just received, says that Cass and Buchanan will unite their forces, each being agreed to rally on the other, if the strongest. If such should be the case, the former will probably be nominated; but I put little faith in the union. I have no confidence in either.

It is now more doubtful than it has been, whether the Government of Mexico will ratify the treaty. The prospect would seem to be against it. Should it not be ratified, there

¹ Calhoun spoke on the Yucatan question on May 15. Works, IV, 454-478.

will be a great effort made to take the Whole, but, I trust I shall be able to defeat it, by taking my stand on a defensive line—that of the treaty.

The Yucatan question is dropt for the present. Whether it will be revived will depend on circumstances. My speech against it appeared in the *Intelligencer* this morning. I will send you a copy, as soon as I can get some extra copies of the paper. It is thought it made a strong impression, and contributed principally to the dropping of the question for the present.

It was one of the wildest and most absurd measures ever proposed by the Executive. Congress will not adjourn probably before August.

My health continues good. I am sorry to learn by your sister's letter to me that yours was delicate when you were at Fort Hill. I hope it is better.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 26th May 1848

MY DEAR SIR, Since my last I have received your's of the 26th April, with letters from Anna for her Mother and Cornelia.

I see by our last arrival, that France and Germany are beginning the work of reconstruction. That is the *task*; not but that they may form new Governments for that is not difficult; but can they form such, as will stand and put an end to revolution? Germany, if wise, may; for she has the materials, but, I fear, that in France it will, at least for the present, prove impossible. She has it is evidently made great progress, since her first revolution, in political knowledge, which has thus far guarded her against those scenes of violence and blood shed which marked the first, but there are great difficulties before her. She is entering on an untrodden path; to reconstruct Society, as well as Government; with materials not well suited to either purpose. I shall watch the attempt with profound interest, but with little expectation of its success. I hope she will be permitted to have a fair opportunity, so that if she fails, it will be attributed to the intrinsic

difficulty of the task, and not to interference and difficulties from without. If, under such circumstances, she should fail, I see no alternative for her, but an *imperial Government*.

Since I last wrote you, the prospect of the ratification of the treaty by Mexico is more doubtful. The impression now is, that it will not be. In the meane time, we are threatened with a very troublesome question about Yucatan. I enclose herewith my remarks on the subject. It is not satisfactorily reported, although it passed under my revision.¹ I simply corrected the report of the Stenographer, without writing out my speech. It will, however, give you a pretty correct and full view of my argument.

The Baltimore convention is now in session, but has not yet made a nomination. I will keep my letter open until I hear the result. Among its proceedings, it has admitted a man of the name of Commander, to cast the 9 votes of S. Carolina, although his authority to act was derived solely from a small meeting in Georgetown of 54 persons, of whom the greater part were Yankee merchants and Jews doing business there, without having permanent residence. What a farce! And yet, as far as the party is concerned, the nomination of the body is the election of the President. . . .

28th May

The Baltimore convention nominated Gen^l Cass for the Presidency and Gen^l Butler of Kentucky for the V Presidency, after much distraction and difficulty. I do not think the ticket will succeed. . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d June 1848

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, If a long interval lies between the date of this and your last, you must attribute it to the fact, that my heavy correspondence, publick and private, and official duties, compel me to lengthen the period between my answers and the letters to which they reply, to a much greater extent than I desire in writing to you and the rest of the

¹ Works, IV, 454-478.

family. I correspond with all of them which of itself occupies a good deal of my time.

The opinions you express in reference to the state of things in Europe are very sensible and just. There is no prospect of a successful termination of the efforts of France to establish a free popular Government; nor was there any from the beginning. She has no elements out of which such a government could be formed; and if she had, still she must fail from her total misconception of the principles, on which such a government, to succeed, must be constructed. Indeed, her conception of liberty is false throughout. Her standard of liberty is ideal; belongs to that kind of liberty which man has been supposed to possess, in what has been falsely called a state of nature,—a state supposed to have preceded the social and political, and in which, of course, if it ever existed, he must have live[d] a part, as an isolated individual, without Society, or Government. In such a state, if it were possible for him to exist in it, he would have, indeed, had two of the elements of the French political creed; liberty and equality, but no fraternity. That can only exist in the social and political; and the attempt to unite the other two, as they would exist, in the supposed state of nature, in man, as he must exist in the former, must and ever will fail. The union is impossible, and the attempt to unite them absurd; and must lead, if persisted in, to distraction, anarchy and finally absolute power, in the hand of one man.

It is this false conception that is upheaving Europe, and which, if not corrected, will upset all her efforts to reform her social and political condition. It is at the same time threatening our institutions. Abolitionism originates in it, which every day becomes more formidable, and if not speedily arrested, must terminate in the dissolution of our Union, or in universal confusion, and overthrow of our system of Government. But enough of these general speculations.

We are in the midst of the presidential canvass. It will be one of great confusion. Neither party is satisfied, or united on its nominee; and there will probably be a third candidate, nominated by what are called the Barnburners, or Van Burenites. The prospect, I think, is, that Taylor will suc-

ceed, tho' it is not certain. The enclosed will give you all the home news.

It is still uncertain, when Congress will adjourn; but, I think it probable it will about the 1st August.

My health continues good. I am happy to hear you are all well, and that the children [are] growing and doing so well. Kiss them for their Grandfather, and tell them how happy he is to learn, that they are such good children. Give my love to Mr. Clemson.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 9th July 1848

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . The Senate is engaged in a debate on the Oregon territorial bill. It has been very able and high toned on the part of the South, with a great concurrence of views between the Whigs and the democrattick members of the South. I do hope our present danger will bring about union among ourselves on the most vital to us of all questions. All other questions ought to be dropt. In Union lies our safety. I opened the debate on our side.¹ My speech will be printed in pamphlet form in a few days when I will send you one. Most of my friends think it the best I ever made, and if I may judge from the number of applications I have received for copies from the North will be in great demand there. It is difficult to say, what will be done. The present appearance is against the prospect of doing anything. I would not be surprise[d], if Congress should adjourn and leave things just as they are. It will not probably be in session more than a month longer.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d July 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I received in the regular course of the Steamer yours of the 27th of June, and Anna's to her mother of the same date. I would have answered your's immediately, but was prevented by the pressure of my official engagements,

¹Speech of June 27, 1848. Works, IV, 479-512.

as a member of the Committee, raised to settle the question of Slavery, as it relates to our recently acquired territory. After a laborious effort of more than a week, the Committee, consisting of 8 members, 4 from each party, and 2 from each division of the party, North and South, selected by their respective Sections, agreed on a bill, with scarcely a division, which is now under discussion in the Senate, with a fair prospect of passing by a large majority; and which I hope will permanently settle this vexed and dangerous question. The settlement is based on the principle of non interference, as laid down in my speech on the Oregon territorial bill, of which I send you a copy accompanying this. It was found, after trying every other, that it was the only one, on which there was the least chance of adjusting it. It is regarded here, as a great triumph on my part. A trial vote in the Senate yesterday, stood 37 in favour of the bill against 17 opposed. The opposition is mainly composed of the Supporters of Mr Van Beuren.

As to the Presidential election, it is very doubtful, and will probably remain so, to the last. There is no enthusiasm about it. There are great objections to both candidates.

The progress of events in Europe is very much such as I anticipated. There are too much error and misconception of a deep and dangerous character at the bottom of the movement to hope for much good. I have briefly touched one of the leading in the speech, that goes with this, at its close. There are others not less dangerous. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 11th Aug^r. 1848

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Congress will adjourn on the 14th Inst, and I shall leave immediately after for home.

Nothing very material has occurred since my last. The Oregon territorial bill from the House was passed last evening by the Senate with an amendment attaching the Missouri Compromise to it. It is doubtful whether the House will agree to it, or not. If it should not the bill will be lost.

The Buffalo Convention is in session, and has, it is said,

nominated Van Buren. It is uncertain to what it will lead. If the movement should not run out with the election, it will lead to the formation of two great sectional parties, and that to results, which may lead to great changes.

The election thus far, judging from indications, is more favourable to Cass, than Taylor. I retain and intend to retain my independent position.

We shall anxiously wait to see you all. With love to Anna and the children,

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 24th Jan^r 1849

MY DEAR ANNA, I was happy to learn by your letter, that you were all spending your time so agreeably, at the Cane Brake. I feared, that you, with all your philosophy, would find the change between Brussels and so retired a place, too great to be agreeable; especially with all the vexation of house keeping, where supplies are so limited and little diversified.

I gave in my letters, written a few days since to your Mother and M^r Clemson, an account of the state of my health. Since then it has been improving, and I now feel fully as well as usual. The day is fine and I will take my seat again in the Senate. The slight attack of faintness, which passed off in less than a minute, was caused by several acts of imprudence, and among others, by doing what has not been usual with me, sponging my body all over as soon as I got up. The morning was cold and my system did not react, as I hoped it would. I must be more careful hereafter and not tax my mind as heavily as I have been accustomed to do.

I had a letter from John a few days since. He is under the operation of the water cure, and says that he already feels much benefitted. He writes that M^r M^cDuffie has been so far restored as to be free of the dyspeptick and nervous symptoms, but that the paralyzed limbs remain unremedied.

The meeting of the Southern members took place again last Monday night. My address was adopted by a decided majority.¹ You will see a brief account of the proceedings in the

¹ "Address of the Southern Delegates in Congress to their Constituents," relating to the opposition to the Wilmot Proviso. See Calhoun's Works, VI, 285-312.

Union, which goes with this. It is a decided triumph under [the] circumstances. The administration threw all its weight against us, and added it to the most rabid of the Whigs. Virginia has passed admirable resolutions, by an overwhelming vote. The South is more roused than I ever saw it on the subject. I shall postpone the reflections, which your statement of the conversation of Co^l Pickens gave rise to, until I shall see you, with a single exception. He has constantly endeavoured to hold me in the wrong by attempting to make the impression, that I have been influenced in my course towards him by the artful management of persons hostile to him. There is not the least foundation for it. No attempt of the kind has ever been made; and no man knows better than himself, how far I am above being influenced by such attempts; for no one has ever done as much to endeavour to influence me that way, as himself, and as he knows without success. I have never regarded the course, which has led to the present relation between us with any other feeling but that of profound regret, on his account.

My love to all.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Washington 14th Feb. 1849

MY DEAR SIR, I have no copy with me of your letter, referred to in the enclosed, and know not where one can be got except from yourself. If you have a spare copy, I would be obliged to you for enclosing it to me, and to return the letter of Mr Jackson with it.

I enclosed you a copy of our Address, which I hope you have received, and that it meets your approbation. I trust it will do something to Unite the South, and to prepare our people to meet and repel effectually and forever the aggressions of the North. Already the stand taken here and in Virginia, N. C. our State and Florida has made a deep impression on the North, Missouri is about to take a firm and decided stand and Kentucky will, I learn, put down effectually the attempt in favor of emancipation proposed to be made in the Convention to be held this year in that State. It is said, there

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

will not be three members of the body in favour of it. But this and all other favourable symptoms, so far from relaxing, ought to add new energy to our efforts. Now is the time to vindicate our rights. We ought rather than to yield an inch, take any alternative, even if it should be disunion, and I trust that such will be the determination of the South.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 10th April 1849

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, I had a safe and pleasant journey home. The weather was pleasant and Spring was rapidly advancing. The Jessamine and Dogwood were in bloom, and the forest had just commenced clo[th]ing itself with green. The contrast was great between being pent up in a boarding house in Washington and breathing the pure fresh air of the country, made fragrant by the blossoms of Spring.

Patrick accompanied me to your Uncle James, where we met your Mother and Sister. They, with your Uncle, were well. I remained there four days, when we took our departure for Fort Hill, leaving Patrick with his Uncle. We found all well on our arrival, and the place in good order and business forward, considering that the measles had passed through the negro quarter during the winter, and that none, but a few had escaped, but with the loss of only one, an infant of a constitution too feeble to survive the attack. I shall finish planting cotton to day, and the whole of my crop this week. The small grain looks well, and the place bears the appearance of good order.

We have no local news, in which you would take interest.

John returned from Milledge Ville by the last Stage but one. He looks well and I think his health is much improved by the Water cure. His cough is much better. He is quite a convert to the system. I advise him to visit the establishment at Brattleborough in Vermont, both to complete his cure and perfect himself in the practise. He says, that Gen^l McDuffie has improved wonderfully under the process. He is entirely relieved from the Dyspepsia and his nervous affections, and has recovered the free use of his arms, is cheerful,

sleeps well, and eats heartily. With the exception of his paralyzed leg [he] may be said to be well.

I have for some time believed, that the process, carried to a certain extent, would be of service to me; and have determined, under John's superintendence, to make a trial. I began this morning with what is called the wet sheet, or rather the damp sheet, which in effect is no more nor less, than a safe and efficient form of the vapour bath. I remained wrapt round with the sheet, and covered with 8 or 9 blankets for 1½ hours, and ended in a warm bath, and an effectual rubbing dry. The process was soothing and pleasant. It has cleansed the skin effectually, and I doubt not, done much to open the pores—the one thing, in my opinion, needful to me. I shall persist in it until I give it a fair trial; and if I find it as beneficial as I expect, I shall fix up a complete bathing establishment. I am pleased with the first essay; and I hope it will prove a substitute for brandy tody and hot punch. They have, I doubt not done me good; but, I think, the water cure will do me still more.

All join their love to you, Mr Clemson and the Children. Kiss them for their Grandfather and tell them how much I miss them.

[P. S] You see I substitute a C for an M in your name. I hope you will adopt the change.¹

To John H. Means.²

c. c.

Fort Hill 13th April 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, I am glad to learn by your letter and from other Sources, that a meeting is to be held next month³ in Columbia, to be composed of delegates from the different Committees of correspondence. I regard it as a step of much importance and responsibility.

You ask my opinion as to the course the Meeting should take. Before I give it, I deem it due to candour and the

¹ The letter is addressed "Mrs. A. C. Clemson" instead of, as in previous letters, "Mrs A. M. Clemson."

² From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. John H. Means was an active secessionist, was chosen governor of South Carolina the next year, and was killed, a Confederate coonel, at the second battle of Bull Run.

May 1.

occasion to State, that I am of the impression that the time is near at hand when the South will have to chose between disunion, and submission. I think so, because I see little prospect of arresting the aggression of the North. If anything can do it, it would be for the South to present with an unbroken front to the North the alternative of dissolving the partnership or of ceasing on their part to violate our rights and to disregard the stipulations of the Constitution in our favour; and that too without delay. I say without delay; for it may be well doubted whether the alienation between the two sections has not already gone too far to save the Union; but, if it has not, there can be none that it soon will, if not prevented by some prompt and decisive measure. It has been long on the increase and is now more rapidly increasing than ever. The prospect is as things now stand, that before four years have elapsed, the Union will be divided into two great hostile sectional parties.

But it will be impossible to present such a front, except by means of a Convention of the Southern States. That, and that only could speak for the whole, and present authoritatively to the North the alternative, which to choose. If such a presentation should fail to save the Union, by arresting the aggression of the North and causing our rights and the stipulations of the Constitution in our favour to be respected, it would afford proof conclusive that it could not be saved, and that nothing was left us, but to save ourselves. Having done all we could to save the Union, we would then stand justified before God and man to dissolve a partnership which had proved inconsistent with our safety, and, of course, destructive of the object which mainly induced us to enter into it. Viewed in this light, a Convention of the South is an indispensable means to discharge a great duty we owe to our partners in the Union; that is, to warn them in the most solemn manner that if they do not desist from aggression, and cease to disregard our rights and the stipulations of the Constitution, the duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity would compel us to dissolve forever the partnership with them. But should its warning voice fail to save the Union, it would in that case prove the most efficient of all means for saving ourselves. It would give us the great advantage of enjoying the conscious feeling of having done all we could to save it.

and thereby free us from all responsibility in reference to it, while it would afford the most efficient means of United and prompt action, and thereby of meeting the momentous occasion without confusion or disorder, and with certainty of success.

Thus thinking, my opinion is that the great object to be aimed at by the Meeting is to adopt measures to prepare the way for a Convention of the Southern States. What they should be the Meeting can best decide. It seems to me, however, that the organization of our own and the other Southern States is an indispensable step and for that and other purposes there ought to be an able Committee appointed having its center in Charleston, or Columbia, and vested with power to take such steps as may be deemed necessary to carry into effect that and the other measures which may be adopted by the Meeting.

I agree with you as to a non intercourse with the North in commerce and trade. Passing over the objection that it would be below the dignity of the occasion, it would be neither prudent nor efficient, most certainly as preceeding the meeting of a Southern Convention.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 15th June 1849

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, I do hope by this time, you are all safe in London, after a pleasant voyage. I shall be on the lookout for a letter dated at London in about two weeks from now.

I wrote to Mr Clemson subsequent to the receipt of your letter, and addressed to Brussels, where I hope he will find it, on his arrival. I stated in it, that I would write you the next week, which would have been Sunday last, but when I was about commencing to write, Cornelia brought me a letter to you, to be put under cover, which I did and forward[ed] to the State Department, to be sent by the first opportunity. You will probably find it at Brussels on your arrival. Cornelia gave you, I doubt not, all the news.

In consequence of her writing, I postponed my letter for a week, which will give it the opportunity to go by the next Steamer after that which took yours.

We all felt, my dear daughter, as you described your feelings to be, at your departure. It is, indeed, distressing to be so far off and for so long a time from those so dear to us; but let us rather look forward to when we shall again meet, than indulge in unavailing sorrows. I trust two years, at the utmost, will terminate your residence in Europe, and return you all again safe to our country. It is due to the children, that your stay should not be longer. Their habits and mode of thinking will, by that time, begin to be formed; and it is important, that they should be such, as to conform to the conditions of the country, which is to be their home. I often think of them, and how much delighted they would be, to be enjoying themselves in our green and shady yard. The season has been wet, and everything looks beautiful. Even the old field beyond the yard looks as green as a meadow. In the field beyond it, (Speeds field), now containing 125 acres, by the addition of clearing, has a fine crop of oats, just fully shot out, which completely covers the whole ground, presenting an unbroken mass of green in that direction. The big bottom on the other side is covered, with a superb crop of corn, the best at this season, I ever had on it, which covers the whole with a deep green. Back of it, lies fort hill, with its harvested wheat in shocks. The spring has been too cool and wet for cotton, but mine looks well, and, with my hill side drains and serpentine rows, really looks handsome. The place is altogether, in fine order. I ride or walk, according to the weather twice a day, morning and evening, over it, for the double purpose of exercise and superintendence. I have no trouble, as Fredrick has become a first rate overseer, and takes as much interest as I do in everything about the place. I would be delighted to have you and the children with me occasionally, in my walks. It would be wearisome to take them as often as I do.

My health and strength are as good, as I could expect at my time of life. I take all necessary care of them, except being rather more overtaken, than I could wish. I devote all the time left me, to finishing the work, I commenced three

years ago, or more; but which I had to suspend the last two years. I ought not to delay its execution any longer, and aim to put it to press, if I can finish it in the recess, next Spring, or Summer. I finished yesterday, the preliminary work, which treats of the elementary principles of the Science of Government, except reading it over and making final corrections, previous to copying and publishing. It takes 125 pages of large foolscap closely written for me. I am pretty well satisfied with its execution. It will be nearly throughout new territory; and, I hope, to lay a solid foundation for political Science. I have written, just as I thought, and told the truth without fear, favour, or affection.

After a few days of relaxation, I shall commence to treat of the Government of the United States. It will be more than twice as voluminous as the elementary work, but not near so difficult of execution. It will take me four, or five months, I suppose. I have got a good deal of it blocked out. I should like to read both to you and M^r Clemson before I publish, and regret that I shall not have the opportunity to do so.¹ . . .

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 23^d June 1849

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . I read the account of your proceedings with reference to the Slave question with pleasure. Both tone and substance are good. The time is rapidly approaching when we shall have to take our stand, and we must begin to prepare for it. You see that Benton has openly deserted and that he pours out his venom against me.² I am averse to touching him, and, if his aim had been against me exclusively, I would not notice him. But such is not the fact. He strikes at the South and its cause through me; and I have concluded to repel his attack against myself, to the extent that it is necessary to repel it against the South. His whole speech is a mass of false statements, illogical conclu-

¹ These two works, posthumously published, "A Disquisition on Government" and "A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States," constitute Vol. I of Calhoun's collected works

² Benton's bitter speech of May 26, 1849 Niles, LXXV, 390-396.

sions and contradictions. I expect to appear in the Messenger, in the number succeeding the next. Neither he, or his cause will gain anything by the attack. . . .

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 24th July 1849

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . I sent you a Messenger, containing a copy of my communication in reference to Benton's Speech. I hope you have received it; and trust it will be extensively circulated in the South West. It will be published in all our papers.

It is high time the South should begin to prepare. I see no hope of bringing the North to a sense of justice, but by our united action, and for that purpose, a Convention of the South is indispensable. To that point our efforts should be directed. The first step towards it is to put an end to the old party divisions, which might be effected by an understanding between a few prominent leaders on both sides, and short and well written Articles through the leading presses of both parties, showing the folly and danger of continuing our party warfare when our existence is at Stake. The next step is an organization of all the Southern States as has been done in this State. The Convention ought to be held before the meeting of Congress, but that, I take it, is impracticable. It ought to be called before the Year ends, to meet next summer. The call ought to be addressed to the people of the South, who are desirous of saving the Union and themselves, if the former be possible; but who at the same time are prepared, should [the] alternative be forced on us, to resist rather than submit. Such a call could not fail to secure a large delegation from every Southern State, and what is important, a harmonious one, on the essential point. The call might be made by the members of the Legislatures of one or more Southern States, or by the members of Congress from the South, when they meet in Washington. The call itself would have a powerful effect on Congress. Could not Alabama be induced to make the call? Atlanta would be a good point for the meeting.

I am making good progress in the work I have on hand. I have finished the Discourse on the elementary principles of

Gov^t. and have made considerable advance in the Discourse on our system of Gov^t. The work will hit the lines both here and in Europe; and, I think, cannot fail to make a deep impression. I hope to have it completed before I leave home; and intend to take it with me to put to press in New York, early next year. I would be glad to show it to you and have your opinion on it before I publish. . . .

To Abraham W. Venable.¹

Fort Hill August 1849

MY DEAR SIR, I have read your letter with much interest, and congratulate you and the great cause on your triumphant success. Under all circumstances, it is a great victory for both; and shows what can be done by honesty and boldness in a good cause. Had the other republican members from the state acted with you, the party would have achieved a decided victory in the state in the election. Even as it is, much has been done to restore it to power. Your position is now a commanding one. You are placed by your course and victory at the head of the party in the state. North Carolina has long stood in need of an able, bold and honest man to take the lead in bring[ing] the state into her true position. You can do it.

I am glad to learn your health is good. Mine is as good as I could expect, and I trust sufficiently so to take me through the next session. It will be an eventful one. We must force the issue on the North, so as to know where we are to stand. The sooner it is done, the better for all concerned. I wish to board on Capitol Hill and near the capitol, and would be glad to have you of the Mess, and hope your arrangements will be made accordingly. I am busily engaged on my work, and hope to have it ready for the press before the commencement of the session; so that I can take it with me to Washington.

I hear from Missouri, that Benton's days are numbered. Atcheson² and Green say, that he has as good a chance to be made Pope, as to be elected Senator.

My kind regards to your Son.

¹Original lent by Rev. S. T. Martin of Dublin, Va. Abraham W. Venable was member of Congress from North Carolina from 1847 to 1853

²David R. Atchison, Senator from Missouri, 1843-1855. Benton was in fact defeated, after forty ballots.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 4th Aug^t 1849

MY DEAR SIR, You are right, as to the source, whence Benton draws his support. He has bribed the papers at the seat of Government by jobs at the publick expense; and the only way to put down the corruption is the one you indicate. An Independent Press at Washington has long been a desideratum, but it is difficult to establish, or to maintain such an one there, against the joint influence and power of the publick plunderers, who have got possession of the organs of publick opinion and the machinery of parties.

I am glad to learn that your contract promises so well and hope it will equal your most sanguine hopes. Should you succeed as well as you expect it will give you a commanding position.

With kind respects to M^{rs} Green and your family I remain

. . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 24th Aug^t 1849

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Politically I have nothing good to write. The appearance is, that Taylor's administration will prove a failure. I fear he is in the hands of the Northern Whigs, exclusively. In the meane time, the alienation between North and South is daily progressing. Benton and Clay are both playing for the North. I enclose in pamphlet form my notice of his² assault on me. I would have sent it earlier, but only received it in that form, a few days since, It is, as far as I have heard regarded as triumphant. It is said, that he will not be able to sustain himself in Missouri. His colleague, Gen^l Atchison, says he has no chance to be reelected.

We are all anxious about the fate of Hungary, and the future condition of Europe. Write me in your next fully, what is your impression and the intelligent portion of Europe

¹ Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

² Benton's. See the letter of June 28, 1849.

in reference to both. If Hungary should be able to maintain herself, the condition of Russia will become critical. What is to become of Germany and France? . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 14th Oct^r 1849

MY DEAR ANNA, You and M^r Clemson must regard me as a very negligent correspondent this season, but you must attribute it, not to indifference, nor indolence, but to being overtaxed in the way of writing. My correspondence is necessarily heavy. It occupies one day and sometimes two a week; but what mainly occupies me, is the work I have on hand. I have written between three and four hundred pages of fools cap in the execution of that, since my return from Washington; and have, I think, to write about 40 or 50 more before I conclude the work. I will then have to review, to correct and finish off, which will require some time; but I hope to be able to have it all ready for the press by midsummer.

It will consist of three parts; a discourse on the elementary principles of government; a discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States, and a collection of my speeches and other productions on constitutional subjects. It will make two moderate size Octavo volumes. I think the work is called for by the times, and that it will make an impression. I have stated my opinions on all points, just as I entertain them, without enquiring, or regarding, whether they will be popular, or not. Truth is my object, and to that I closely adhere. . . .

To Andrew Pickens Culhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 22^d Oct^r 1849

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . I have been making good progress in the work I have on hand. I shall finish it, I expect, except revising, correcting and copying before I leave home. John who has just returned from the North says it is looked to with great interest there. His health is much improved, and so I understand William's is, for he went directly to Columbia without returning home, so that I have not seen him.

Mississippi has acted well on the slave question,¹ and I hope Alabama and every other Southern State will back her and send delegates to Nashville. It is all important that they should. Bad would be our condition, if the Convention should fail for want of backing; but bright our prospect should there be a full meeting. . . .

*To Herschel V. Johnson.*²

Fort Hill 1st Nov. 1849.

MY DEAR SIR; The enclosed is a speech of M^r Meade³ to his constituents, on the slavery question.

It is able and bold, and I send it as evidence of the increasing spirit of the old dominion on that vital question. Coming from the quarter it does it may contribute something to merge party feelings with you and rouse the spirit of your legislature.

I do trust your state will back the Mississippi movement. If they should and the other southern states should follow, I feel assured it would do more than anything else to bring the question to a speedy issue. It cannot be made too soon for us, but I have written you so fully on the subject that to add more would be little else than to repeat what I have already written.

With best regards to M^{rs}. J.

*To Armistead Burt.*⁴

Fort Hill 5th Nov^r 1849

MY DEAR SIR, I am very desirous, on every account, to be in the same mess with Martha and yourself. I would prefer the Hill on three accounts; in consequence of a regard to my

¹ By issuing an "Address to the Southern States," calling for a popular convention at Nashville in June, 1850.

² Text derived from a copy furnished by Mr. Fred M. Steele, of Chicago, the owner of the original. Herschel V. Johnson, judge of the superior court of Georgia, was afterwards governor of that State, candidate for Vice-President on the Douglas ticket in 1860, and a Confederate senator.

³ Richard Kidder Meade, of Virginia, Member of Congress, 1847-1853. Speech of R. K. Meade on Restricting Slavery in the Territories, August, 1849, pp. 13.

⁴ Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville.

health, its contiguity to the Capitol; the bleakness of the walk up Capitol Hill in windy weather, and the liability of getting heated in walking up it with the heavy clothing necessary to guard against a Washington winter, and cooling off too suddenly on throwing off the overcoat, or cloak on reaching the Senate Chamber. In all other respects I would greatly prefer the location you suggest. I think, taking it altogether, it is the most protected and best in Washington.

If a satisfactory arrangement could be made on the Hill, and it should not put Martha to too much inconvenience, I would prefer it; but if not, I will join you in the location you suggest, or any other contiguous, rather than separate from you and Martha.

My arrangement is to be in Charleston on the 25 or 26th and to take the Baltimore boat, which I understand will sail on the 28th, and hope to meet you there and go together. When we arrive at Washington, we can finally decide on our arrangement.

I concur in your suggestion, as to the caucus, with a modification; not to go into it with the free soilers; meaning all, who will vote for the Wilmot proviso; that is, the whole, or nearly the whole of the Northern democrats. To take the ground you suggest, not to go in with those who refused to sign the address, would I fear tend too strongly to divide the South, and throw from us the Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee delegations with two or three exceptions.

All join their love to you and Martha.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Washington 2^d Dec^r 1849

MY DEAR AND^m, I had a very pleasant and safe journey on. The weather was fine throughout; but is now very bad. It snowed during the night, and is now sleeting, with a North Easter; so that I was lucky in taking time by the forelock. I am now quartered at Hills on Capital Hill for the Session.

There is much confusion in the ranks of both parties and it is thought it will be difficult to elect a Speaker.¹ Winthrop

¹ See Winthrop's Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop, pp. 90-101. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was elected.

and Cobb have been nominated by their respective parties; and Wilmot by the free soilers. There is a Scism in the ranks both of the democrats and the Whigs, as to the Speaker, which will be difficult to heal. The session will be one of great excitement and confusion. . . .

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 7th Dec^r 1849

MY DEAR SIR, I would regard the failure of the Convention, called by Mississippi, to meet, from the want of endorsement by the other Southern States to be a great, if not fatal misfortune. It would be difficult to make another effort to rally, and the North would consider it as conclusive evidence of our division or indifference to our fate. The moment is critical. Events may now be controlled; but, it will be difficult, if not impossible to control their course hereafter. This is destined to be no ordinary session. We shall need the backing of our constituents; and the most effectual we can have, would be the endorsement by the other Southern States of the Mississippi call.

I do not think that our state should hold back, and wait for the movement of the other states. If we act at all, it must be through the members of the Legislature, during the session, and, of course, the movement must be made the next few weeks. If we do not move, other states will be backward to move. As jealous as they may be of us, they still look to us to give the signal. Nor do I think, that we should make the meeting depend on the coming of 8, or any other number of states. It would, I fear, throw the indifferent against the Convention, and tend to defeat it. If the meeting should not be full, it would be a good reason for taking no decisive action and for calling another Convention, accompanied by an Address to the other States.

I feel deep solicitude in reference to the subject. With the endorsement by the other States of the call, I see my way; but without it, I do not. If South Carolina backs it, the Convention will meet, but without it, it will almost certainly

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

fail. I do hope you will concur in these views, and add your influence to induce the members of our Legislature to appoint delegates.

No one regretted more than I did the course of the Carolinian in reference to the subject to which you allude. I took immediate measures to counteract its ill effect. The disease has got beyond the control of presidential influence. As to the office, I not only do not desire it, but would not accept it, if tendered to me, under existing circumstances.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 8th Dec^r 1849

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Congress has been in Session now for four days without being able to elect a speaker. It is uncertain when one can be elected. The free Soil party holds the balance between the two parties, and appears resolved not to give away.

There is every indication, that we shall have a stormy session. There is no telling what will be the end. The South is more united, than I ever knew it to be, and more bold and decided. The North must give away, or there will be a rupture.

I regard the administration, as prostrated. It has proved itself feeble every way. . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.¹

Washington, 31st Dec^r, 1849.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER: Not long after my arrival here I wrote to Mr. Clemson and, among other things, requested him to say I would write to you shortly. I hope he received my letter.

If I have not written to you as frequently as formerly, be assured that it has not been caused by any abatement of affection towards you. It is to be attributed simply to the fact

¹ The text of this letter is derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Hugh Calhoun Middleton, of Augusta.

that I have been overburthened with writing—a species of labor, which you know, I have ever been especially averse to. I wrote during the recess between 400 and 500 pages of foolscap, besides carrying on an extensive correspondence, which I could not avoid. Under so heavy a pressure I left the correspondence with you almost exclusively to your Mother, Cornelia and your brothers. The two former, I know, have been very punctual and full in their communications.

Since my arrival here I have allotted most of my spare time to preparing my manuscript for the press. The discourse, or disquisition, (for I have not yet named it) on Government is finished, and is now copying. It is preliminary to the discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States. That is much more voluminous. The rough draft is finished. I propose to devote my spare time during the session to preparing it, also, for the press, and hope to have it done and copied before Congress adjourns. I do not know whether I shall put it to press as soon as finished, or not; but I wish to have it off my hands and ready for publication whenever I shall judge it advisable to publish. I trust when published they will do me no discredit, and that they will do much to explode errors and cast light on the subjects of which they treat.

I am truly happy to learn that you are all well, and that the children are growing so finely. They must be a source of great happiness to you. I know not any employment more useful and honorable than that of a wife and a mother superintending her household and the education of her children. By education I mean something far beyond what is to be derived from books. I feel assured that you are discharging faithfully these duties and trust you will find your reward in the character and conduct of your two very promising children when they come to act their part in life.

Your Mother and sister have, I suppose, informed you that the portraits to which you referred in your letter to me were long since received and that they are greatly admired. I think them excellent—good likenesses and well painted. Many think Calhoun's is the best likeness; but I find it difficult to decide which is the best.

I am glad to learn that the same hand that painted yours and the children's has succeeded so well in executing the likeness of myself. I understood from Mr. Henry Gourdin that he had made arrangements to get a portrait of me painted by the Artist who painted you, and that it would be in Washington this winter. I had supposed it was the likeness to which you referred, but conclude that it is another taken by the same artist.

The question between North and South is daily becoming more and more menacing. It is difficult to say where it is to end. The South is more roused and united than I ever knew it to be; and I trust that we shall persist in our resistance until the restoration of all our rights, or disunion, one or the other, is the consequence. We have borne the wrongs and the insults of the North long enough. It is time they should cease.

My health continues as good as I could expect at my time of life. All were well when I last heard from home.

Give my love to Mr. Clemson and the children.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 4th Jan^r 1850

MY DEAR SIR, I have delayed answering your last letter until I could write more certainly in reference to the subject to which it relates.

As far as I can judge from indications, I cannot doubt, but that the Convention at Nashville will be well attended. The members from Virginia speak with confidence, that delegates will be appointed by their State. The subject is now before a committee and publick sentiment, in the state and legislature, is said to be strongly in its favour. The legislature of N. Carolina does not meet this winter; but the best informed of her members speaks with confidence, that the state is roused, and that, at least, there will be a partial representation from the state. You can better judge what Georgia will do, than I can. The Alabama members say with confidence

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

their state will appoint, and the Florida that theirs will. So say the Arkansas delegation; and Mr. Turney, Senator from Tennessee, who has just left me, feels confident, that Tennessee will. I have but little information as to what Missouri, Kentucky and Louisiana will do; but if the others should act, it is not improbable they will. Even Maryland begins to wake up. Her Governor has come out on the Southern side and I have little doubt the State will, from what I hear. Everything that can be done will be done here to ensure a full attendance. There is already much excitement here and it will go on increasing. The debate on the question at issue between the South and North will commence early and be warm. It is becoming a common opinion, that there is little chance of saving the Union. The subject is freely talked about and discussed in private circles. It is also becoming a prevalent opinion, that the South ought not to remain in the Union, without a complete restoration of all her rights, a full recognition of our equality [in] every respect, and ample security for the future. The contest will not be limited to the territorial aspect of the question between us and them. Every question will be put in issue, and the question of the Union be freely discussed.

It is contemplated, at the proper time, if it should be thought to be necessary, to call on the South to appoint delegates, so as to be fully represented. Georgia is an important state. You can do much there, and I hope you will exert yourself, if it should be necessary, to induce her to be represented at Nashville.

As to myself, I lose no opportunity, where I can act with propriety, to give the great cause an impulse. I want no reward, no prominence, or even distinction. If the thing is done, I am satisfied, let it be done by whom it may. I have made it a point to throw off no one. Let us be one, is my advice to all parties at the South. You must not think of retiring. The time for action has come. If the South is to be saved now is the time.

The great, pressing, practical question of the session will be on the admission of California. I regard it as worse than the Wilmot Proviso. What the latter proposes to do openly the former is intended to do covertly and fraudulently. It adds

insult to injury. The debate on it will be violent and denunciat[to]ry. We may be voted down, but it will not be done without adding fuel to the flame.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Washington 12th Jan^r 1850

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . The issue between the South and the North is the all absorbing subject here, although one would not think so who would judge from the party Organs here. They keep silent in the hope of giving such prominence to mere party issues, as to divert the publick mind from the higher questions and issues. They see in the latter a power sufficient to brake up the old party organization, and with it, the spoils system. The Southern members are more determined and bold than I ever saw them. Many avow themselves to be disunionists, and a still greater number admit, that there is little hope of any remedy short of it. In the mean time the North show no disposition to desist from aggression. They now begin to claim the right to abolish slavery in all the old States, that is those who were original members, when the Constitution was adopted. The Session will be stormy, but I hope, before it ends, a final and decisive issue will be made up with the North. There is no time to loose.

Give my love to Margeret and all the children. Kiss them for their grandfather.

To Thomas G. Clemson. C. C.

Washington 6th Feb: 1850

MY DEAR SIR, I received yours of the 8th Jan^r. a short time before the commencement of my recent illness, of which I suppose the papers have informed you. The disease was a modified case of the Pneumonia. I have been for the last week entirely free from disease; and have so far recovered my strength, as to be enable[d] to ride out. I hope to be completely restored by the begining of next week to my usual

strength. The disease, I think, will leave no permanent ill effect behind. I took little medicine and lost no blood. . . .

The slavery question has at length absorbed the entire attention of Congress and the country. The excitement is on the increase. Clay has offered what he calls a compromise, but will get little support. I do not see how the question can be settled. . . .

To James H. Hammond.¹

Washington 16th Feb: 1850

MY DEAR SIR, It affords me much pleasure to state, that my health is entirely restored and my strength in a great measure. I intend to resume my seat in the Senate tomorrow, and hope to take part in the debate on the great question of the day now pending in the Senate by the end of the week. The discussion before it closes will cover the whole issue between North and South; and, I trust, it will be of a character to satisfy the South, that it cannot with safety remain in the Union, as things now stand and that there is little or no prospect of any change for the better. The tone of the Southern Senators, with the exception of Clay, Benton, Houston and a few others is high. There is an increasing disposition to resist all compromises and concessions and to agree to nothing, that will not settle the entire issue between the two sections on the ground for which we contend. There is, I think, little prospect, that the North will come to our terms or that any settlement of the questions at issue will be agreed on. That I think is the general impression. The impression is now very general, and is on the increase, that disunion is the only alternative, that is left us.

I regret greatly to learn, that you cannot take Washington on your way to Nashville. I regard it of great importance you should, even if your stay should be short. A few days would put you in full possession of the state of things here, which I regard as very desirable. Without flattery, I know no one better informed, than you are, on the great subject that now agitates the country, or more capable of deciding

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

what should be done, with the knowledge you would acquire of the state of things here, or of preparing whatever papers the Convention may think proper to put out. It is, indeed, highly desirable, that at least two members from each of the delegations, should visit Washington on their way to Nashville, in order to consult freely with the members from the South who are true to her.

I trust you may be induced to reconsider your conclusion. The reasons you assigned for it, are, indeed, strong; but they cannot be stronger than those in favour of the opposite conclusion. Never before has the South been placed in so trying a situation, nor can it ever be placed in one more so. Her all is at stake.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 24th Feb 1850

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . Besides my correspondence, which, with Mr Clemson, extends when from home to nine persons in my own family, and when at home usually five or six, I have written between 350 and 400 pages of foolscap in execution of the work I have on hand, since we parted, and have reviewed, corrected and had copied the elementary disquisition on government (now ready for the press) containing 125 pages of fools cap. When I add, that I have done all this in the midst of a round of company, and my many other engagements, I think you will see, that I have a very good excuse, if I have not written you as frequently as formerly.

I answered Mr Clemson's last, shortly after I received it. I hope he has got my answer. I gave him an account of my illness, and the State of my health at the time. My strength gradually continued to return, but slowly, until I had so far recovered, that I was enabled to take my seat in the Senate last monday and hoped to be able to address the Senate on the great question, which now absorbs all others, in a few days. The next day, the weather was very bad, and I did not go out. The day after I found myself in the inceptient state of a cold, which increased the next, accompanied by a slight fever. I have the last three days been free of any febrish symptoms,

and my cold is now broke. I cough still a good deal but the phlem is loose, and I expectorate freely. It has thrown me back a week, but there has been nothing serious about it. I do not think it is to be attributed to any exposure, or imprudence on my part, but to the state of the atmosphere. Indeed colds are so common as to be almost epidemick.

I am afraid Patrick's health is seriously impaired. He is now staying with his brother Andrew, and is much better. I hope when the weather gets warm, and settled he will go to Fort Hill, and remain there until he gets fully able to join his Regiment. A frontier life, away from the pleasures of a city, may fully restore him.

The excitement, in reference to the Slave question continues on the increase. I see no prospect of any satisfactory adjustment of it. You were deceived, if you supposed the South gained anything, by the election of Cobb. He was forced on us by the Northern democrats, as they call themselves, but free soilers as they should be called. They could not be induced to rally on any other Southern man; and the only reason they rallied on him was, that he was the least true of all the Southern members, of the South, to the South. Indeed, such is the state of things in which we are placed, that it is indispensable to the elevation of any Southerner, that he should be false to his section.

I am exceedingly anxious to be heard in the debate now going on in the Senate; and as my strength may not be sufficiently restored in time, I have resolved to write out what I intended to say, and have it read, should it not be.

I am happy to hear that you are all well, and the children doing so well. My love to M^r Clemson and them, with a kiss from grandfather. May God bless you all.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 10th March 1850

MY DEAR SIR, I answered Anna's last letter by the last steamer; I hope she has received my letter.

Since then, my health continues to improve and my strength is so far returned, that I am able to take my seat in the senate and a part in the discussions of the body.

I send you a copy of my speech on the great question of the day. My friends insisted, that I should not undertake to deliver it, as it might overtax my strength. In conformity to their wishes, I wrote it out and had it read by a friend, I being present.¹ It has made a decided impression. Since then, Mr Webster delivered his views.² He took grounds more favourable to the South, than Mr Clay, but still far short of a permanent settlement of the question. His speech, however, shows a yielding on the part of the North, and will do much to discredit Mr Clay and other Southern Senators who have offered less favourable terms of settlement. If he should be sustained by his constituents and N. England generally, it is not improbable, that he will take still stronger grounds; and that the question may be adjusted, or patched up for the present, to brake out again in a few years. Nothing short of the terms I propose, can settle it finally and permanently. Indeed, it is difficult to see how two peoples so different and hostile can exist together in one common Union.

I wrote some time ago to Co^l Pickens and asked him to inform me, whether the arrangement, which you stated in your last letter to place our bond in his hand, had be[en] carried out, and whether, if the bond was in his hand, he would feel himself authorised to receive the interest and credit it on the bond; and, if the bond was not placed in his hands, to let me know, if he knew, in whose hands it was. I have not yet heard from him.

I am happy to say that, I think, neither my late attack, nor the prevailing influenza, which I took in my convalescent state, and which so much retarded the restoration of my health, has left any permanent derangement of my system. The weather is now becoming mild, which will permit me to take exercise in the open air, and which only is required to a full restoration of my strength.

My love to Anna and the children. Kiss the children for their grandfather.³

¹ Calhoun's great speech of March 4, 1850, on the Compromise measures, was read from proofs by Senator James M. Mason of Virginia. For the speech, see Works, IV, 542-578.

² The "Seventh of March Speech."

³ This is the last of Calhoun's letters which has come under the notice of the present editor. He died March 31, 1850.

Resolutions, March, 1850.

[Resolutions dictated to Joseph A. Scoville by Mr. Calhoun, a few days before his death.]

Resolved That the States composing the Southern portion of the Union cannot be deprived of their full and equal rights in the territory acquired from Mexico, or any other belonging to the Union without violating the constitution, perpetrating an act of gross injustice, destroying their equality as members of the Union, and by retarding their growth and accelerating that of the States composing the northern portion of the Union, destroying the equilibrium of Government.

Resolved that the assertion that the inhabitants of the territories have [*blank*] . . . is utterly destitute of foundation, is in derogation of the Sovereignty of the States composing the Union to which the territories are declared by the Constitution to belong and in whom the sovereignty over them resides is revolutionary and anarchical in its character, treasonable in its tendency and wholly unsustained by the practice of the Government.

Resolved that to make a constitution and form a State involves the highest powers of sovereignty and that it cannot of course be rightfully performed by inhabitants residing in the territories without the permission of Congress or the representatives of the United States to whom the territories belong or in whom the sovereignty over them reside.

Resolved that the attempt of the inhabitants of California to make a Constitution and form a State without the permission of Congress is an offence against the joint Sovereignty of the States of the Union and that the instrument purporting to be the Constitution of California is utterly void and of no binding force on the inhabitants thereof, nor on this Government, or the States it represents and the so called State but a name without any reality whatever.

Resolved that all acts on the part of any department of this Government or of the Citizens of the U. S. intended to encourage, or aid the inhabitants of California to make a

¹ This rough draft the editor owes to the kindness of Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C., who writes that "Mr. Calhoun dictated it *in articulo mortis*, expecting to retouch it on rising from his couch, when he invoked—one of his last utterances—'one hour more to speak in the Senate,' when, he declared, 'I can do more good than on any past occasion in my life'."

Constitution and form a State (if without the permission of Congress there have been such acts) are utterly unauthorized by the Constitution and inconsistent with the allegiance due to the joint Sovereignty of the States of the Union.

Resolved that it is not within the Constitutional competency of Congress to give validity to the instrument purporting to be the Constitution of California (or) and to admit the inhabitants of California into the Union as a State under it, because according to the fundamental principles of our system of Gov^t. Constitutions derive their validity from the people by whom and for whom it was [they were] made, and because it would [be] inconsistent with and subversive of this principle to act on the assumption that Congress could [give] validity to the instrument and make it a Constitution by the act of admitting of its inhabitants into the Union.

Resolved that the States of the Southern portion of the [Union] are not opposed to the proviso, which usually bears the name of its Author, because it bears it but because its aim is to deprive the States (South) of their due Share in the territories of the Union, by a palpable violation of the Constitution by a total disregard of any principle of justice and equality, to be followed if adopted by a subversion of their equality as members of the Union.

Resolved that any attempt to admit the inhabitants of California with the intention to evade the opposition to the proviso ought to excite a still more stern and indignant opposition because it would accomplish the same thing in a manner more objectionable and involve other constitutional objections peculiar to itself and of a deeper and graver character if possible [than] what have been set forth in the preceding resolutions.

Resolved that they are more objectionable because it would effect indirectly and surreptitiously what the proviso proposes to effect openly and directly because it would exclude the Said States more effectually from said territory by being inserted in the instrument purporting to be a Constitution, and what would be claimed to be a Con[stitutio]n if Congress should endorse [it], than it would be if inserted in the provisions of a territorial Gov^t., while it would be equally unjust and unfair as if excluded by a constitution of the [illegible] or by act

of Congress, in as much as the citizens of said States have been precluded from emigrating to said territory by the action of this Gov^t. and thereby of having a voice in the formation of said instrument.

Resolved that the time has arrived when the said States owe it to themselves and the other States comprising the Union to settle fully and forever all the questions at issue between them.

PART II.

LETTERS TO JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Baltimore March 2nd 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . As I was sure you would take for granted, that none of your friends would more sincerely rejoice at the triumphant issue of the investigation,² I did not think it necessary to trouble you with a formal letter of congratulation. A number of your friends here, who were of opinion that you had erred in taking the notice of the affair, which you did by an appeal to the house, are now, when they reflect upon what might have been the effect, if you had [not] taken the step you did, some years hence should you be before the nation as a Candidate and when Mix and his infamy would be forgotten, if a charge should be made of not having met allegations of official misconduct, are now convinced that your course was right.³ The whole affair has undoubtedly had a favorable effect as respects yourself.

I have not yet seen the testimony of the different witnesses and should be glad if you have a spare copy if you would send me one. I understand however, that a contemptible effort is made by General Brown and Jessop to rob you of the credit of the reforms which you effected in the War Department, and to assume it themselves—as if indeed it would be any discredit to you to collect information from experienced military men and make use of it in your recommendations to congress! I understand however, that these gentlemen did neither of them originally make any suggestions respecting the great means by which you arrived at such perfect organization as you effected, I mean the central Staff until after you had made those recommendations—and that in point of fact Vandeventer,⁴ who has been made a victim of

¹ Virgil Maxcy was the son of Jonathan Maxcy, president successively of Rhode Island College, Union College, and South Carolina College. He was a prominent politician and lawyer in Maryland. He edited the Laws of Maryland, 1811, was Solicitor of the Treasury under Jackson, and chargé des affaires at Brussels under Van Buren. On February 28, 1844, he was killed (with Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and others) by the explosion on board the *Princeton*.

² Of the Mix contracts. See Calhoun's letter of December 24, 1826, *et seq.*, in Part I, *supra*.

³ See Niles Register, Vol. XXX.

⁴ Major Christopher Van Deventer, chief clerk of the War Department under Calhoun.

the malice of your enemies for the sole purpose of making the impression, that you had been negligent of your duty in not dismissing him from office, was the first who laid before you a project of the Central Staff. I feel a strong sympathy for Vandeventer, who, tho' strong in conscious integrity, must nevertheless, feel a deep mortification at the impression that his abrupt dismissal from office is calculated to make on the public mind—and I take the liberty of suggesting for your consideration, whether you could not with propriety punish the vanity and assumption of Gen^l. Brown and Jessop by addressing a letter to Vandeventer, or if you should think it better, to me, in which you should state the fact of his having laid that project before you and that you had availed yourself of Vandeventer's suggestions in your recommendations to Congress, before Brown and Jessop had arrived at Washington, if this be according to fact, and by this expedient, while you render yourself a service, render a most material one to him, cruelly thrown as he is after 20 years faithful public service upon the wide world to seek a new occupation for the support of a family already becoming numerous and expensive. A statement of his usefulness in this respect, as well as in his general services as chief clerk, published in the form of an extract of a letter in this city, where he has a very extensive circle of connexions by his wife's family of the highest respectability, would be most soothing to his lacerated feelings, and at the same time most useful to him in this city, where it is most likely he will form a connexion in mercantile business with a brother of his wife and establish himself for the future at the same time, it would afford a complete justification to you for retaining him in office. It would, without giving them any just reason to complain, properly punish and mortify the vanity and selfishness of Brown and Jessop.

In my last I wrote you, that we were about to have a Jackson Meeting in Balt^o. and that it was fixed for Saturday last. The inclemency of the weather however prevented its taking place that evening and it was postponed till last night, when a very full and respectable meeting convened and adopted the pre-amble and Resolutions, which you have seen in the papers. Mr. M^o Kim, who was the Chairman of the Jackson Committee

in this city at the late Presidential contest told me this morning, he had never during the whole of the canvass known so large a meeting in any public hall as the one last night—and expressed in emphatic terms his opinion that Jackson is stronger here now than he was at the last election: that he is in the rest of the state I daily receive evidence. I have little doubt that we shall assemble next May, when we propose to have the Jackson Convention, as respectable and weighty a set of names as the state can afford—or has ever been witnessed in Maryland. The truth is, that in this state a great Majority of the men of a high order of character and intellect, who are capable of understanding great principles and are above patronage, are for Jackson and take with them a Majority of the lower class of people, who are below patronage, while the class of middling men, who are incapable of rising to the comprehension of great principles and perhaps are looking for favours to the government, are for Adams, who is in possession of the patronage and power. Indeed my confidence strengthens daily that we shall soon put an end to the impression that has been so industriously circulated by the administration men and presses, that Maryland has gone over to the Administration. I am told that you have at Washington cheering news from all quarters. Please let me hear of you particulars—as it may be useful for me to be in possession of them. . . .

I am faithfully yrs,

V. MAXCY.

*From John S. Barbour.*¹

C. C.

Catalpa April 17th 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, The election here has just been terminated. I have the largest majority ever given by the county.

The assemblage of the people afforded an opportunity of testing the strength of parties in relation to men and measures. Our Cause is identified with the popular sovereignty and is triumphant;—and nothing is more grateful to my feelings than the manifest and evident attachment of our people to you.

¹ John S. Barbour (1790–1855), member of Congress from Virginia from 1825 to 1833.

You may have seen the proceedings at our "Jackson Meeting", and the strong resolution in reference to yourself. I thought it most prudent and judicious not to appear actively in the matter. Such meetings are useful only as they embody and disclose popular sentiment, and I was unwilling that it should have the faintest appearance of deriving impulse from me, as it might in that case be attributed to the partiality of personal friendship or the effect of party feelings brought from the Metropolis. I wished it to be as in fact it was, the unbiassed expression of the public will.

With Resp^tful Compliments to M^{rs}. Calhoun I beg you accept the assurance of my great Regard and Respect

J. S. BARBOUR.

[P. S] Mr. P. P. Barbour is fervently with us and will go all lengths. The Sect^y of war¹ and one of his clerks are active in the election Canvass of Orange, for his Son and ag^t—his Brother.

J. S. B.

From Virgil Maxcy.

C. C.

Washington, April 6, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I met with Green (Duff) yesterday and found him evidently in an ill humour with the State of things here. He forbodes much mischief from the furious passions of his revengeful wife operating on Eaton. Major Lewis, who lives in the Presidents house is supposed to have the unlimited confidence of the President, reads over letters of recommendation &c for him—and is a tool of Eaton's—, who is a tool of his wife. Is it come to this that all our glowing anticipations for our country from the integrity, sagacity and firmness of Gen^l. J must be extinguished and we must submit to the melancholy conviction, that the U. S. are governed by the Pres^t. The Pres^t. by the Secr^y. of War and the latter by his W—. . . .

I remain faithfully yrs,

V. MAXCY.

¹ James Barbour, secretary of war, was brother to Philip P Barbour; the latter was a congressman and (subsequently) an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court.

From Virgil Maxcy.

C. C.

Tulip Hill, near Annapolis, April 9, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote you a few days since from Washington, respecting the clouds that were gathering over my prospects. The Report has got out and been carried to Baltimore, that I have been proposed for the office of Treasurer. It is natural to expect that whatever latent unfriendly feeling may from any cause be felt towards me, should now manifest itself. That it has done it in some way or other I have very little doubt from an inquiry of M^r. Ingham,¹ whether Gen. Smith² was friendly to me and a remark, that Maryland was split into Adverse interests, and an intimation, that letters from a few of the prominent men of the Jackson party in different parts of the state, in addition to those already sent to Gen^l. Jackson, might be useful.

You may recollect that in the old contest, when Crawford, Gen. Smith's favorite, was in the field, I had occasion to answer some pieces written by Gen. Smith and published in the American at Baltimore, attributing to Crawford the merit of a number of measures, which you originated—such as Specific Appropriations &c. Gen. Smith probably found out that I was the author. I have never had any respect for him, and of course have not paid him the court he might have expected. I have no doubt therefore he is unfriendly—as indeed is M^r. Lloyd,³ whom I met in the same way in the Annapolis papers. Geo. Winchester is unfriendly, more from Jealousy than any other cause. In 1812, he was one of the violent men, who after the mob were stimulated by most offensive pieces by Hanson in his paper, joined him in the Charles Street affair⁴ and became exceedingly odious in Baltimore. In 1824 to get rid of his unpopularity, he *brought himself* forward as the Jackson Electoral Candidate, and by aid of the enthusiasm of the people in favor of the old General he was elected, but did not so far get rid of his unpopularity as to render it safe to take him as the electoral Candidate in

¹ The Secretary of the Treasury.

² Gen. Samuel Smith, of Baltimore, Senator 1808-1815, 1822-1833, M. C. 1798-1808, 1816-1822.

³ Presumably Edward Lloyd, president of the Maryland senate.

⁴ When the mob attacked the office of the Federal Republican, edited by A. C. Hanson, and killed and wounded several of his Federalist friends.

1828, when the contest was expected to be close and by a good deal of delicate and excellent management on the part of Taney,¹ he was induced to stand aside and let Col. Howard² be the Candidate and in the late contest 50 others in Balt^o. might be named who spent more time and made greater exertions than himself. In 1815 he was desirous of being chosen a member of the Executive Council and was pushed by his friends. Mine, without my knowledge or any desire expressed on my part, nominated me, (who was not a favorite of the Hanson party) and I was preferred. We were afterwards in the Senate together, and I had there on several occasions been compelled by a sense of duty to oppose and contribute to defeat several unjust speculating projects for opening streets and pulling down other peoples houses, for the purpose of aiding a company of speculators in City Lots, of which he was an active partner. He became dissatisfied with his situation in the Senate, where [he] could not have the control and resigned his seat. By these things his dislike of me was kept alive and increased. In 1825 and 6 I believe I may with truth repeat to you, what I know many disinterested persons have said—that I was the Leader of the House of Delegates, and had occasion by opposing several Baltimore projects to incur the displeasure of Baltimoreans. After I had at the request of Winchester, among others at Baltimore, written the Address for the Jackson Convention, (which I first proposed to Taney and got up by persuading him and others into the measure in Baltimore), Winchester immediately after that Convention was organized and a committee to draft the Address was, as usual, appointed, attempted meanly to appropriate to himself in the public opinion, a great part of the merit of that Address, by moving Resolutions, to instruct the Committee in framing the Address to have in view certain principles &c., which principles &c. he had copied almost verbatim from the Address, when it was submitted to his perusal previously to the meeting of the Convention. And after this as I stated in my last letter he brought about confusion in the Convention by moving to expunge the part, in

¹ Roger B. Taney, afterwards Chief Justice

² Benjamin C. Howard, M. C. 1829-1833, 1835-1839, reporter of decisions of the Supreme Court 1848-1862.

which an allusion was made to you. In this state as in several others there is in the Legislature a City and a country interest. From the foregoing detail you will perceive, that my strength lies in the country, throughout which in every county I have warm friends. My weakness on the contrary is in the city, where is concentrated, the force of those, who would oppose my advancement. Friends in the country whose dispersion renders it difficult to bring them to act together, opposed to enemies in the city, who can easily combine, are like undisciplined militia opposed to Regulars—and I suppose I must submit. It is now said that Hughes¹ the Son in law of Gen^l. Smith, who joined the Jackson forces when victory was certain is to be raised to the rank of minister to act jointly with Preble and perhaps Woodbury, as Commissioners to argue the boundary question before the King of the Netherlands²—and Winchester, if he does not get the Consulate at Liverpool, will have a foreign mission offered him. If this be the case, the claims of Maryland will be satisfied, and I shall be forgotten. When Maryland in 1826 was quietly floating down the united corrupt stream of federal and state patronage, I first roused the attention of the people here to the importance of the principles, to the violation of which they were yielding without opposition, by my Address to my congressional District, in making which I sacrificed a prospect, as certain as such things can be, of a seat in Congress, and by proclaiming openly my opposition to the re-election of Mr. Adams and the reasons of it brought upon me bitter hostility and much reproach. Early in 1827 I brought about the Jackson Convention, the earliest *state* convention in the U. S., wrote its address, which was read by every reading man in the state, put public sentiment in the right channel, as to the principles involved in the contest, and furnished topics and arguments to all those, who afterwards came out as Candidates before the people. It was afterwards republished, as

¹ Christopher Hughes was chargé to the Netherlands; in 1880 he was made chargé to Sweden. In 1881 Winchester was made a commissioner under the treaty of 1830 with Denmark. Maxcy was made Solicitor of the Treasury when that office was created in 1880.

² In reality the United States was represented by Albert Gallatin and William Pitt Preble in arguing before the King of the Netherlands the question of our northeastern boundary.

you know, in all the states South and West of this, and as it was the first address of a *State* Convention, you can judge better than I how far it might have given direction to public opinion or roused public attention in other states.¹

After the contest waxed warm in 1828, by publications in the papers, and correspondence I brought about meetings in every district for organizing committees. At the request of the principal Jackson men, attended those district meetings, in more than half of them in our county wrote their resolutions and addresses, came near being involved in a duel with my nearest neighbor, after declining being a candidate as an elector and bringing out a Democratic Candidate with Col. Howard of Balt. in order to prevent their being two federal Candidates, in our double District, I nevertheless at the request of the people in each district took upon myself the labors of a candidate, after relinquishing its honors, and addressed the public meetings and contributed to the expense of many of them thro' the county, at the sacrifice of my time and attention to my private concerns in the busiest and most important season of the year. Most of the above particulars I have heretofore mentioned at different times to you. I now enumerate them together to refresh your recollection and that you may not think me without reason, when I say and from a consciousness of its truth, boldly say, that no one man in Maryland, I do not except Taney whom I acknowledge to be far my superior in reputation, has sacrificed so much or done so much and with so much effect to promote the Election of General Jackson as I have, and I feel assured, if all the Jackson men in the State who have attended to the course of things and I will add all the Adams men (I know their opinion by their reproaches) were bound on oath to give their opinion, nine in ten of them would confirm my declaration. After this, to be put aside and postponed to such men as Winchester and Hughes, I own stings me to the quick with mortification and chagrin, and stimulates me to use all honorable

¹ Last Summer, after Barry took the field in Kentucky, I was attracted to a speech of his, in the Telegraph, by the remarks of the Editor, who extolled it as the best view of the principles of the contest that had appeared. The sentiments struck me as familiar and before I got thro' it I found the whole frame of the argument—and by comparison afterwards, nearly one third of the very language of the Speech was taken *verbatim* from the Maryland Jackson Address.—*Footnote in the original.*

efforts with my friends to sustain my pretensions. I consented in the first instance to trouble you to bring them forward, because my pecuniary distresses rendered an appointment necessary to my relief but this motive for wishing one is now strengthened and stimulated by every sentiment of pride and suggestion of self protection. I have therefore brought my mind to ask of some of the leading men of the party in the State according to the suggestion of M^r. Ingham for letters to General Jackson. This I ought perhaps in justice to you and M^r. Ingham to do, to shew that your recommendations are supported by others. Within 12 hours after I came to this determination I accidentally met in Washington two of the most prominent and respectable men in the lower part of the state, one of them, the Jackson Electoral Candidate in 1824—the other the same in 1828, for the 1st Electoral District. With neither of them had I any personal *intimacy* but upon suggesting my wish to the one of them, with whom I was best acquainted, and his communicating it to the other, they both immediately came forward, said I had done *more* for the Jackson cause than any one in Maryland and were ready to say so to Gen^l. Jackson. This I requested them not to do, but would be glad to have a joint letter from them of such a character as they thought proper, without exalting me above all others. To shew you that the above statement of my services is not an unsupported ebullition of my own vanity, I inclose you a copy of their letter. I expect to receive a half a dozen others in a few days, when I shall send them to M^r. Ingham. I send you the present that you may have other authority than my own for any statement you may think proper to make to M^r. Ingham, if you think you can with propriety add any thing to what [they] have already said to him, to induce him to put his request to the president for the arrangement of M^r. Anderson to the Treasury and me to the 1st Comptrollership upon the footing suggested in my letter of day before yesterday, of personal accommodation to himself with a view to the business of his office. Unless M^r. Ingham will take interest enough in the thing to do this, I do not think from the present aspect of things, that I have any chance of success. I must beg you not to let M^r. Ingham sup-

pose from anything in your letter that I have suggested this thing to you.

I am called suddenly to close my letter for the post and I am sure before this you have cried out enough in all conscience.

Faithfully yours,

V. MAXCY.

[P. S.] Could you not frame a letter to Mr. Ingham, in such a way as would render it proper for him to show it to Gen^l. Jackson?

From Francis W. Pickens.

c. c.

Edgefield C.H. [April 22, 1829].

MY DEAR SIR, I was very sorry to know that you had passed this place, for I never was more anxious to see you. . . . What I wished principally to see you for was to know what you thought as to the prospect of the future. For it is with the most melancholy feelings that I look on a great and gallant people, sacrificed by a government over which they have practically at present no restrictive power. I believe the true checking power of all governments is the power to destroy them. I believe after a series of years that no government that has the power to collect taxes and to declare war can be restrained but by a display of sufficient power to break it up. And in this point of view, we have the advantage over every other people, in as much as there are regular organized and acknowledged authorities, which combine the strength of large sections of our whole community, and can be brought to act on the central government . . .

Yours truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Virgil Maxcy.

c. c.

Tulip Hill, near Annapolis, May 7, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . As I was somewhat mistaken, or have reason to believe I was, in some of the views I gave in my letters to you respecting the obstacles in my way, which you have received, I will now proceed to correct them and to

give you the further and more precise information, which I collected on a late visit to Baltimore. I task your patience in reading the latter the more willingly, because it is connected with consequences, in which Taney, Gale,¹ and Howard consider your interests in this state involved—and Mr. Gale your interests also in Pennsylvania.

With respect to Major Eaton, I have no means of knowing whether I ought to change the impression communicated to you or not. In a conversation recently with Towson, he expressed an apprehension that he was not friendly to you—and feels much disgust at the influence he exerts with the President thro' Major Lewis, who lives with the Pres^t. and whom he considers as a tool of Eaton's. Gen^l. Green, who has had a complete blow up with Eaton, is under the same impression, and feels the same disgust. He considers Eaton as intriguing and entirely selfish.

With respect to Winchester, I have no evidence of his having interfered with respect to me and am disposed rather to think he has not, and as I fear I did injustice in my letter to you to his exertions in the late contest, I hasten to correct it by saying, that in my late visit to Baltimore I became satisfied that he was much more active than I had been led to believe. I have no reason to change my opinion that he is unfriendly to me—more from jealousy than any thing, which I thought clearly manifested in the proceedings of the Jackson Convention.

But I have now direct evidence of old Smiths active opposition. That you may comprehend more fully his motives, it is necessary that you should keep in mind the following facts. That the talent and respectability of what was once the federal Party in Maryland is with Jackson and friendly to you; the majority of that party however went with Adams.

That directly the reverse of this is true, with respect to the Democratic Party, almost all the political managers of this party having gone with the late Administration, while a majority of the Democratic Voters are with Jackson.

That a few however of the Democrats, most prominent for talent and influence, held aloof till the hardest of the fight

¹ Levin Gale, M. C., 1827-1829.

was over, but now claim to be zealous friends of General Jackson. These, *to a man*, were zealous partizans of M^r. Crawford—are now friends to Van Buren and will never forgive you. The most conspicuous of these are General Smith, M^r. Lloyd¹ and John Nelson, of Frederick. I would not be understood to intimate, that John Nelson's feelings have carried him so far as [to] give him a *personal* dislike to you, which I believe is the case with the other two gentlemen.

You will recollect that I mentioned to you, that M^r. Ingham gave me some hints of the unfriendliness of General Smith to me, by inquiring how we stood to each other, and informing me, that John Nelson was supported for Treasurer by him. These hints were enough to give direction to my inquiries, and I went directly to Taney after I arrived in Balt^o. He informed me that he had a few days before been informed by a friend of Nelson, that the latter had received a letter from General Smith proposing to him to become a candidate for the Office of Treasurer of the U. S. and urged it upon him upon the ground that Maxcy and Winchester (naming us two) and other conspicuous federalists would run away with all the honors of the new state of things in Maryland, if some of the old democratic party did not step forward. Nelson declined becoming a candidate. General Smith however wrote him a second letter and he consented, so that it is now reduced to certainty, that Nelson has, contrary to his inclination, lent himself as an instrument to old Smith to defeat me. The object of both however was deeper than appears on the surface, as you will presently perceive. I believe I have heretofore put you in possession of Gen^l. Smith's political history for the last few years—but I will now give it more fully from Taney, who has been on the spot and knows more in detail than I. Nelson's you are probably not aware of so fully—that I will give you also from Taney, who till the last three years lived in Frederick, where Nelson resides—and of course knows his political course since he left there, particularly from his numerous friends in Frederick.

Since the election of M^r. Adams, Gen^l. Smith authorized his friends to assure the Adams Members of the Legislature

¹ Presumably Edward Lloyd, president of the state senate. John Nelson, M. C. 1821-1823, was afterward chargé to Naples as attorney-general.

that he was a friend to his Administration. This was done and had the effect to insure his election as Senator in 1826. Altho' not entirely trusted by the Adams party, all set him down as belonging to it till the celebration of the battle of North point on the 12th Sep^r. 1827, five months after the Jackson Convention in Maryland was held and published their address. A few days before this celebration an old democratic friend of the Adams party, James L. Hawkins, met Gen^l. Smith in the street and after a good deal of conversation with him, remarked to a friend, that Gen^l. Smith was to be relied upon as a friend of the Administration (Adams). Gen. Smith however attended the Jackson celebration of the 12th Sept^r. The day after Hawkins met him on the street and asked him how he could attempt to deceive him in the conversation a few days before. The Gen^l. replied he had not deceived him, and that he attended the oration in commemoration of the battle of the 12th as an *invited Guest*, being invited as a revolutionary officer and the Commander of the Militia of Baltimore at the period in question—and not as a partizan of Jackson's. From that time to the late electoral Election, Taney informs me, that he attended no Jackson Meeting—made no speech—and held no public conversation by which it could be inferred that he was on Jackson's side. In a word, he gave not even the slight countenance of his name,—where it would have had weight with a few—in the hard and doubtful struggles of last fall in Baltimore: neither did he assist as far as we know, the Adams party. His neutrality and false pretences in private to both, however, lost him the confidence of all sides. It is understood however, that after the election was over he went to Washington as a full blooded Jackson man, naturally gained the confidence as such, of the unsuspecting old chieftain, between whom and himself there were some points of sympathy—both being old men—both old soldiers—and Smith holding himself out as the *Jackson* Senator from Maryland. He has been remarkably attentive to Gen^l. Jackson—represented to him, that Howard and Taney and such men, as were busily engaged as electioneers, were obliged to give recommendations to all who asked them, thereby insinuating that his representations only were to be relied on, has obtained (This Towson told me) more influence

with Gen^l. Jackson than any man from Maryland, and has used it to the manifest annoyance of Mr. Ingham in the Custom house appointments at Balt^o. So that he now begins to be looked up to as the dispenser of the patronage of the government, for the state of Maryland.

He himself is Senator of the U. S.

He contrived last winter to get his Son, who is very unpopular into the State Senate.

He has got his nephew Dabney Carr appointed Naval Officer—the best office at Baltimore.

He has got Lyde Goodwin, who was bred in his counting house appointed Appraiser.

Capt. Gault, formerly a sea Captain in his service, inspector.

His son in law Hughes—Chargé—and wants to raise him to the rank of minister.

How many other appointments he has an interest in amongst those of a lower grade I know not.

He now goes out of the city and volunteers in soliciting a Crawford Democrat, who had no inclination for the Office, to be a Candidate for the App^t. of Treasurer of the U. S. in order to defeat me.

Now the striking feature about all this business is, that every single person that I have enumerated, was at the last election a warm partizan of Crawford.

I would not be understood as objecting to all of these appointments. On the contrary Lyde Goodwin has been a true man, active and zealous and was supported by everybody as a suitable app^t. I only make the list out complete to show the number of friends of Gen^l. Smith and Crawford in the best offices in Balt^o.

One only of the better sort of offices in the Custom House is in a different sort of Hands—that of Surveyor, to which Col. Mosher an uniform democrat and most respectable man was recommended warmly by Taney and Howard.

All the foregoing officers are without exception of the old Democratic party, and except one or two of the tide waiters, who were not particularly recommended by Taney and Howard, and for whom they felt no interest, none of the new appointments in the custom house has been given to federalists. Of this no complaint is made. Neither Taney nor Howard

dreamed that the Jackson party was composed of Fed^{ts}. and Dem^{ts}. The distinction has sunk and they have divorced themselves from the majority of the Federalists, had forgotten the old distinctions and were in good faith active as members of the Jackson party, "one and indivisible." . . .

The truth of the matter is this, the *people* in their late arduous struggle entirely forgot old distinctions and naturally placed the men of talents, who sympathized in their feelings and views at their head—without inquiring whether they were federalists or democrats. These leading men generally in Maryland have been federalists. Hence Taney was appointed by the Jackson convention the Chairman of the Central Committee for Maryland, they having agreed at his suggestion on account of his feeble health to give him an active assistant as vice President in Col. Mosher, a most respectable democrat. They would have made Taney President of the Jackson Convention, but he insisted on their taking old General Forman, a Democrat from the eastern shore.

Now that the storm has been weathered and the ship safely got to port in Maryland under officers, who were federalists—they are to be thrown overboard, at the cry of interested men, like that treacherous old hypocrite Smith and some others, who find themselves overshadowed.

When Van Buren passed thro' Baltimore he was closeted two or three Hours with old Smith and saw no one else. . . .

These are the three leading men,¹ who now range themselves on the side of Jackson, who were formerly of the Democratic party—and came in as Crawford Men on calculation and never have sympathized with us in the support of the true principles of the contest, and they would now be glad, under the guise of democracy to rally the state under Van Buren.

There is however as yet not the slightest symptom of division as far as I can learn in the Jackson Ranks *in the country* between federalists and democrats, who have now so often and so hard fought side by side against Adams federalists and Democrats, that they have entirely forgotten the old distinctions—but to revive these old distinctions is the only means by which Old Smith can make his delinquencies be forgotten.

¹ Smith, Nelson, and Lloyd.

We are now on the eve of a great struggle for the State. The Adams forces are perfectly organized. Balt^o. has but two out of 80 delegates to the Assembly and division there is of little consequence—but Taney, Howard, and Winchester all unite with me in the Opinion, that if Smith's efforts succeed and division is carried to the Country, the State is lost to Jackson—and if by possibility a majority should notwithstanding be got and Smith and Lloyd and Nelson get up again, the State will then be thrown into Van Buren's arms.

I have thus given you a full but tedious account of the state of things in Maryland or rather in Baltimore, that you may understand our position, and may in such way as occasion may offer aid the operation of setting things to rights. I fear our friend Ingham's mind coming from the party atmosphere of Penns^a. where the old distinctions have been kept up, is not quite free enough from local impressions to judge quite impartially of affairs in Maryland. With him you may be of service. I think however his eyes are open as to Smith—and Taney and Howard are taking steps to open the eyes of the President to Gen^l. Smith's true character and conduct. . . .

As to Pennsylvania politics—M^r. Gale boarded last winter in a Mess with Gen^l. Barnard and a number of the Pennsylvanians, not very friendly to M^r. Ingham. He thinks from what he saw that the nomination of Wolf¹ as Governor in preference to Barnard, will not be submitted to—but that an opposition Convention will be got up and a new nomination made, in which case there will be a split of the Jackson party, and the Adams party will take the side opposed to Ingham and give it a majority. Wolf I understand is friendly to Ingham and yourself. Gale tells me farther that he is in the habit of taking excursions for health into different parts of Pennsylvania in the Summer—that he is acquainted with the leading federalists—that there are about 40,000 federal votes in Penns^a. and that most of them are for you. Now if the split apprehended should take place and the proscribing language be used towards federalists, which is customary in Penn^a. will it not have a tendency to alienate these federal votes from Ingham and you—and give a Majority to your

¹ George Wolf governor of Pennsylvania from December 1829 to December 1835

opponents? Gale is a sagacious man and I throw out these hints for your consideration. . . .

Since writing the above, I have received a Telegraph which contains an account of a meeting being called near Pittsburgh in conformity with the recommendation of another in Chester County near Philadelphia—of Jacksons friends, who are also friends of the “American System”, to denounce the nomination of Wolf as Gov^r. as being your friend and to call a new Convention of Jacksonians to nominate a Candidate for Governour opposed to John C. Calhoun: this movement seems strikingly to confirm Gale’s view of things in Penn^a. . . .

Your faithful but too anxious Friend

V. MAXCY.

*From James Hamilton.*¹

C. C.

Pennyworth Island, Savannah River, May 10th 1829.

MY DEAR SIR. I owe you many apologies for not previously answering your kind favor of the 10th ulto. which after some delay was forwarded to me from Charleston,—and even now I must throw myself on your indulgence as I am on the eve of sailing (tomorrow) for New York with my family. This last cause will prevent my going to Pendleton this Spring which I had fully intended to have done, but unfortunately I found no friend going in the Ship in which it was necessary for Mrs. Hamilton to embark with whom I could have intrusted my family, hence it has become necessary for me to sail with them. We shall probably return by Land, and make our calculations to reach your hospitable mansion about the last of Oct. I shall devote the summer to our Pendleton Lyceum with the hope of consummating the arrangements necessary for its establishment. I will thank you to exercise all possible reserve in even hinting the name of Mr. Cogswell² as the

¹ James Hamilton (1786-1857) had been a member of the House of Representatives from 1823 to 1829. He was governor of South Carolina from 1830 to 1832, during the nullification troubles. Subsequently he removed to Texas and had an active part in the conduct of the Texan diplomacy.

² Joseph G. Cogswell, at this time head of the famous school at Round Hill, Northampton, Mass., at which several South Carolina Hamiltons, sons or nephews of the governor, were students. Later Hamilton and others tried to get Dr. Cogswell to take the presidency of South Carolina College. See Cogswell’s Life, pp. 198-196, 357.

person I am looking to as its head, as such a rumor would not fail to injure his present institution.

Having said so much in relation to an object near my heart permit me to say one word in relation to another which I am endeavoring to cast from it as fast as possible—*Politicks*. What think you of the recent appointments? I fear the old Gentleman is pushing the Figure too far. I cannot understand the true key to them, whether they are under the influence of Van Buren Ingham or Eaton. The metropolitan appointments I suspect very strongly are to be referred to the back stair influence of the latter. I feel a painful regret in the consciousness of the career which Circumstances may compel you to run in competition for an office, which in the present Confederacy it seems can not be won with pride or held with consolations of personal happiness.

I had a very unexpected tho' most gratifying visit from McDuffie on his way to Charleston. I am delighted to find that Miss Singleton¹ has at last smiled and will soon bless him.

Some business in Washington in regard to live oak timber will carry me on there after my arrival in New York. I presume I shall reach the City about the 1st June. If anything should occur whilst there which I think will be interesting to you I will write you. My address will be Northampton Mass. Mr H. unites with me in our best recollections to your Mother and Mrs Calhoun and I remain My dear Sir

With great respect and esteem faithfully yours,

J. HAMILTON JR.

P. S. I have written to Hayne and Pinckney to keep up the Fire on the tariff and I shall not be idle for the S^o Review² this Summer at N Hampton.

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Edgefield C. H. May 24th, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I fear I did not express myself with sufficient clearness with reference to the important power of restraining government. When I suggest the idea that no

¹ McDuffie was married in 1829 to the daughter of Col. Richard Singleton. He died in 1830.

² Established at Charleston by Elliott and Legaré in February, 1828.

people can practically have the power to restrain government, unless they have within themselves sufficient power to destroy it, I do not mean to say that they must of course exercise that dreadful power. No government can be restrained unless those who control its operations habitually feel that those upon whom it acts can at any moment stop it. Public opinion itself can have little or no influence in a series of years, unless it be created and supported by those who have real positive power. Government is real positive power, and nothing but an equal real positive power can restrain it. The real constitutions of all governments have been the result of positive power. A written constitution is nothing unless the people have actual power to enforce it. My idea as regards our present condition is not "revolutionary." It is that we not only have at present power to destroy our government, but we fortunately have power to restrain it without destroying it. What other people have heretofore wanted in restraining government, namely system and combination, we have through our organized state authorities. But I hold that there can be but very little practical effect produced by any thing short of a display of real power.

Whatever may be said about our Constitution, I think in reality we can hardly be said to have a constitution yet.

The real constitution of any Government is that government in action. We are now called upon to make a constitution to our government in one of its most important operations, the collection of taxes. And it is all important we should make it compatible with the perfect protection of property. If we as a people have power to fortify our liberties against the operations of our government, we will make the constitution of the government, if we have not, those who administer it will make the constitution. I have the most perfect confidence in the opinion that we have the full power, and that we will exercise it, and without revolution. And that we will finally make this one of the strongest governments in the world, and at the same time entirely harmless to the liberties of the people.

I should not at this time have troubled you with this explanation if I had not felt myself misunderstood. . . .

Yours sincerely,

F. PICKENS.

From Virgil Maxcy.

C. C.

Tulip Hill, near Annapolis, June 1, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, . . . He¹ satisfied me from the perfectly frank and cordial manner in which he spoke of his great obligations to and regard for you, that notwithstanding all his great appointments seem to be given to a certain class of politicians, yet that he has not bestowed them with a view to favour M^r. V. B. He alluded to you and M^r. V. B. being held up as [aiming?] at the same station and avowed his determination to act with impartiality. In the sincerity of this declaration, I place implicit reliance and attribute his apparently departing from the rule he has prescribed to himself as only a proof of the adroitness which has been used in making impressions on his mind, that have led to what those, who do not know him, believe to be indicative of inclining to favor Mr. V. B.—who has great advantages in being constantly near him. Indeed everything that passed between me and the Pres^t. on the day I dined with him and two other interviews to which *he* invited me, have confirmed all my previous impressions of the purity, singleness, elevation and benevolence of his character. . . .

Faithfully

V. MAXCY.

From Virgil Maxcy.

C. C.

Tulip Hill, July 4, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 21st June has just reached me. I had been intending for the last 4 or 5 days to write you in compliance with a wish of M^r. Ingham, whom I saw last Sunday at Washington, where private business had called me the day before. A very unpleasant state of things has arisen between him and General Green, which he was desirous you should be acquainted with, but about which he felt reluctant to write. It appears that M^r. I. gave some small jobs of printing to a Pennsylvania Printer, who lives at Washington, named Myers, and that afterwards M^r. Barry, the Postmaster General, did the same—Green says, on M^r. I's recommenda-

¹ President Jackson.

tion, but this M^r. I. says was not so. Green says he has the authority of Barry—and as M^r. I. denies it, says he is determined to get it from Barry in writing. The truth probably is, that Barry employed Myers from the example of M^r. Ingham and used some expression in apology to Green, (for between them also there has been some difficulty.) from which the latter inferred a recommendation by M^r. I. Under this impression, G. wrote a sharp letter to M^r. I.—when he was in Pennsylvania, which provoked a Retort of the same character. G. afterwards wrote a letter of apology, which M^r. I. never received. He has however thro' D^r. Jones made him acquainted with it. G. told me (for he as well as M^r. I. volunteered in giving me his view of the case,) it was not the amount of the job given to Myers which he considered, but the disposition it indicated of neglect towards one who had involved himself deeply in debt in support of the cause. Green was much dissatisfied previously at M^r. I.'s appointing M^r. Dickins, (an old Crawford man and now as he says, devoted to V. Buren) his chief clerk and pretty freely remonstrated against the appointment, and thinks M^r. I. does not take a sufficiently decided Stand in preventing the great appointments taking the same course (4 out of 5 of the foreign ministers, who have received appointments under this Administration being old Crawford men and the 5th (Moore) originally a friend of Clay and not one, yours,) and thereby making an impression on the public, that M^r. V. B. is the favored man as Jackson's successor. In the case of Dickins, M^r. I. cut the matter short by plainly intimating that he would not be interfered with in the appointments in his own department. Green has lately in his paper made some remarks upon this appointment which will no doubt attract your notice, which have deeply wounded and offended M^r. I. Green complains that his enemies are promoted and his friends neglected. M^r. I. says he assumes a great deal too much, is very unreasonable and would, if he could, dictate every appointment under the government, that he has been gratified in too many of his wishes already in relation to appointments and that most of those which have displeased the public and exposed the Administration to reproach were made to gratify him: that he has no discretion; that his paper instead of being

a repertory of essays to prepare public opinion for the changes in policy which the new Admⁿ. will adopt is occupied in squabbles with editors of opposition prints: and is altogether unfit to be considered the Government paper. G. says that that paper has been devoted as much to the advancement of Mr. Ingham as any other individual, Gen^l Jackson excepted and Mr. I. says he came to Washington at the risk of his life, such was the feeble state of his health, to vote for G. as Printer to Congress. Such is the state of things between them, as given by each of them respectively. As both of them had volunteered in giving me the history of their dissatisfaction, I was in hopes to have had it in my power, especially as each professed to have kind wishes for the other, to contribute to the restoration of things to a better state, and continued at Washington a day longer than I intended for the purpose. My efforts however were apparently fruitless—tho' they may perhaps have an effect after a little time has elapsed and excitement has diminished.

I fear that this difference may have mischievous consequences, and I have therefore been minute in detail, that you may judge whether you can interfere with propriety or advantage.

Gen. Green has now had a difference—more or less decided—either about appointments or printing, with each of the heads of department—and was near one with Gen^l Jackson himself. This circumstance together with others coming under my own observation lead my mind to the conclusion, that Gen. Green, tho' he has high claims to attention, has interfered *too much* and in an *ungracious manner*. Most assuredly I think enough has been done to satisfy a reasonable person in the way of appointments of friends and some of them have laid the Admn. open to reproach. How far he has reason to complain on the score of patronage being given to other printers, I am not able to judge. Mr. I. says the jobs he has given to Myers who is poor, were inconsiderable. At all events G's public attack upon him in the Telegraph on this account and the appointment of Dickins appear to me to be altogether unjustifiable, and looks like an attempt to coerce Mr. I. to submit. It has so deeply offended and wounded him, that I fear there will be more difficulty in appeasing him than G. The latter avers he

meant the publication as a defence of himself against charges of a dictatorial influence with the government and not an attack upon Mr. I. I acquainted Mr. I. with this disavowal. He gives no credit to it however and thinks the matter lies much deeper than this and that G. is endeavoring to establish a control over the departments by appealing to the fears of the heads of them—and thinks notwithstanding the attachment he has always professed for you he would attack you without hesitation, if you should cross his path. I have seen enough of G. to believe he is a man of pretty violent temper; but, I apprehend, he is more placable than Mr. I. when he is once much provoked. You however know them both better than I do. Green called to see Mr. I. two or three times after his return from Penn^a but did not find him at home. This was before the offensive piece appeared in the Telegraph. Mr. I. had taken no notice of his calls—but he was not then aware that Green had written him a letter in apology of the sharp one he wrote on hearing Ingham had recommended Barry to employ Myers in job printing. And now the publication in the Telegraph interposes an obstacle to the renewal of friendly intercourse.

And now, altho I think in the business above detailed, G. is decidedly in fault, yet I must say, that I think with G. that Mr. I. does not take a sufficiently decided stand to secure an impartial distribution of the Offices. I infer this, not only from the fact that a very undue proportion of the important ones have been given to men of the old Crawford Party, now supposed to be friendly to V. Buren, but from an observation he has several times made to me, that he thought it his duty to be the adviser of the President, *when consulted*, rather than to become the *advocate* of Candidates for office, by recommending them beforehand, and that this is the best mode of preserving his influence with him. As a general rule perhaps this is the best but surrounded as Genl. Jackson is by persons who have none of this delicacy, and liable, as the impression now seems to be, to yield to the solicitations of friends and to be governed too much by his personal feelings towards candidates, rather than by political considerations, the rigid adherence to this rule seems to be out of place in the actual circumstances in which he Mr. I. is placed. I believe the Pres^t.

wishes to be impartial between you and V. B. but from the fact that your friends have received none of the conspicuous appointments since Ingham's own, and that V. B.'s have obtained many more than all the original Jackson Men and your friends together, the impression certainly is made upon many people at Washington, that the Pres^t. leans to V. B. and is giving such a course to things as will advance his future views. Should the apprehension that is felt that the vacancy, which it is supposed will happen from the return of Poinsett the only one of the foreign Ministers friendly to you, will also be filled by a friend of V. B.'s be well founded, this impression will be confirmed. But as you may suppose, that my representations respecting M^r. I's inertness may be erroneous from feeling that I have myself suffered by it, I do not like to say much upon this subject nor wish you to take my opinion. Col. Towson, however, who is disinterested, is so strongly under the impression, that the current of appointments having taken the course it has, is owing to M^r. I's want of decision and activity, that he told me he felt it his duty and had made up his mind to speak freely with him about the necessity of his resisting it. He goes so far in this opinion as to think with Green that he ought not to have given Dickins the place of his chief clerk. On this subject M^r. I. has convinced me that in this instance he was right.

I have thus given you a full view of the difficulties between Ingham and Green. I cannot help thinking, tho both appear to be obstinate, that both desire a reconciliation. To effect this requires a friend of both parties with more authority than I possess—and you can judge better than I whether it is proper or expedient for you to exert a mediatorial influence. . . .

Faithfully,

V. MAXCY.

*From James Gadsden.*¹

C. C.

Wascissa 12 aug^t 1829

MY DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 26th ulto by the last mail. Your not being able to com-

¹ James Gadsden (1788–1858), a member of an eminent South Carolina family, had served in the army as aid-de-camp to General Jackson. Retiring, he had now become a planter in Florida. Subsequently he was president of the South Carolina Railroad, and negotiated the Gadsden Treaty of 1853.

ply with the requests contained in my communication of a previous date was of no consequence, as it seems the office of Secretary for the Territory was filled before the application of any Individuals from this quarter could be submitted to the Executive of the U States. I regret it, not that the Person appointed¹ may not be very meretorious and fully equal to the duties of the station to which advanced, but that the people of this Territory, like the citizens of the States generally, feel very sensitive on the subject of having their public officers sent from abroad. It brings more home to them their colonial condition, and increases that restlessness which too many of them manifest on that subject. In the early organisation of our government These appointments from abroad were unavoidable, but since the increase of our strength by a population that would not lose in character and intelligence, by a comparason with that of older communities; it would be more gratifying to have those who are to administer our laws and protect our rights selected from those who are acquainted with our wants and resources. There is another subject which has likewise given much dissatisfaction to a very respectable, though limited portion of our population; That is the neglect of the old inhabitants in all the appointments made among us. It was bad policy not at once, by a proper confidence in their ability and patriotism, to have early convinced them that they had been received into the American family. You will excuse my enlarging on these topics; I have done so, that if concurring in opinion with me, you may lend your influence to have the qualifications and character of applicants from the Territory weighed in the same scale with those from other quarters.

I thank you for the flattering expressions of your wishes in relation to my political prospects. You may be assured that neither myself or friends are dispirited. We are contending for *principle* in the triumph of which we have every confidence. Indeed the day would have been with us at the late conflict; but for a manoeuvre to split the votes by a third candidate, and for the appeal made at the last moment to the *good*, I should say in political affairs [the] *weak*, feelings of a

¹ James D. Westcott, jr., of New Jersey, a clerk in the Department of State; afterward U. S. senator.

community by the present incumbent.¹ His character was at stake and he threw himself upon the humanity of his constituents to save him from the odium which the loss of election would render inevitable. A sufficient number were operated on to turn the scale; [and] send him back to Washington the representative of a minority of the People of Florida.

It would afford me pleasure to hear often from you and I would esteem it as a favor if during the session of Congress you would forward me copies of all public documents that would be interesting. The Reports of the Heads of Departments would be particularly acceptable to

Yours ob

JAMES GADSDEN.

*From J. H. Hammond.*²

Silver Bluff 9th Feb 1840

MY DEAR SIR: I have never been at a loss for sound reasons to justify your course during the political fluctuations of the last two or three years. The various constructions placed upon it by your opponents have not for a moment imposed upon me. The only anxiety I have felt was to know precisely what you had done and how far you had gone. When these points were correctly ascertained, I have always found you to be where I expected and in my judgment where you should be. If I had felt any great uneasiness from the late rumours and any fear that you were committing yourself to the extent reported, your letter would have afforded me ample relief. To many who look back a few years it may appear strange to see you acting with the Democratic Party. But they are superficial observers. Your—I may say our alliance with the Whigs—for I was on the field then—was merely accidental and wholly temporary. There was more [in] common between us and the Democrats, than between us and the Whigs. The latter are the successors of the great Federal and anti Southern

¹ Joseph M. White of Pensacola, delegate from the territory of Florida, 1825-1837.

²Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

Party and had hardly any tie in common with us, except that of opposition to the high handed measures of one man. He has passed away, and although we cannot all at once rush into the arms of his immediate friends, the advisers, supporters and beneficiaries of his obnoxious measures, still the bond of union with the other party is dissolved and we are left free to adopt independant opinions upon all questions: to hold the balance if we can, and to incline it if we choose towards our ancient friends. Time which blunts the deepest injuries should be allowed certainly to soften political asperities and if it may not soon restore perfect confidence, it will certainly justify a renewal of the ordinary courtesies of society. These opinions I entertained when I was at Washington as strongly as I do now, and few things in relation to individuals at least, have occurred which I did not then in some measure anticipate. I do not know that my opinion of any single individual in public life has undergone a shade of change, except as regards Mr. Van Buren, and I must confess he has grown upon me every way. I think more of his abilities and certainly more of his moral qualities. Still he has not as yet my entire confidence. Between him and Harrison or Clay I do not think I should have ever hesitated even at the last election. To most of his leading measures I have given a most hearty approval. In fact I have found little to disapprove. Yet being a Proclamation and Force bill man, I do not think it would become South Carolina, or the men most conspicuous in the support of her doctrines at that day, to give a devoted, unreserved, indiscriminating adhesion to his administration. It would not look well in history. A fair and honest support of his just measures could not compromise us, nor will it give him the vote of the state if it is at all likely that any man liable to the same objections, and far more removed from us in general political principles may succeed in consequence of throwing our vote away.

The reform of the Government to which you have devoted yourself so long, I almost despair of. Circumstances conspire to render this the most favourable moment for it, certainly since my recollection. If you can succeed in establishing any thing like a permanence for the balance of power which you now hold, it may be done. Whether the next election will

enable you to do it or not, you can much better judge than I can. I fear the decided preponderance of either party, should be glad to see them balanced forever pretty much as they are in this congress.

You say nothing of your health—I trust it is entirely restored. I lost much in not being able to converse freely and at large with you last summer as I wished to do. I wish I could promise myself a visit to Pendleton this summer but I fear my business will carry me in a different direction. In the meantime an occasional letter denoting the passing changes if not too much trouble to you would be highly acceptable.

J. H. H.

From J. H. Hammond.¹

Silver Bluff 29th April. 1840

MY DEAR SIR: I did not receive your letter of the 2nd inst^t until a few days ago owing to its being in the newspaper bag I presume. It is perfectly true as you say that in consequence of the fortunate organisation of our State Constitution we have been in the main freed from local parties. But perfect harmony is not the lot of any body politic however organised, for it is inconsistent with the nature of man. We have been agitated as much as any other state by divisions having reference to Federal politics and I see no reason to suppose we shall be soon exempt from them. The great question of State rights and consolidation has divided us from the foundation of the Government to the present day, under various names and must continue to do so. The last conflict between the friends of these two doctrines under the names of nullifiers and Union men, resulted in such a complete overthrow of the latter as to produce the nearest possible approach to Unanimity that men are capable of. The excitement of the contest over, the triumphant party being too large to hold together under ordinary circumstances divided. The minority taking

¹ Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond. The canvass which is discussed in this and the succeeding letters resulted in the election of Col. John P. Richardson as governor of South Carolina for the term 1840-1842; Hammond was governor from 1842 to 1844.

advantage of every division have gradually risen into sufficient strength to contend again for the supremacy. They profess no change in any of their past opinions, but on the contrary claim every new accession of strength and attribute [it] to the soundness of their principles, and the other patrons of the Union almost unanimously concur in the same view of it. This is I think our real situation. And the contest now for the Executive chair is neither more or less than a struggle between State Rights and consolidation for ascendancy in S. C. I know very well that the Union men profess to be States Rights men and repudiate consolidation and that the great party to which they belong do. So they all did in thirty two—three, with equal vehemence, when the Force Bill was passed and preparations made to coerce the State with arms. Professions are one thing principles another and our party has recognized the distinction all along by declaring war upon or at least keeping aloof from those who were loudest in proclaiming their devotion to state Rights as explained by the Proclamation. I am not one of those who push any matter to unnecessary extremes. I never have pushed party warfare beyond the limits which principle rigidly demanded. In the present instance, hoping that it would not be necessary for the continued triumph of our principles to unseal the fountains of bitterness, I have exhorted my friends not to answer the violent articles of our opponents and have held back articles already written untill I fear I have endangered our cause. But I do not believe that it is in my power were I ever so much disposed, or in any man to dry *those fountains up*. The Union and nullification parties bear relations to each other that have not existed between any two parties in our Country since the revolution. They have stood opposed in arms. And prepared to shed each others blood, the one for, the other against their native State in a struggle for all she held dear nay for her very existence. The Union men carried the matter to the very last and blackest die of treason. They invited a foreign enemy to our shore and received arms and commission at their hands. These things can never be forgotten. The mass of those two parties can never exist together except as the conquered and the conquerors. And were the present elections submitted to a popular vote, no man doubts that I should solely on the

ground of principle carry an overwhelming majority over the combined vote of my opponents.

Whatever the leaders of our party may do at the present moment every body knows that the Union party will adhere together as one man and support either of the Union candidates in preference to a nullifier. There will be Union men in the Legislature from States Rights districts who will not go with them. But they will otherwise pretty unanimously go for either of their Candidates rather than for me for the obvious purpose of putting their party in power. The only effect then of endeavouring to produce a pacification now will be to disband our party and surrender ourselves an easy prey to them. There could not be a more effectual way to aid Col Richardson's election than to urge this measure. In fact it is the only possible way in which he can be elected. I throw mere personal claims in which Judge Johnson is vastly superior to both of us, entirely out of the question. Col R's election however will be but the first consequence that will [follow] surrender of our power. Judge J. will certainly succeed him. Indeed I am not at all sure that if the pretended pacification is effected he will not beat Col. R. He is, it is pretty well understood, the favourite of the Union party and I believe more palatable to the nullifiers, who if they can swallow his unrepudiated Union doctrines and Union measures will not strain at his disavowed Bank and Clay propensities. The general impression is however that Col R can divide our party more than Judge J., and on that account he is pushed. At the next election we will not be considered at all and the Union men will indulge themselves to the full. The vacancy for the Senate will be filled by Judge Hug[h]es. This is a thing they have much at heart and Elmore Rhett and the whole host of nullifiers who have been designated for the office will be disappointed. I could name candidates for all the probable vacancies to come. A most thorough revolution in our State will occur beyond doubt.

But the consequences are by no means to stop here. Situated as we now are our State commands the respect and the admiration of the whole Union and by her gallant struggle in thirty two-three has laid the foundation of a renown which must go on increasing forever while she faithfully adheres to

the glorious principle for which she fought. This has given her immense influence, not in the elections of the federal Government, where numbers only count, but over its measures. An influence worth more than all the official honours of the government, which can only be maintained by a lofty and uncompromising devotion to principle and which will be speedily lost by any other course. At the next session of the Legislature we shall be called on to vote for M^r V Buren for President. A Proclamation and Force Bill man whom we have covered with every opprobrious epithet our language could afford. It is a bitter pill. His professions are fair and for nearly four years his conduct has been nearly unexceptionable, but more far more than this—he is in every way more nearly allied to us in principle than his opponent and we may justify at least excuse ourselves on the ground that he is a choice of evils. Still we shall not escape without some abatement of admiration and of influence of the kind we most desire. But if at the very same session we should here at home abandon those who have been with us in every difficulty and are yet with us in every principle, to vote for another Proclamation and Force Bill man for Governor of So Car. who has actively supported every measure of his party and recants nothing now, how can we expect to retain the high station we hold in the Union. We shall be scoffed and sneered at from one end of it to the other. We shall be charged with not only surrendering our doctrines but of endeavouring to obliterate every trace of them in order to purchase favours from abroad. The influence of S. C. such as it may be will no longer rest on the exalted ground of uncorruptable devotion to her principles, but to the paltry estimate of her numerical strength in the confederacy, and that influence trifling as it must be will be swept away entirely from the old State Rights Party. And more than this these scoffs and these charges will be incorporated in history and handed down to our posterity. Since the last war the event which must figure incomparably the most in our annals is the nullification of S. C. Do what we may hereafter the reputation of our State and of her rulers for the time—yourself the foremost of them, is identified with it beyond the power of fate to separate them. Should the power of the state be thus thrown into the hands

of those who actually took up arms against that measure while it is yet acknowledge[d] that those who supported it have still a clear ascendancy, will it not be writing as it were with our own hands in the page of history that in seven short years so unsound had it proved and so odious had it become that we voluntarily renounced it and sought to banish it from the memory of man by the most humiliating exhibitions of repentance. If our principles were so odious and we ever doubted they were sound, situated as we are we might be well justified in cherishing their ascendancy in our stronghold here. But believing as we do that they are the great principles on which the foundations of our government repose and by which alone civil liberty can be preserved, ought we not to pause and ponder deeply ere we surrender that ascendancy—their only chance of final triumph.

You very justly remark that we are now to carry out the fruits of our noble achievement of thirty two—three. And with the prospect ahead for the agitation of the tariff war and other questions, it seems to me that every care should be taken that S. C. should be shorn of none of her moral influence—much less called on to defend inconsistency and her integrity. Yet how can we expect to carry out our great achievement by placing in power at home as well as abroad the very men over whom the glorious victory was gained? or how to escape the heaviest reproaches for such an uncalled for and extraordinary course. It is true that, each party marching on its line of direction, we have met in the support of one important measure. If that measure constituted the very essence of all our differences there is no reason why we should at once invest our opponents with the chief command, not only in the federal, but State Government. But every body knows that important as that measure is, and the principles which it involves, it involves none of a tithe of the magnitude of those which have divided us. There is no telling at what moment we shall separate again—soon we must. The next days march will place us as far apart as ever. Your experience will no doubt furnish you with many instances of the fatal consequences of putting trust in these accidental and temporary conjunctions of opponents. Confidence too wantonly lavished is despised and will be certainly betrayed.

In touching on this subject I cannot refrain from saying what I think even at the hazard of appearing to magnify the contest and myself and of wishing to draw you into it. I fear to make any more professions that such is not my aim, or the personal indifference I feel about this or any other office. To time, the only true expounder of events, I leave the matter. . . .

From J. H. Hammond.¹

May 4, 1840

MY DEAR SIR Circumstances had placed us in alliance (connection rather) with the Democratic party of the country, tho' we professed at the same time to be of a higher school of democracy, one of fixed principle and incompatible faith. We had not only come to their assistance in the hour of peril and gallantly rescued them from certain ruin, altho' we had long been the object of their peculiar venom, but to prove the sincerity with which we acted towards them, had proposed to relax our past policy and instead of throwing away the vote of S. C. as usual, to give it to their leader for the Presidency. This was doing a great deal. More than they would have done for us—more than they could have had the boldness to ask of us. It was doing enough. To place their men in power every where, to unite with them thoroughly and as a party in all their measures, was to obliterate all the lines of distinction so carefully drawn and identify ourselves with the great rabble of democracy and be swept away in the common current. The Democratic party are notoriously* fickle and their leaders for the most part treacherous. These are the failings which prevent them from controlling the world at once and forever. When the next change of measures, the next tergiversation of men occurred what were we to do? We could not draw off our forces and form them again where we stood before. It would be like "calling spirits from the vasty deep." They would not come. No man could expect to see men marched and countermarched in this way to meet every turn of policy or even principle. The leader who does

¹ Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

must often find himself without followers. It would take years to form another band such as had been thus thoughtlessly dissolved and all the time we should have been floundering along in the impure current of corrupt democracy.

Every President that we have yet had has devoted his last term to the election of his successor. So will M^r V B beyond a doubt. I have as little doubt that we shall be called on to oppose his selection and that the greater part of the next five years we shall be in opposition. He is now playing for us because we are necessary to him. We shall not be necessary to, but in the way of his nominee, and a very different game will be played after his re-election. But how would we be prepared to oppose him if we surrendered our citadel to his Subalterns and disbanded our forces? On what ground could we rally? Whom summon to our standard? We should be disarmed, dispersed, and powerless. Our principles dishonoured, our chiefs corrupted or forgotten. . . .

From J. H. Hammond.¹

31 May 1840

MY DEAR SIR I am almost ashamed to continue any further the discussion of the question connected with Gov. election, altho' I have made as little mention of myself as possible and examined the matter precisely as I would have done had some other person occupied my position, still I am aware that everything I urge will be naturally and perhaps justly suspected of a bias towards my own interest and would therefore come with more force from any other person than myself. Having been led on by your friendly appreciation of my views and motives to speak very freely and fully to you, I feel that it is in some sort due to myself to reply to some points in your last letter. You seem to think that I am for reviving the old party distinctions and bringing them to bear in the present election. I have perhaps not been sufficiently explicit on this point. I do not wish to revive but merely to

¹Text derived from a copy kept by Governor Hammond and lent to the editor by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

maintain the old party distinctions as they have existed up to the present moment. My object is purely conservation. I do not think that sound policy any more than good taste require we should *agitate* the State Rights doctrines at this time. But I do think that both require us, as does every consideration of past association and future prosperity, to maintain their ascendancy in S. C. quietly but freely and undoubtedly. There are periods in the career of parties as in the lives of men, when they should rest on their position, and wait for events to come up to them. Parties as well as men must inevitably fail if forever in action. But at these periods of respite Care must be taken that no ground is lost. That what we have won is amply maintained and converted in[to] a base for further operations at the proper juncture. If we waver or retreat we have done and suffered for nothing—but if we take another step and when convinced that it is an unpropitious period to press our fortunes from the mere love of excitement or habit of action, we enlist in the cause of our opponents and press theirs, we commit suicide at once. My object has been to explain to you my conviction, that while we could repose safely on the ground which the State Rights party has won, to vote for Mr V. B. would be barely not a retreat while to elect Col Richardson would be a clear case of *felo de se*. There is some jumble of figures here but I think you cannot now mistake my idea.

You say you doubt the practicability and expediency of drawing and maintaining the party lines of 1832. If my views are correct the question of practicability and expediency belong to the other side of the argument. Is it practicable to break down the lines which it is now for the first time attempted to do? They ask the change; they should prove that it can be done and will prove beneficial. Up to this period these lines have been uniformly prescribed. No Union man has yet been elected to any prominent office. I do not remember a single office in the gift of the Legislature which has yet been filled by an union. I do not believe they have yet offered a candidate for a high office. They would not have ventured to offer one for Gov. or if they had he would have been rejected of course but for the intrigue on the part of the nullifiers themselves to surrender the State into their hands as I

verily believe and as I generally believed for ulterior purposes at home and abroad. As to the expediency of this amalgamation, this one sided peace as it would prove, I have already expressed myself very fully to you and every days observation and reflection confirms my views. There are two courses for men parties, corporations or any identical political bodies however designated, to pursue in public affairs. One is to trust to the attachment of friends without reward and to endeavour to obtain success by conciliating and purchasing opponents. The other is to cherish friends, to adhere to old associations, to nurse the cause and its supporters thro' good and thro evil report and to look for triumph from the goodness of the cause and the unwavering fidelity with which it is maintained. The first course, not to go back further in history, was strongly illustrated by the Stuarts. This example should be enough. They fell ultimately in the cause of the Catholic religion and yet the Pope himself is said to have favoured the expulsion of James the second, so inconsistent and vascillating had the adoption of the maxim of his family made him. George the first on the other hand threw himself entirely into the hands of the Whigs, and the house of Brunswick could never have established itself on the English throne but for the firmness and fidelity with which the two first Georges adhered to their own party. In our own Country the two Adams have rewarded their opponents by allowing them to hold offices; both of them fell in a single term, while Jefferson and Jackson who took care of their friends and left their enemies to take care of themselves, became founders of dynasties. What but a deep conviction of the wisdom of this course could induce Mr. V. B.—who is profound in the knowledge of human nature, to appoint that miserable creature Niles to the office of Post Master General. The fidelity of men to parties and to one another, has in it under all circumstances something in it that meets the universal approval of mankind and is the foundation of individual success; of all triumph of principles. What has destroyed Mr. Clay but that, trusting to his position in the West and with the South, he has ever been aiming to form an unnatural alliance with the North, until he has at length, as a public man, lost the confidence of all, and but for his personal qualities, his private fidelity to friends, would have sunk ere this

into universal execration. The State Rights party of which you have so long been the head, rests all its hopes of ultimate success upon its unblenching and eternal faith, a faith which may sometimes blaze into enthusiasm, but must never subside so far as to be doubted by others, much less by ourselves. This is the worldly armour of a good cause, and it is in vain to look for triumph without its use. Events do not always follow closely upon causes. Erect, undaunted, firmly maintaining the ground that we have won, let us bide our time. If impatient of success we seek for foreign allies, divide ourselves and fall into the ranks upon whose standard victory seems to have perched himself, the triumph is not for our day. To other times and other hands it must be left, while we shall have only the consciousness of having done and suffered much for a noble cause and at last betrayed it for want of the highest degree of moral courage.

You say you are not disposed to merge our party in the two great parties of the day. I am sure you are sincere. Yet how is it possible to avoid it if we throw ourselves into the contest for Mr Van Buren as there seems to be a disposition to do and as the Union Party (or the portion of them which is supposed to act with us) is resolved to do and at the same time surrender the helm of State to a man whose whole public career has been strictly partisan and opposed to us. I do not think there is another candid man in S. C. who will express a doubt that the election of Col R under the circumstances would be a complete and thorough merging of our party forever. He does not come into our ranks or claim promotion *as one of us*. But distinctly demands it as an allied leader on the ground that the two parties have been merged into each other. It is so universally understood. It is so universally talked of. And I think any interpretation of the proposal as amounting to any thing else would be warmly repudiated by them who made it—the State Rights friends of Col R. The common sense may not always be the correct one, but is very difficult to alter or get over it when wrong and in this case I must say I think it is right. And were I to pursue public life with a view to personal success, I should in the case of Col R's election regulate my course precisely as if the State Rights party were extinct and its principles in abeyance for our day.

For to S. C. it is looked to maintain them. If she falters others fly. If she yields all is over. Our taking such a part in the Presidential election as merely to vote will I know be regarded abroad as a merger of our party. But if we maintain ourselves in it at home, and give that vote coldly, we can when the storm is over, easily rectify our standing. At least we can do it, I believe. I cannot tell how easily. I am willing to incur that risk, if it is thought advisable, tho as to our being considered "impracticable" and all that if we do not do, would [not] influence my opinion. It is too late to consider that. We took our course long ago and have borne the odium. To change it now without sufficient reason would but increase that odium, by putting the seal of our own reprobation on our conduct. . . .

*From Duff Green.*¹

Baltimore Aug. 21st. 1840

DEAR SIR It is no longer possible for you to mistake the signs of the times. I have given you too many proofs of my affection, I will not say friendship, for you to doubt my desire to serve you. Had you been advised by me in 1831 you would have been the Candidate in opposition to Gen^l Jackson and elected and the country saved the misery and the disgrace which followed. Had you been advised by me you would have been at the head of the present movement and at this moment the most popular man in the United states. It is yet my desire to serve you and if you give me your confidence, and improve on my suggestions it will yet be in your power to trample over your enemies and serve your Country. I enclose you a letter to Col. Chas. S Todd, Gen Harrison's confidential friend. Harrison understands Clay. He will be pressed by so many who want office that he will be glad to fall back on you if you and your friends act discreetly from this forward. The Editor of the Mercury and the papers most friendly to you ought to moderate their tone towards him, and the result will be that before Harrison's [election]

¹ Text derived from a copy kept by General Green and lent to the editor by Mr R. P. Maynard.

the asperity of the present canvas will be gone and you will have recovered even with many of the Whig party your popularity. For you the election of Harrison opens the brightest prospects you have ever had. If the SubTreasury bill is not repealed, at the next session, Harrison will rejoice at your coming to his aid to sustain him by a prudent use of the Government Credit and you can rally strength in the present congress to keep things as they are. It will be difficult to repeal the bill and Harrison will have no desire to take up the bank question. He will prefer the use of the Gov^t. credit and you will find aid in quarters that you do not expect, if you put yourself at the head of that movement. As to the hard money movement that is at an end.

I have much better opportunities of judging of your position and true interest than any of those who give you other advice. It is useless to speak of the past. We must look to the future. I do not believe that VanBuren will receive a single vote unless you are mad enough to give him the vote of South Carolina, but I cannot believe that you will commit suicide as this would be.

Your friend

DUFF GREEN

*From J. H. Howard.*¹

c. c.

Columbus Ga Octr 27th 41

MY DEAR SIR I recd your letter a few days ago and concur with you fully in the opinion that our candidate for the Presidency should be selected from the Southern wing of the Party, if we expect a full restoration of the Power of the constitution. I believe also that so soon as the subject is agitated, that it is indispensable to the success of our views that we should be upon the alert and present our claims in advance of any other; but I hope it may be in the Power of those who with you have the great interests of the country more at heart than the elevation of any particular individual to the chief magistracy to postpone for a time the *Public* consideration of

¹ Maj. J. H. Howard, of Columbus, was one of the most prominent supporters of Calhoun in Georgia.

this important question. Although I am fearful that your apprehensions are too well founded and that it may be difficult if not impracticable to prevent this matter from being pressed upon the country, yet if it can be avoided my judgment approves the postponement, not only because the peace and quiet of the country should be consulted by a relaxation from party excitement which the stability of the government demands, but that the Whigs, now beaten and on the retreat, may not be ready to rally by the accession of some of our disappointed corps whose defection might be developed the moment that they discovered by a nomination that their claims were likely to be overlooked. I fear also that the present incumbent *now* playing for, and somewhat expecting the support of the democracy, would change his policy and throw himself entirely into the arms of the opposition by which they would be enabled to establish their Bank and through its power and corruptions together with the aid of the spoilsmen of both parties greatly increase the difficulty of ejecting them from office. If our friends could abstain from the agitation of the question until we have a decisive majority in congress rendering us independent of the President upon the Subject of the Bank a selection might then be made without encountering so much danger; ours is rather a fickle people and though the indications show the popular voice to be now in our favor the defections occasioned by the disappointment of personal expectation added to the instability of our executive would greatly weaken our present flattering prospects; if however the consideration of this subject cannot be averted we have no alternative, we must move simultaneously at least, but in advance if possible of any other branch of democratic party and though we may fail of success, such movement will have the effect of rallying a strong and honest division of the party to keep in check those who though democrats themselves may yet not be regarded as thorough as ourselves. . Now for the man. The claims of the present incumbent even if he should henceforth act with us which cannot be anticipated from his previous unsettled and ever varying policy, cannot be recognized for a moment; he has no qualification in my estimation which considered with the utmost liberality can recommend him to the favora-

ble consideration of a sound politician. There need be no apprehension that in any event any respectable number or section of the democratic party will divide from us in his favor, but still it is necessary to insure our final aid, that we (the democratic) should so deport ourselves towards him as to prevent his reunion with the whigs. When we become independent of his action by our majority which we anticipate at the next election, we may let him know that he has nothing to expect from us. In relation to Mr Van Burens claims I have but a word to say. That he is my second choice and I think the second choice of the people of the South, and if we could not succeed in securing your nomination which we would prefer it would be better to risk his prospects before Johnson or Benton or any other expectant. I am persuaded that he will act with a proper regard for himself and friends by withholding his name unless there existed more unanimity in bringing him again forward than can be again expected. We should if possible conciliate him as he is not only entitled to our sympathy and friendship but he has much in his power and can if he will turn the scale in our favor. This brings me to the manner in which our movement should be made. I would prefer that we should have no convention for the purpose but that Mr Van Buren if he can be brought into our interest together with your friends in New York, should make it through the legislature in that State; in the event of a failure there, then in Pennsylvania or Virginia provided it can be effected in either of them. We could I think with ease bring you forward by Georgia and I hope with perfect satisfaction and great unanimity of the party. I shall know better what can be done next week, but your nomination would carry more influence if made by either of the States before mentioned. Georgia or Alabama either had better take the lead than that your own state should be the first to express her preference; You have my views in all candour with the assurance that I desire such direction given to the matter, as will ensure the success of our purpose, and if it be necessary to attain that end, that we should move earlier than I have thought prudent. Dont because I have expressed my opinion, be the less free in the expression of your judgment in relation to the best policy. I have communicated with but two per-

sons, who both concur with me. I shall take your letter to me to Milledgeville and show it to a *few* friends. I go to-morrow night. Since I have without reserve given you the result of my reflections fully and freely, I hope you will not allow any motives of delicacy on account of the position you occupy to prevent you from communicating as freely and as candidly, though you may differ with me upon every point. I therefore request of you to give me as candidly your opinion of the *time* when our action should commence the *manner* of that action and the *State* in which it should be made. You may do this without restraint as none but *fast friends* shall have access to your communication and none but men of great prudence.

I am &c

J H HOWARD

*From Wilson Lumpkin.*¹

C. C.

Athens Ga Nov. 15th 1841.

MY DEAR SIR I have just arrived at home from Milledgeville, and finding it entirely out of my power to visit you before your departure for Washington, I proceed to give you the prospect of the result of the late change in publick opinion in regard to publick men and measures.

I have been at Milledgeville 8 or 10 days, have had free and full intercourse with my political friends, (in and out of the Legislature) from every part of the State—and I flatter myself that a patriotic and prudent spirit pervades the ranks of the Democratic party, and that a wise use will be made of the power recently gained. . . .

From the present aspect of affairs, there would seem to be no grounds for the slightest apprehension, that any prominent Whig of the present day, could ever become a special favorite with the people of Georgia. Clay is now obnoxious to all. Tyler has the confidence of but few, and the only hope of the *spoils men*, is the differences which may hereafter probably arise in the Republican ranks—Especially upon the question of the succession of the Presidency at the end of the present term.

¹ See Calhoun's letter of December 26, 1841, in Part I, *supra*, and the footnote on Lumpkin.

This question has not yet been openly discussed in Georgia, yet it is deeply agitated in the publick mind. and therefore comes into conversational discussion in every private Circle amongst political friends.

After the most extensive intercourse with our friends, and taking into view every consideration, it is the opinion of Howard, Black, Cooper and the whole Circle of your most devoted friends (including myself) that the time has not yet arrived for a general and publick agitation of the Presidential question. It is thought that the events of the approaching Session of Congress will afford developments, and exhibit publick sentiment, so as to give the most appropriate direction, in connection with this great and important movement. It is here proper for me to state, that I am now convinced that the larger portion of the Republican Party in Georgia, who investigate such subjects, are disposed to concentrate on *you* as their rallying point for the next Presidency. Yet, it is due to candor and frankness for me to state, that many of our friends, from their associations, and relative positions, have been looking in other directions. Therefore, it requires some time and great prudence, to conduct a matter of so much delicacy and deep interest.

Your friends however, are now fully alive to this subject. They will see that no advantage shall be unduly taken to misdirect the publick mind, and should the time for a general and open movement arrive sooner than is now expected, they will not suffer themselves to be taken by surprize.

Col. Howard shewed me your letter to him. Your last to me, I have shewn to no one—but spoke of our correspondence, and suggested such of your views as I deemed to be proper to communicate to your friends—omitting every thing that I thought was best to remain with myself alone. In conversation I have used many of the ideas and views contained in your last letter, adopting them as my own, without naming you at all, and I am pleased to have it in my power to state to you, that your general views, both in regard to men and measures, coincide with the great body of the patriotic Republican party. We are tired of selecting men for high Office, *merely* as available candidates. We go for cor-

rect *principles* and ability to sustain our principles. Patriotism in preference to Partyism. We see the evils which always accompany *restorations*. We believe that half way measures, will never produce the reform which we desire. We are in favor of Radical, Constitutional reform. To do less we believe will accomplish no permanent good.

As we cant have personal interviews, it might be well to correspond as fully and freely as time will allow. I promise faithfully to perform my share of the Correspondence.

I will keep you advised of passing events here.

I am Truly Yr. friend &c

WILSON LUMPKIN

From Jno. A. Stuart.

C. C.

Charleston Nov 19, 1841

DEAR SIR I have perhaps too long deferred answering your last letter, and to make sure that this reaches you I address it first to Columbia—to be forwarded if you are not there.

Mr. Rhett arrived a week after I received your letter and we had a full conversation with Col. Elmore,¹ who promised to write you but has been since so incessantly occupied with business that I find he has not done so. I also shewed your letter to some eight or ten others of our friends here, and have conversed very generally with the party here on the subject.

Mr. Rhett said he had a full conversation on the subject with you at Washington and has not since altered his views, and they are very much the same as those expressed by all your friends here.

All agree that we ought to rally for our principles upon some man who represents them fully, and that you are that man; and that when the proper time comes South Carolina will move for you *en masse*. There is no possibility of our being disappointed in this. No man of influence will dare resist the movement, for such man must have the intelligence to know that such resistance would crush him. But all agree

¹Franklin H. Elmore. See his letter of November 2, 1842, *post*.

that for this State to move now in a nomination would be ruinous. It would be as bad as to effect as if the nomination came from yourself or your immediate family. For such is the relation in which abroad the State and yourself are regarded; and such in fact is the feeling of our State, a feeling which no local division or internal State quarrel can impair. From similar considerations a nomination by Alabama would be scarce less objectionable. Georgia would be better, and a nomination thence would be a cheering symptom that old wounds were healed, but even that is too close home. A nomination from Virginia would come with great effect, but from Ohio, Maine or New Hampshire, if made undoubtedly by the majority of the Republicans of such state would be better than from any *Southern* State. Perhaps from one of these remote points a nomination can scarcely come too soon. But I should regret to see it hurried anywhere. Certainly it would do harm if made before the close of the Session of Congress at hand. I count upon every day of that session strengthening your already strong position. Your very position is virtually the most imposing nomination, without the disadvantages of a *formal* nomination.

To you as the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party must redound the credit of each of its coming triumphs in Congress. The longer therefore we keep together those whom your nomination might alienate, the better for our cause. While they fight with us harmoniously they are in fact fighting for and under you. You will have the advantage of fighting as an assailant all the while; not thrown upon the defensive and your moral power weakened by your being regarded as an open and avowed aspirant to the presidency, not giving ground to be accused therefore of having personal objects, and uncommitted to the defence of Mr Tyler and his party who will yet be compelled by the necessities of their weakness to work for us, and to come under our banner not to be leaders, but as fugitives seeking protection. Delay then must strengthen you, and I believe the close of the session will find you the acknowledged candidate of the Democrats in Congress, and a few months after of the party in general. I would not hazard retarding the progress of our cause, by too soon defying the sectional and personal jealousies which even

under the most favorable circumstances we must prepare to encounter. Let us keep them out of the field until our division of the party is so strong as to compel those who would avail themselves of such jealousies to be quiet for their own sake. When it is felt that the entire South almost is united upon *you*, as I anticipate it will be, and that every day is strengthening you at the North (as I am told by several intelligent men recently from the North) Democratic aspirants in that quarter will be cowed, and rally upon us. My wish may be father to the thought but I *do* think that we shall carry the party.

As to Mr Tyler, there is no danger of his drawing off any of the Democrats, and those but a very few of the spoils-men. In his timid subserviency to his Whig *friends* he has diminished his patronage fund, and as to taking him up on principle, he has not the respect or confidence of anybody in our ranks. I consider him out of the question. A man so evidently in the market, with principles for sale, can never rally a great party, or one even respectable. He will find this out in three months.

Mr Van Buren is more formidable. The triumph of the principles for which he suffered has given him a high place in the regard of the party; but he must see that another term could hardly add to his laurels, and might tarnish them,—that to be reelected¹ by acclamation would be a proud thing, but a mere reelection¹ not worth his risking a defeat for. His being coldly received now will discourage him: and a strong opposition from our side of the House drive him from the field. He will not risk a defeat. This being brought forward early will weaken him. It will be attributed to mere love of place, or selfish pride, a fighting for himself, and not for the cause as the first consideration—for to the cause nothing essential depends on his reelection: he can do nothing in office which any other trusted man in the party could not as well do. He will nowhere then be supported with enthusiasm: and though I find the rank and file in Charleston well enough content to vote for him as a matter of pride and as against the Whigs, there are very few who would not drop him with indifference, to take up with ardour a man of our own. No

¹ Renomination is evidently meant.

harm then can come from his being now put forward. His friends in New York have put out feelers and made demonstrations which have been coldly met. An attempt to nominate him at a Philadelphia meeting, called for the avowed purpose, proved a failure, and the resolutions were indefinitely postponed. I think it a good sign too that while certain Democratic presses at the North discuss the claims of Buchanan, Com. Stewart, Benton &c. your name is studiously suppressed. It looks as if they feared to carry their light near the powder barrel. I observe also that in the last Democratic Review, an eloquent eulogy adressed to him closes with the remark that though the writer would be *satisfied* to have him again elected, he does not *wish* him to be run, "is not in *favor* of his being named as a candidate."

On the whole then, let us prepare and wait. Let your friends in Congress this session concert movements in their respective States, and appoint the how and when of the movement. Your nomination by this State is stereotyped, and she need not move now. It would be fatal. It would at once be said "This is all that South Carolina and her Senator were aiming at all the time." The part of this State will be to return thanks to other States on your account, not to ask favors. No danger I think of her not striking when the iron is hot: but it would work great mischief to give a single stroke from any quarter before. I anticipate the time but a few months distant when the real State Rights party of the Union shall call upon you to lead them in such force as will ensure I trust the success of their candidate, and if not that at least the placing of our principles on such high ground as to compel the respect of the government.

I have, as you requested, written freely, and I fear you will find little in what I have written to repay you the trouble of reading this. The sum of the opinion I have given perhaps would have been better presented had I only said, that I concur with you in thinking that in the approaching Presidential election, we must fight for our principles with a candidate from our wing of the party, that I take it to be out of the question that any other than yourself should be that candidate, that every day strengthens you, that delay is not half as dangerous as haste must prove.

I think also that the rejection of our portion of the Distribution¹ will strengthen you, and that under the present aspect of affairs our State legislature should not be at all belligerent in its demonstrations. Our principles are in the ascendant through the Union. We expect to command in Congress, and it is better not to give either Whigs, or unfriendly and jealous Democrats occasion to scout at us for any seeming ultraism. We are known to be good Nullifiers without our always rattling our arms. We don't want muskets now, when the ballot box is about making the cartouche-box superfluous I trust.

Very respectfully Yrs

JNO A. STUART.

P. S. The Democrats have as a party so thoroughly committed themselves against a Tariff that to fight on that ground would kill off any Northern Democrat. M^r Buchanan then is out of the question, and M^r Van Buren must profess our principles in all their force, which will weaken him there with the Whigs, while those very principles will bring to you Whigs here, who never would take him up. Benton will withdraw Van Buren I think when he finds him coldly received.

The Democrats in general seem unwilling to commit themselves now, and the Whigs are afraid. The Fabian is our true policy this time also.

P. P. S. Your presence in Columbia will do good.

From Thomas Ritchie.²

C. C.

Richmond Nov 24, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR. I owe you many apologies for not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of your Letter, but I have been very much engaged; and you had so accurately defined the position of parties and anticipated the course of events, that I thought it less necessary to give you my own opinions.

¹ I. e., of the surplus revenues of the United States

² Thomas Ritchie (1778-1856), the famous editor of the *Richmond Enquirer* (1804-1845) and of the *Washington Union* (1845-1849).

The whirl[w]ind has indeed come since you wrote, and the results of all the Fall Elections have cowed the spirits of the Whigs. Their ranks are thrown into great confusion—and but for their majorities in both Houses of Congress, we might consider their great mongrel party as almost entirely prostrated. So long however, as they remain in possession of those two strongholds, we must regard the battle as only half won. We must look to the State Legislatures as the Citadels of the public liberty, as they were in 98 and 99, and from their efforts we must expect to counteract and arrest the encroachments of the Federal Whigs in Congress.

I can only undertake to express my own opinion in relation to the action of *our own Legislature*, for, I am yet unable to estimate the bearings of its members. But I hope, they will pass resolutions of instruction *against* a National Bank, and *for* the Repeal of the Distribution Act. Whether they will succeed is of course doubtful. The latter more so than the former, because the Distribution law addresses itself to so many *interests* of so many *sections* of the State, that it is difficult to estimate the extent of its seduction. The Friends of Education, of the South Western Road, of the James and Kanawha Improvement, of the last link in the central rail-road (from Fredericksburg to the Potomac) and others too tedious to enumerate, “will respectfully press their claims and pounce upon the Fund.” How far the public spirit of our Democratic members will be able to resist the interests of their Sections, it is impossible for me to say. The Education Convention which is to meet in this City on the 2nd Thursday of Dec^r may witness the first shock, but perhaps it may be put aside by the substitution of some other scheme (upon the model of N York and N England) for raising the necessary funds to improve our Elementary Schools. But it will not be so easy to lull the friends of Internal Improvement. Our State Treasury has not a spare Sous in it, and the example of our Sister States warn us against a further augmentation of our State Debt. Our wisest course will be never to borrow, at least for the States, unless we lay a tax to raise the means of paying the Interest on the debt. This was M^r Jefferson’s maxim, and we understand it is the course which our Acting Governor (Rutherford) is determined to chalk out in his

Annual Message. He, like all our distinguished Democrats, is opposed to the principle of the Distribution, and I should not be surprised, if in passing he gave it a little touch with that discretion, yet moderation which mark the man.

Your majority in the Legislature of S Carolina is stronger than ours in Virginia, and I hope they will not fail to take a decided part, and spurn the Distributable Fund from their lips. I look for a similar result from N York, for our friends have gone in *there* upon the high pressure principle, and we may expect from so large a majority a strong and towering tone.

Have we not sore reasons to fear from the flood tide of success, which has recently poured in upon us, a new danger? It is so difficult to *bear* Prosperity, so much easier to withstand Adversity, both in private life and public affairs, that we ought to practise upon the lessons which Experience sounds in our ears. We must use great wisdom and moderation, in the course of the next Session. We must avoid all excesses, either in measures, or in the conduct of men. We must adhere, in the first place, to our *principles*, upon which I agree with you most cordially, that every thing essentially depends. We must in the next place, keep our party united together, and fight as gallantly and as unitedly against a flying enemy, as we have done against his embattled legions. We must, in the third place, shun all causes of dissension, all clashings of private interest, all the struggles of aspiring ambition. The man who tries to think as little of himself as possible in these times (like Silas Wright) is in the best condition for serving his country, and ultimately of receiving the reward of his disinterestedness.

We do not yet exactly know what Mr Tyler proposes to do. I saw him on his late visit to this City. He looks well, is improved both in his dress and address, but I had no opportunity of opening up, as I wished, the high matter of the Fiscal Agency. We began upon it, but were soon interrupted by other visitors. I doubt much whether he had concocted any plan of his own, and I learn, that at Norfolk Mr Tazewell tried his wonted power of Analysis upon several projects, with which Mr Tyler had come to Virginia. His pockets filled with them like the Abbé Seiyes pigeon holes. But my

impression is, that he will prepare treasury notes in some form, and if he does, I trust he will invest them not only with the function of *receiveibility* for the public dues, but of immediate *convertibility* into specie at a few specified points. All however is clouds and darkness over Capt Tyler's fiscal plans. In *feeling* he is evidently more with us, than with the Clay Whigs, and also I believe in *principles*. But he has *now* (whilst his friends in Congress are *not* near him) some intriguing and adroit advisers around him, and I will not answer for the influences which they will put in play upon him.

Yours truly,

THOMAS RITCHIE.

*From Duff Green.*¹

Paris 24th January 1842

MY DEAR SIR When I last wrote to you, I had not seen Mr. Stevenson's correspondence with the British Government² nor the reports from the heads of the departments at Washington. I have since I came here satisfied myself that under the pressure of the public debt, England finds it impossible to maintain her commercial and manufacturing superiority, because she cannot raise cotton, sugar &c as cheap in India as it can be raised in the United States, Cuba and Brazil, and that her war on slavery and the slave trade is intended to increase the cost of producing the raw material in the United States, Brazil and Cuba, that she can sell to other rival manufacturing, continental powers, the product of her East India possessions cheaper than they can purchase from us. If she can do this, having the power to compel her East India subjects to purchase her manufactures and her's alone, she can—through her manufactures—command the supply of raw material and thus compel rival manufacturing nations to pay her tribute while she in a great measure controls the manufacture itself. This is part of her policy. Do we not see one fourth of her Iron manufactures now idle? and why?

¹Text derived from a copy kept by General Green and lent to the editor by Mr. R. P. Maynard.

²Presumably the correspondence of Andrew Stevenson, U. S. minister in London, with Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen, concerning foreign duties on American rice. House Document 2, Twenty-seventh Congress, second session

because she says the supply exceeds the demand, and do you not believe, that if it comes to a question of whether her spinning jennies or those of Continental Europe or of the United States shall stand idle, she will hesitate as to which is to be employed? or that having the command of the raw material she will fail as to means to accomplish her purpose.

Under this aspect of the case you will find that England has much more than a work of benevolence in the suppression of the slave trade.

She has the alternative of repealing her own corn-laws and abolishing her protective duties—or of enforcing her present colonial policy by stratagem or war.

If she goes to war there will be great danger—that it will end in the emancipation of her colonies—and that this will be followed by the abolition of her national debt and protective duties, if it does not end in the reorganisation of society, the entire prostration of the present Aristocracy and a modification of the present prerogatives of the Crown.

Under these aspects of the case I am satisfied that our only hope of peace rests in being well prepared for war, and that the first measure is such an organisation of the financial condition of the Treasury as that we can use the credit of the Government at home. We have nothing to expect from Europe, at least for some time to come.—I was introduced to Baron Rothschild by Gen^l. Cass¹ at a diplomatic dinner and speaking of the question which now absorbs all circles, the probability of war between England and America, he said to me, “But how can you go to war? you can get no money. I received a letter to-day from my correspondent in London inquiring to know, whether the United States could borrow money on the Continent and my reply was not a dollar.” He proceeded to say to me “You may tell your government, that you have seen the man who is at the head of the finances of Europe and that he has told you—that they cannot borrow a dollar, not a dollar.”

I then explained to him that there had been a systematic effort on the part of England to depreciate the credit of the United States—that her purpose was to compel those conti-

¹ U. S. minister to France, 1836-1842.

mental powers of Europe, as well as the United States, who are engaged in rival manufactures, to depend on her East India Colonies for the raw material; and therefore the war with us would be a war on the manufacturing states of Europe, that we had within ourselves all the elements of war, that we had six hundred steamboats on a single river, and that so far from having anything to fear from England, we did not fear to go to war with England with Europe at her back, but that Europe would have a common interest with us, that by the use of Exchequer bills, convertible into six per cents we could command men, ships and munitions of war, he said, "yes you may get men and ships, but such is the character of your state debts, that the United States cannot borrow a single dollar in Europe"—this was before dinner. After the dinner was over, he came to me and urged me to come and see him and converse with him on this subject. He said, "You may be able to go to war, but you must get the means at home."

After he went away Gen^l. Cass remarked, that he had had a long conversation with me and was impressed with its importance. I have not yet gone to see him, but I purpose to prepare for the "*Review des deux-mondes*" the leading European Review, an article in which I will demonstrate the purposes of England so plain, that I am confident that there will be a powerful reaction in our favor.

Do you not see that this is a war upon the commerce and manufactures of New England, through our domestic institutions and that this is the time to unite all parties and all sections in their support? If England be defeated in the present movement, she has no alternative but to fall back on free trade; there is a strong party in England who are in favor of free trade—and thus the manufacturing continental states will unite with the south in a common support of your long cherished measure of free trade. But permit me to urge on you that altho' I believe this can be accomplished without war, the only means of doing it, is to be prepared for war; and that under this aspect of the case, I feel a deep anxiety to learn, that you are acting in concert with the administration on the measure of finance.

I consider this the most important crisis of your active and eventful life. When I remember the many times you again and again explained to me that the great end of your labours was to establish for the United States a free trade; and reflect—that it is, as I verily believe it is—now in your power, by uniting with the President and those of your own personal friends, who are in his cabinet and united with him, in perfecting the Exchequer bill—to accomplish not only free trade for the United States but for the greater part of the civilized world, I can not permit myself to believe that you will not tender your advice and cooperation, and believing that by your advice and cooperation the measure can be made efficient, I can not permit myself to fear its failure. . . .

*From James K. Polk.*¹

C. C.

Columbia Tenn. Feb^y. 23^d. 1842

DEAR SIR I have received under your frank, your late speech on the Treasury Note Bill for which I thank you. You have truly stated the question at issue to be that we must increase the duties or curtail expenditures, and have abundantly demonstrated that the latter is not only the true policy, but that it is practicable without injury to any branch of the public service. I have but little hope however that the ruling majority in Congress will adopt it. The increased and increasing expenditures, the loan and distribution acts of the Extra Session, left no doubt in my mind that their ultimate object was another protective tariff. The estimated expenditures of *thirty-two millions* for the present year, the further loan—at your present Session—and the direct movements in the House upon the subject of the tariff, plainly show that such is their object. I hope you may be able successfully to resist these ruinous measures until another Congress can be chosen. That the next Congress will change and reverse the policy of the majority in the present Congress I do not entertain a doubt. The great revolution in public opinion, which has already taken place and is still going on, gives the most absolute

¹ James K. Polk (1795-1849) had been for fourteen years a member of the House of Representatives, and for four years its speaker. He was now in private life.

assurance that the next Congress will curtail expenditures and in this respect bring the Government back to the policy for which you are contending. Of the public opinion in this State I can speak with certainty. The systems of measures adopted by the party in power, at the Extra Session and followed up at the present Session of Congress, is decidedly odious—not only to the Democratic party but to a large portion of the Whigs. The people of this State are by a very decided and large majority opposed to a tariff of protection, to the distribution act which they regard as a tariff measure, to a funded debt or a debt in any other form, and to the present expenditures, which they regard as unnecessarily large; whilst the *Bankrupt or rather insolvent law* is openly denounced by the body of all parties, not having a single advocate, except those who expect to take advantage of it to be freed from their debts, and a few reckless political leaders. At our last elections in August, these obnoxious measures had not been sufficiently developed to be known, and the people acted in view of the liberal promises of *relief and reform* which had been made to them. They are disappointed and dissatisfied. They now find that they have been deceived, and only await another opportunity to speak at the polls, to vindicate and maintain their true principles. If the President remains firm upon the Bank question, and I cannot doubt but that he will, the mischievous effects of the other measures of the party in power can be readily corrected hereafter.

There is a matter of local interest now before the Senate, about which I feel some solicitude, and to which I beg to call your attention. It is the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. *Claiborne* as Marshall of Middle Tennessee. He is an honest man and one of high intelligence. He was a Representative in Congress in 1816–7, and is probably known to you personally. From a reverse of fortune he is now in a situation to need the emoluments of the office. The rumor here is, that his nomination will be opposed in the Senate on party grounds. There can be no other possible objection to him. May I ask your attention to his case.

I am Very Respectfully your ob^d sev^t

JAMES K. POLK

From Duff Green.

C. C.

London Aug^t 2nd. 1842

MY DEAR SIR I have been a close observer of events here and have had access to the most accurate sources of intelligence. There are a few facts which deserve your most serious consideration.

The Whigs went out of power and Sir Robert Peel came in on two propositions—the first to admit slave grown sugar in competition with British Colonial sugar, and the other a fixed duty on corn. Sir Robert Peel in the debate on the sugar duties last year avowed that the purpose of this Government is to promote the abolition of slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the U. States and Lord Brougham openly advocated his bill forbidding British Subjects to purchase slaves on the ground that England having abolished slavery, and thereby raised the price of labor in her colonies was bound as an act of justice to her Colonial subjects to abolish slavery elsewhere.

The Abolitionists of Texas have deputed a M^r. Andrews¹ as an agent, with a proposition to this Government for a loan to be applied to the purchase and emancipation of the slaves of Texas and Lord Aberdeen told M^r. Smith² the Texian Chargé that the British Gov^t deem it so important to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States that they were disposed to support the loan if it should be required to prevent annexation.

It is now understood that the Queen is willing to reinstate the Whigs whenever Lord Melbourne says to her that Lord John Russell can organise a Government that can retain power and such a Government is in the progress of organisation. Lord Melbourne to occupy the same relation to the new Government that the Duke of Wellington now does to Sir Robert Peel's and his brother to be Sec. for foreign affairs. Lord John Russell to be premier. C. Wood (Lord Grey's son-in-law) President of the Board of Trade, M^r. F. Baring Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In this state of things Sir Robert Peel is disposed to fold his arms and let events take their course; Becoming satisfied that

¹ Stephen Pearl Andrews, noted as an abolitionist agitator and as one of the founders of modern phonography

² Dr. Ashbel Smith. See his note of July 31, 1843, *post*.

he will not now do what he was anxious to do last year I resolved if I could to make his American policy one of the points on which the new Ministers are to come in. I therefore obtained an introduction to Lord John Russell and had a full conversation on American Affairs and told him that I wished him to [make] up an issue with Ministers. He promised me to do so—and you will see in the Times which I will endeavor to send you, that he is the only speaker, on the side of the opposition, who touched on the subject of America in the debate on the state of the Nation.

I explained to Lord John Russell and to several who are to be his associates in the new ministry the relation of parties in the United States and the bearing which the slave question has on our policy. I am assured by them that during the recess of Parliament they will assail Ministers on their American policy and that upon coming into power they will go for free trade with America and an immediate adjustment of the oregon Question, for the admission of slave grown produce, and non-interference in the domestic policy of other nations—that they will denounce the attempt to emancipate the slaves of Cuba, Brazil, the U States and Texas as an illegal and unwise interference. The most pregnant sign of the Times however is that the stock exchange are beginning to speculate for a fall in the price of Consols and hence any man who has Consols can now get an advance upon them at short dates without interest.

The present ministers are sustained by the land holders, the established Church and the fund holders. A formidable Combination you will say—but it is a combination so sensitive to their own peculiar interests that they are ready to sacrifice any Government that endangers them. The Whigs understand this, and their measures are taken accordingly.

I remember to have heard you say that England will be compelled to establish free trade or to renew her system of plunder, and I find that a class of political economists connected with funds are beginning to say that the true policy of England is to get up a general war. That the Continent and America have become her rivals in commerce and manufactures and that having the command of the Ocean, she can protect her manufactures and monopolise the commerce of

the World, and that a war in Europe would destroy the manufactures of the Continent. Do not these facts present a most serious question to you. What are you to do? Are you like Sir Robert Peel, to fold your arms and let events take their Course? Are you to say that because the people have not given you the first office you will not give your influence where it might Contribute to Control events? If while you fold your arms and look on, Van Buren is elected and Benton comes into the State Department, how easy will it be for him to provoke a war on the Oregon question? Do you not see cause for apprehension in the late proceedings in Maine and New Hampshire favorable to Van Buren and the position which the Oregon question is assuming in the West? I see that your friends are pledging themselves to support the nominee of the National Convention and [it] is now rendered almost certain that Van Buren will be that nominee unless all other interests combine against him. Instead of this, Johnson will compromise at any time for the Vice Presidency, and all the other candidates, I fear, will endeavor to weaken you under a belief that your friends will prefer any of them to Van Buren. Things will run on this direction until you are all handed over to Van Buren as so much political Capital in the hands of Col. Benton; unless you are wise in time. I have studied your position and I never was more fully satisfied as to what it is your duty to do. I am fearful that you are not yet prepared to see or to hear the truth as it is. I fear that it is the same case with the President. Permit me however to say that great efforts are making to separate you and Mr Tyler, that you are embarked in a common cause and should stand by each other. United you may yet control events. divided you become a prey to your common enemy and sacrifice the great cause for which you have so long labored and with it the best interests of your Country. I will be prepared in a few days to write to you more fully. In the meantime let me entreat you to ponder well over what I now say. What you have most to apprehend both as it relates to yourself and the country is that Van Buren will be elected President and Benton be Secretary of State. If we are to have Van Buren the responsibility will rest on you, and you owe it to yourself, to your friends, to your Country and the

world to counteract as far as possible the evil consequences to be apprehended from his election.

I will endeavor to write to you more fully by the next steamer. If I do not and find things when I return right at Washington I may on my return come to see you. Please to write to me care of Mr Upshur.¹

Your sincere friend

DUFF GREEN

P S. It is now understood that OConnor's² next movement will be to compel the great landlords to sell the land to the tenants by a combination to prevent the payment of rents—by an understanding that there shall be no bidders on a distress for rent.

From James H. Hammond.

C. C.

Silver Bluff 10 Sept. 1842.

MY DEAR SIR. There has probably been some miscarriage of letters between us. The last I received from you was in January or February last and I answered it soon after. I should have been very glad often to have heard from you during the exciting scenes of the late Session—but did not like to interrupt you. It is difficult to understand what is intended by public measures now-a-days without a Key, and the papers, and letter writers from Washington are so full of plots and counter plots that it is impossible to form any reliable opinion from such sources. One thing however seems to me clear from all that is said and I rejoice at it. Your Star is evidently in ascendant and rising steadily. Buchanan whom I once thought formidable has shrunk into very meagre dimension, and I think there is reason to infer that Mr Van Buren's tour of inspection has satisfied him that his race is run. He was in Columbia, I did not call on him in Charleston—but coming right to my place of residence I thought it would not appear courteous to avoid him and so I gave him a dinner. He was as full of talk as a horse jockey and quite interesting. It was evident to me that he was still aspiring. But young people cannot be made enthusiastic in favour of a beaten horse and old ones

¹ Abel P. Upshur, at this time Secretary of the Navy in Tyler's Cabinet, later Secretary of State.

² O'Connell.

will not risk much on him. I think he must go down and with him I hope the whole clique of political hucksters—Benton, Wright, Johnson &c. The only earthly chance for him will be a packed Democratic Convention of old hacks. This must be seen to. They should be young men. I can't understand the vote of his friends on the Tariff. Could they expect to gain anything or was it necessary to sustain themselves or was it simply an act of desperation and malice towards the South and you? It is remarkable that this identical set should twice at two great eras fix the plunder-system upon us by precisely the same treachery. I thought better of Wright. I suppose we must now give him up for Woodbury. It is rumoured that Benton has declared if the issue is between you and Clay he will support Clay. So I heard in Augusta the other day. And was rather glad to hear it, for it was a proof of your strength and an open declaration of that malice which I knew to be untiringly though secretly moving against you. He would find himself very weak in such a move. I doubt if Missouri even would go with him. Would []? I think such a thing would effectually remove all fear of our ever being degraded by his accession as it would Kill[him] off forever. I am inclined to think they will try to make a rally on Johnson. I found him very strong in N. York two years ago. Stronger I thought than Van Buren. But the Southern Democrats hold the power in the party now and he cannot get their support. Harrison to be sure was not much better, but there cannot be such another excitement gotten up. It would be indispensably necessary to carry such a mass of stupidity, vulgarity and immorality as Johnson into the Chair. On the whole it seems to me the Democratic Party can have no alternative but to nominate you. I am so certain of it that were I an aspirant for Federal Honors I should lay all my plans accordingly. I recommended Crawford and some Georgia Whigs to do so the other day. There is as you know some soreness in Georgia among individuals of both sides, but young men are coming up who know nothing of W^m H. Crawford and I have no doubt of the Geo. vote. There is some little talk of Cass there and Tyler, and I heard of one man being for Johnson, but all will be right in the end.

The question is often asked what is to be done with the new Tariff? Nullify it? I should be glad to have your views on

this point, and I will candidly state my own. Nullification is the *extreme remedy*. We should first exhaust every other. The prospect of the entire ascendancy of the Democratic Party and of your Election is so good that we ought to look to these means first before we resort to harsh measures. I cannot but think the Tariff will be repealed, for if neither of these two apparently certain events happen, I have little doubt that smuggling will render it wholly inefficacious. No earthly power can keep out or scarcely interrupt smuggling in such an extensive country as ours. The Chief reliance against it must be to make it unprofitable by low duties. The virtue of our people is another, but I fear there has been a great change in this respect on our Coast and frontiers in the last 10 years. There is one other objection to nullification at this moment. I verily believe that under the present weak and distracted administration it would cause the utter overthrow of the Government. Our just resistance would be followed by unjust and unconstitutional rebellion every where and this Administration could not rally a force I fear to sustain even just and Constitutional Laws. I should like very much to have your views on this topic and political matters generally. Should I be called to the Executive Chair in December, to which I can hear of no serious or rather no formidable opposition, it would be very important to me to have full possession of the views of the party to which I belong and particularly of yours on all public matters. The Governor's position may become one of interest and importance in the progress of Affairs and I desire to make it as useful as possible in advancing the Great Cause for which we have been so long contending. . . .

Very truly and sincerely yours

J. H. HAMMOND

From R. B. Rhett.¹

C. C.

Oct. 13, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR I wrote to you a week or two ago immediately after my return from N. Y. Every day brings me evi-

¹ Robert Barnwell Rhett (1800-1876) was a member of Congress from South Carolina from 1837 to 1849, and a Senator from 1851 to 1852. He had always an important place among the extreme advocates of state rights and secession, and was a member of the Confederate Congress.

dences of the rising of our cause. At Tammany on Thursday week I am told, by an intelligent friend who was present, there was no mistaking the temper of the People. At the mention of your name, the applause was immense; and I am assured, that so soon as the election of the Committees comes on we will have entire possession of Tammany. From other sources I am also advised, that the same course of things is rapidly extending throughout the whole interior of N. Y. Beardsley, a former Member of Congress, is out for you in Utica. In Pennsylvania according to the opinion of a Senator in the Legislature of that State, who called upon me, V. B. is out of the question. Woodberry [Woodbury] and his friends are moving with great effect in N. England for us. At the late Democratic Convention held in Boston it was proposed to nominate V. B. but it was soon ascertained that the majority were for you, and the attempt was not made. The late British regulations, by w^h our grain is admitted into Canada, and consequently into Great Britain, at a duty of three Shillings a quarter, will I think in two years bring Pennsylvania with us. We will carry the South and divide the North West. On the whole, our prospects are bright and growing brighter; and judging from the past, we have only to keep matters as they are, and we must control the next presidential election.

With respect to your intimation of a change of opinion, from the advices of some of your friends out of public life, as to the policy of your returning to the Senate next winter, I at first determined to say nothing. From what has passed between us, I felt that I may subject myself to a misconstruction of motives in expressing to you, the opinions I entertained with respect to it. From subsequent reflection, however, I have determined to speak frankly to you, and trust to your knowledge of me, for a just appreciation of my motives. Neither you nor I are alone interested in your political fortunes. The interests of the whole Country, and especially those of the Section to which we belong, are too deeply implicated to allow mere personal considerations or consequences to hinder or control my own act.

I understand, you have made up your mind (very properly, I think), not to serve in the Senate beyond the present Con-

gress. The question then is as to the three months service of the next winter. When at the Close of the last Session you expressed to me your intention not to return to the Senate, you know I dissuaded you from it, and begged you to suspend your determination, and consult further your friends in Congress. At that time, I saw no questions likely to arise, which would injure your position with respect to the Presidency, from the duties of a Senator. But from developments afterwards made, my mind is changed, and I am now satisfied that it is your unquestionable policy and duty to keep out of the Senate, at the approaching session. I know that the Whigs wish V. B. to be their opponent, and fear only you. Mr Clay has written here, that you will be the man the Whig party will have to oppose, and that the sagacity of the Democratic Party will not fail to perceive this. It will of course be the policy of the Whig, to sow dissensions amongst the Democratic Party, and especially to kill you off. Now what question, could more effectually accomplish this end, than that Mr Bayard gave notice he should bring up at the approaching Session—rescind the expunging Resolution. You heard I suppose the notice. You are aware of the Constitutional grounds, both you and Mr McDuffie took (Preston will not return to the Senate) on this question. Now can you meet it, and go along with the Democratic Party? To vote with the Whigs to rescind this resolution, expunging a censure on Gen^l Jackson, will be restoring the censure. The Whigs controlling the majority will of course, so put it, as to put you in the worst position. A vote with them on this question will revive all the old feuds which are now nearly smothered, and will set the Whigs and V. B. Democrats into a state of ecstasy. Your prospects for the Presidency will utterly expire under the question. The Whigs will press it, if they are not imbeciles or fools, with such sure game for the slaughter, and every enemy will rejoice at the opportunity of degrading you personally, or ruining you politically. If you could consistently with truth and honour, go with the Democratic Party, on this question, your return to the Senate altho surrounded with difficulties, might do no irreparable injury. The Rhode Island question, which must arise from the intention lately announced in the

R. I. papers, to apply to Congress at the next session, for payment of the expenses of the Dorr insurrection we may overcome, especially if the Constitution soon to be voted on is adopted. This matter will be pressed, for the only chance for such a claim is in the present Congress. The Exchequer Bank also will give some trouble, for you know that a considerable portion of the Democratic Party, is in favour of Congress doing something. You can do nothing, and consequently must offend: but this may be got along with. On the matter of the expunge, however, you must not be against the Democratic Party, or you must surrender all hopes of the Presidency. On the other hand, unless you intend to remain in the Senate through the next Congress, I do not see what material benefit, in the present organization of the Senate, you can do to the Country, by a service next winter, whilst the risks are immense to your prospects for the Presidency, and all the great measures of policy involved in that Election. My mind is therefore clear, in the judgement, that it is unpolitic, and will probably be fatal, for you to expose yourself any farther in the Senate, to the cross fire of your enemies.

The private friends who have given you advice contrary to mine, may possess far greater powers, twice my ability on all general matters—but without disparaging them, or exalting myself, I think I may assert, that with one half their sagacity, I may be a far better judge of the effect of political questions, and the temper of the People of the Union. Your best Counsellors in my opinion will be those whose duties and position compel them to study public affairs, with the greatest intensity; and who must bear all the embarrassments and mortifications any false movement might produce.

My anxiety on this subject, has led me to seek the council of the only two members of Congress of the Democratic Party in Washington, favourable to your election—M^r. Walker of Mississippi and Gen^l. Dawson of Louisiana. M^r. Walker Day before yesterday brought Judge Woodruff of Louisiana, a warm friend of yours, to see me. I found him, with a large pile of your Speeches on the Tariff to post to his Constituents. He is decidedly opposed to V. B. and in favour of your Election. He expresses no doubt as to the impolicy of your returning to the Senate on various accounts, but he says un-

hesitatingly, that for you to go against the Democratic Party on the matter of the expunge, will be in his opinion immediate death to your prospects. Gen^l. Dawson, (of whose steady and sincere friendship you are aware) was equally explicit and decided: and declared that on such a question, if you went with the Whigs, he would immediately abandon you, and take position against you.

And now my Dear Sir, I have done my duty to you personally and politically and to the Country, in thus explicitly expressing my opinion to you. Act how you may, I will strive to support you, and where I cannot commend, I will try not to blame.

M^{rs}. Rhett joins me in cordial remembrance to M^r. Clemson, M^{rs}. Calhoun and Yourself, and believe me

Truly Yours

R. B. RHETT

From Joseph A. Scoville.¹

c. c.

NEW YORK 25. Oct. 1842.

DEAR SIR I wrote you a few days since a few lines in answer to your letter, and enclosed the latter to you. Such a proceeding doubtless surprized you very much, and I will explain my reasons more fully than I had time to do at *that* time. Eight months ago you might have written 20 letters a day to persons residing here and it would have excited no curiosity, but now the case is altered, and a letter from you creates excitement and alarm among the Van Buren men, and I am sure you will see the benefit that will accrue to our cause by avoiding any correspondence with the many who will write you from hence. There is a jealousy excited even among your friends; it does you no good and it makes enemies for the person receiving such a letter. Our post office officers are a corrupt sett. before I rec^d your letter I was aware that there was a *free* letter here for me, postmarked Pendleton, and I should have lost all confidence of those who have been my immediate associates, Slamm², Hart, and Hunter, had I refused to read it

¹ Joseph A. Scoville (1811-1864) was a journalist in New York, and afterward private secretary to Calhoun.

² Levi D. Slamm, editor of the New Era.

to them, which I did, save such parts as related to Mr. A and Mr. H. I have always been in the habit of returning Mr. Wrights letters. Our nominations for members of the Legislature have been made. I was left off the ticket, but I do not feel very bad in consequence, for Cha^s P. Daly¹ and 4 or 5 other warm friends of yours *were* nominated, and Daly is a host in himself and can do your cause more good probably at Albany than I could have done. I saw him a day or two since—he says he will write you as soon as he is elected. Matters are going on well here. I shall now devote every hour of my time to the accomplishment of a matter of vital importance, and that is the control of Tammany Hall. I have no doubt of success. I am almost sure that your friends will be elected from a majority of the wards but it is hard work to make them act in concert, and it is only in this way that they can be efficient and hold the real power here. I do not understand Slamm of late. I can only account for his course by supposing that he has been obliged by the State of his Finances to go Van Buren.

I hear from Mr. Rhett almost daily. I wish with all my heart we had the control of Mr. Tylers appointments, but Mr. Rhett writes me that he thinks Tyler is working for his own nomination—he will be very much deceived in the Democratic party.

I was very much amused yesterday at the Exchange. The Sailors wages have been reduced about 20%—they have had in consequence a Strike for the wages of last Season, and the “turn out” consisted of about 600 men—at 4. oclock they arrived in Wall St. Col Hepburne addressed them from the Exchange, and when he closed they gave 9. rousing cheers for yourself. The Col made a very happy hit. As soon as possible I would advise your sending me the proposed life etc. I have seen the publishers, and they will wait very willingly. I will select some one here to edit it.

Yours very Respy &c

JOSEPH A. SCOVILLE

[P. S.] I have had several requests made me to become a member of the Free Trade Association (See their letter to

¹ The late President of the American Geographical Society, Chief Justice of the New York Court of Common Pleas, 1871-1886, d. 1899.

Candidates in yesterdays Post) and I shall probably accept and become a member. I dont like such associations, but in this case, as a majority of the members have been Whigs, and as a Free Trade man *must* be a Calhoun man, I shall join hoping to bring their strength into harmonious action with our Friends in active Tammany Communion. I do not know who are members, perhaps many of your friends that you may know. One thing rest assured of, you have friends here who will not rest until this City is as safe for you as Charleston, or any other of your So Carolina Cities.

And if we gain the organization of the Hall, *you will* have the State.

*From Franklin H. Elmore.*¹

C. C.

Charleston Nov. 2 1842

MY DEAR SIR I rec^d by M^r Clemson your letter of the 18th Oct. and to day that of the 29 by mail covering one to Hon R B Rhett. M^r Rhett has not yet reached here but is looked for [on] every boat. His Brother Alb Rhett is with me and has your letter to give his Brother as soon as he arrives—they will go from here to gether to Walterboro.

We had some time ago formed a Sort of Committee for Consultation as regards the Presidential election and I was put at the head of it. It consists of Messrs Furman, Jas J Rhett, Boyce, Connor, Gourdin and Trenholm. We had taken in several respects the same views you have suggested and been acting accordingly. Connor operates in No Carolina and Tennessee, Furman, (Cashier of the B^k of the State) is a nephew of Gov. M^cDonald of Georgia and we approach him in that way. I have been corresponding in Alabama with Gov. Fitzpatrick my Brother in Law and with Lewis and others. Since I rec^d yours of the 18 Oct. I have written to Fitzpatrick, Gov Yell of Arkansas and to Richardson to induce a denunciation of the Tariff in their messages and have procured an excellent letter from M^r Furman to Gov M^c Donald, in which [he] urges the Gov. as his sits first of the Southern

¹ Franklin H. Elmore (1799-1850), Member of Congress from 1836 to 1839 and president of the Bank of the State of South Carolina from 1839 to 1850, was one of Calhoun's principal political supporters. See O'Neill, Bench and Bar of South Carolina, II, 85.

Legislatures, to take the honor of a bold decided and manly lead on the subject. We have not heard from either yet, but I have the strongest hopes that such action may be induced as will by its union and vigor produce a most wholesome effect. In my letters to our friends I have endeavoured also to impress them with the importance of an early nomination in all the Southern States. Virginia is a most important point. As I returned from it &c in Sep I saw Judge John Y. Mason. He said he had no doubt a majority both of the party at large and of the members representing it in their Legislature were decidedly for you, but he thought it doubtful if any nomination would be had in the present state of things this winter—the main and almost only obstacle however was in Ritchie, who was wedded to Stevenson and had a hope of his being run with M^r V B if he could get the nomination. If that hope was killed he thought all portions of the Party in Va. could be brought to give their adhesion at once to your nomination. His opinions were confirmatory of what I had gathered from other sources; and it struck me that it was our true policy to bring all the Southern States in Solid Column to bear on Va. and thus to carry her as early as possible into line. If Georgia will lead off and Alabama, Mississippi, No Ca and So. Ca. follow, I do not see how Va. can resist. No hope will remain to M^r V B of a Southern support and without it he could not hope to succeed unless he looks for a Whig support. My opinion from what I saw and heard in N. York and have since learned, is that such a combined action from all these States would give your friends the ascendancy in a large part if not over the whole State. The Tariff is crushing N. Y. They say that Boston by her R Roads has concentrated the market for domestic goods there and by the Tariff cut off the foreign trade from N. York—thus giving her two stabs in the vitals—and that M^r V. B's friends have temporized and sacrificed them and are not to be relied on—they want a more unyielding leader and look to you to break down the System. With a good strong lead from the South, they would gladly fall in. M^r Sumter has just come in from N. Y. and tells me your prospects have improved very much since I came away. Of all the Democrats who voted for the Tariff *one alone*, a M^r Davis, has been

able to get a renomination. Floyd Gen^l. Ward, John V Buren and the rest are laid aside and Free trade men in their places.

While on N. York, I will say a few things which may be important. There is a great desire there to know more of you—a short sketchy account of your life and services is much desired. Your speeches are inquired after, and most of all yourself. They wish to see and talk with you and hear you speak. These wishes cannot be resisted. They must all be gratified and as to the two former the earlier the better. As to the last I have my doubts if the proper time has yet come, but I am clear that it is coming and cannot be long delayed without injury to your cause.

M^r. Sumter says you trust too much to M^r J. A. Scoville of that City—that you wrote him some time ago a very long letter and that he showed it freely—that he is not a man of weight &c &c I saw a letter of Scoville. I thought him a keen shrewd man and quite up to N. Y. politics, but I did not know how far exactly to trust him or to estimate his strength, therefore all I can do is to warn you as I rec^d the warning.

On the subject of the V. P'y. It seems to me that we cannot without disadvantage, make a nomination—but while we deal gently with Wright and Buchanan, we should as an act of common justice give M^r. Woodbury the praise you claim for him. The last debate on the Tariff, the running discussion I refer to, was certainly a most interesting one and his course and remarks, manly and statesmanlike. M^r Stuart has just returned to his post and will I think if he can get that debate, review it and render to M^r Woodbury his due. He will not forget him at any rate.

I am very often asked if you intend to resign your seat this winter. M^r Rhett told me at Washington that you had thought of it, but had been induced to withhold a final decision for a time. I presume it is your intention to return to Washington for the coming Session. I think you are right in doing so. Much will be done this winter of which you should be at once informed. Questions will come up on which your opinions will be inquired after and which you can best develope in your place. Your friends have not yet taken form and organization enough and the next Session ought not to pass without some arrangement of party and operations.

We may get into great confusion without some Central and common place of information from whence we may know what our friends are at and how each can act to the best advantage. But should you resign, as I take it you must if the nominations of any of the Legislatures put you in the field, when will it be best to do it? If you at once leave the Senate it may be said you have done so to avoid the issues which may be tendered on important questions. But if you resigned in consequence of these nominations, to take effect after the 4 March next, stating as a reason for remaining during the next Session, the pendency of these very questions, and your unwillingness to evade or to appear to evade the responsibility of fairly meeting them, that no exception could be taken to that course. By so doing one good effect would probably result at home, that is the election at this Session of two Senators in a more quiet way than would be likely to occur at a future time, when only one at a time w^d be chosen.

I will with great pleasure attend to any letters that may come from any of your friends at your instance and M^r Thurston of Maine will be duly answered if he favor me with any letters.

M^r Boyce is now in Alabama, and I desired him if possible to see Lewis and Fitzpatrick and to urge personally on them, the policy and importance of a nomination at an early day in Alabama. I also had a letter from M^r. B. Boykin of Mobile informing me that y^r friends had started a new paper there to advocate your election requesting my advice as to its course. To this I replied conformably to your views and those we hold here.

I have a Brother W^m. A. Elmore, a young man of vigor and talent in N. Orleans who is disposed to enter warmly into this matter. He tells me you have no organ in La. but many very many warm friends. They have determined to start a paper and he writes to request me to find a suitable Editor. I had thought of M^r Clapp, Ju^r. of the Mercury, but as yet nothing is done. Who could you suggest? My Brother asks after Cralle. Can you tell me any thing of him?

I wish you would put my two Brothers J. A. Elmore of Montgomery Alabama and W^m. A. Elmore of N. O. on your

list for occasional notices. They are both your warm friends and have talents to be useful.

I have written in great haste and trust you will excuse the desultory manner in which I have treated these matters.

I am very truly Yours

F. H. ELMORE

*From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.*¹

C. C.

New York Nov^r 6th 1842

DEAR SIR, Your amply satisfactory letter of the 20th ult. has been duly rec^d and I have taken such measures without departing from the rule you have adopted of not appearing in the public papers in cases of misrepresentation, that whenever you are again misrepresented as regards free suffrage, the democratic papers of this City will at once take up the gauntlet in your vindication.

The Editor of the Democratic Guide has promised to do you justice in his next publication. He has about 2,000 subscribers but his next number will not appear until the first of Jan^r because he is making it a quarterly instead of a monthly publication. He assures me that he will in the mean time, upon all occasions when you are spoken of in his presence, correct the misstatement he has made. This promise was made voluntarily.

I rejoice that you have put in my hands the proof which was wanted and which no man here can use with more advantage than myself. Your Vote in 1808 is an irresistible fact. It shews that you were at that period what "New Yorks favorite son" was *not* in 1821. It is a glorious democratic fact in your favor.

After I last wrote you, an article appeared in the Morning Post of this city from a "South Carolinian", vindicating the constitution of S^c C^a from the property qualification clause, and you from having said that you thanked God it existed in your state.

I shall put in the P. O. with this, the n^o of the Democratic

¹Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, author of a *History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party*, was prominent among the most literally democratic members of the Democratic party in New York City.

Guide containing the imputation against you. The article is towards the end, "Rumors, Rumors."

I send you also the morning Post of Saturday last containing two articles in relation to yourself. You will see that the "Free trade Association" founded by me is in progress. I have thought it best to make a mechanic the president and selected M^r Commerford for that station. We are *felt* politically already. Many of your friends have lately joined us—Hutton, Hart, Scovill, Thompson, Godwin, and many others. It is decidedly the most effective movement yet made in this city in favor of the constitutional principles of which you are the leading advocate. It is prognosticated by many that the Association will become a Free trade party.

I regret that my business compels me to be absent from this city three or four months. I shall be in Tuscaloosa Al^a during Dec^r Jan^r Feb^r and March. But I calculate that after I return to the City, I shall go into the political Campaign in prospect, and devote myself exclusively to the service untill the close of the contest. The Very existence of democratic constitutional government is involved in the struggle and I cannot think of my private interest when there is a matter of such magnitude before my eyes. All humanity is interested in it, as well as the Millions of this land.

With greatest esteem Yours &c

F. BYRDSALL

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Edgewood, 8 Nov. 1842.

MY DEAR SIR I rec^d yours last night, and deeply regret the intense excitement which you appear to feel. I have seen too much of public matters not to know what you are looking forward to. By all the ties of friendship and relationship I entreat you to reflect coolly and solemnly upon the steps you may take in the next year. It may be that Mr. V. B's success may be as fatal as you anticipate, but the great difficulty with us is to get any very large portion of the Republican party to believe it *at present*. We shall be compeled to wait developements that the country can see and understand. I agree with you as to the Tariff and its results, and if I know

my heart I would appeal to arms and the God of battles sooner than acquiesce permanently under its principles. But we must wait and try every reasonable remedy for a few years before we can get any large portion of the country to sustain the highest measures of redress. Besides it must be a series of measures shewing a fixed and certain policy in Government that will produce a general feeling in favor of the ultimate resort. If you make an open rupture from the great mass of the Republican party it will place you in a critical position at your period of life, and if it be done about the time that a Convention should nominate V. B. (if it should do so which I cannot believe yet) it will place you under such circumstances that the world will believe it was from disappointment &c, and thus weaken your power. However honest and patriotic your motives may be it will be hard to make mankind believe it. But let us acquiesce as long as possible, and when we do make a rupture let it be upon developements made and issues tendered such as the public can understand, and not by anticipation of consequences in advance which, however clear they may be cannot be made so to others who will be called on to sustain us. But I hope there will be no necessity for such a rupture as you indicate in yours. If you have the strength that I think you have, particularly in the Southern States, let these states move decidedly this Winter and place you forward upon the highest and strongest grounds. I have as far as I am concerned, written to that effect, and if Ala., Miss., Geo., N. Ca. and So. Ca. move with spirit and union I do sincerely think it will produce your nomination by the Convention. I hope so—but we must wait events. I am no flatterer particularly to a friend in whom I feel such deep interest as I do in you and your *fame*. Now suppose you make a rupture and throw yourself upon a separte position, let us for a moment look at the circumstances with which you are surrounded. It will not be like it was in 1832 and 33. Then you were in the pride and glory of full manhood, and had as gallant and as glorious [a] band of friends devoted to you as ever man had. You had the abrupt and coarse tyranny of Jackson to contend with which gave you the sympathy of many brave men. But how is it now? You are at a different period of your life. Men who may rally under your

standard cannot look forward for you to bear it 10 years from now. Events have not yet occurred to rouse the public mind, except agst the Whigs and their measures. And where are your men—who are your friends? M^cDuffie (although honest) is broken down, and will be a splendid failure as soon as he gets into the Senate. Hayne is dead. . . . Hunter is a pure and intellectual man, but has no action or influence in Va, Lewis is energetic and talented, but is carried off by an impulse and sees only one subject and one point at a time, and besides he is too fat to be very active. These are all talented and useful friends in their present position, but are they such and enough to carry you through a great change or rather a great issue at the present time of your life? If you say so and are determined on it I will go into battle and draw the sword by your side, but in my judgement it is not yet the time to strike. If it is so decreed (but I do not think so yet) let others come into power, and if they go wrong, as you say they will, then we can have as disinterested and as talented an opposition as ever went into battle—we will then stand before the country in such a position as to command a candid and patriotic bearing, and I will pledge my life and my all to the cause; and if we then fail to succeed in controlling and modifying the measures of Gov: we can look to the ultimate resort. I hope you will pardon the liberty I take in writing you thus freely. I am prompted to it by the deep interest I take in your happiness—your fame, and your power.

In the mean time I do hope that your friends will move in the Southern Legislatures this Winter, and when we get to Washington we can see the whole ground and know what is to be done. We must make Free Trade the basis of all concert in action of any kind. I am for driving all who are for a Tariff of protection out of our ranks entirely. The piece you sent me from the Argus was sent me in the paper itself and marked. I took the same view you did and enclosed it to Ritchie, and now intend to demand from him a denunciation of it as necessary to keep us together. I shall make it the basis of a letter to him.

Present me affectionately to Anna and Cousin Floride.

Yours very truly and sincerely

F. W. PICKENS.

From R. M. T. Hunter.

c. c.

Loyds Essex V^a June 16th [1843].

MY DEAR SIR I have just received letters from Woodbury and others in New England. I wrote to Woodbury before the meeting of the N Hampshire Convention to beg him to go to it and take an active part for you. I said that the nomination of V B by that convention would be considered as a fatal blow to him and whatever might be the professions of those who made the movement such would be their design. But for him the Convention would have nominated V B—as it was they made no nomination, and recommended May 1844 and a district representation. Under the circumstances this was a great victory. We shall carry the Democratic party of New England. Our friends are in high spirits. Col^o. Brodhead has sent \$400 to the Spectator, the Charleston Committee \$500, and D^r. Brodhead a poor clerk in Washington loaned it \$350. For the present and for a short time it is out of danger.

Our friends in N England are about to organise. I am writing to our friends wherever I can rely upon them to beg them to get up an organisation by Congressional districts. If we have (as we shall have) a district representation this organisation is essential as a preliminary step and indeed through this organisation we can force a district representation. Suppose we were to invite an election of delegates by the party at the polls, assimilating the mode to that of the Congressional election, and that our strong men in each district would take the stump for you and rally the people to the polls. V Bs friends would be obliged to go in. He would certainly be beaten if he did not, he would probably be beaten if he did. I am doing my best to get up such an organisation and especially in V^a. We will beat down Ritchie's influence in that way if he resists us.

By the way Greenhow is about to establish a Calhoun paper in Petersburg. Ritchie has so many well wishers amongst our own friends that we thought it most prudent to avoid the odor of opposition to the Enquirer and to hang upon his flanks until he opened himself so as to justify an attack upon his

centre. If the paper is sustained it will ultimately move to Richmond unless Mr Ritchie should take a satisfactory course.

I had entertained some hopes of Young¹ at one time and had written three weeks ago to friends in New York to ascertain his true position. For reply I received a paper in which he publishes his preference to V B to silence there recent rumors. He is more of a N Y politician than V B himself and our friends in Poughkeepsie made a mistake in endeavouring to identify him with our cause. He is one of those enemy-friends of V B, who are the most subtle of all politicians and win both office and hate from him without being grateful for the former or caring a rush for the latter. Davis² (Jack Downing) is now making a tour in western N Y and promises to give me the result of his observations upon his return. But it is hard to make a lodgment in that state. The keys of office would be more potent there at present than those to St Peters gate. I wish we had Van Ness in the Custom House. But I hear nothing more of that for the present. I have a great many letters still to write.

Most truly Your friend

R M T HUNTER.

P. S I have just received your letter of 3^d June for which I am much obliged to you. I have not time now to answer it but will write by the next mail.

*From Ashbel Smith.*³

C. C.

The following is communicated to Mr. Calhoun, confidentially. Extract from a note of the Hon. Ashbel Smith, Chargé d'Affaires of Texas at London and Paris, to Hon. Anson Jones, Secretary of State of Texas, dated Legation of Texas, Paris, July 31st, 1843.

"Previously to leaving London, I had a long interview, on the 20th inst., with the Earl of Aberdeen, Sec'y for the

¹ Samuel Young, secretary of the State of New York

² Charles Augustus Davis, who wrote some of the many imitations and continuations of the "Letters of Major Jack Downing"

³ The paper from which this extract is given bears no signature, but is endorsed "Communicated by the Texan Ministers to Mr. Calhoun." Dr Ashbel Smith (1805-1886), Surgeon-general of the Republic of Texas, was at various times Texan minister to the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain, and was Secretary of State under President Anson Jones in 1844 and 1845.

Foreign Department, concerning the affairs of Texas. I think it proper here to state that I had reason to be pleased with the full and frank manner in which his Lordship discussed the affairs in question. As a matter of course he treated the subject mainly and almost exclusively in reference to British policy and interests. Some time before this interview with Lord Aberdeen, M^r S. P. Andrews, whom I have mentioned in former despatches as being in London, on an abolition mission, requested me to present him to M^r Addington. After some reflection, I consented to do so—the introduction being in no degree official as I stated to M^r Addington, and as this course put me fairly in possession of the abolition schemes, which had already been presented to the British Government. On this occasion I expressed my utter dissent from and opposition to all operations then carrying on in London, having for their object the abolition of slavery in Texas. In my interview with Lord Aberdeen on the 20th inst., I stated that M^r Andrews' coming to London about abolition was his individual act, wholly unauthorised by the Government or citizens of Texas—that though there might be some individuals in our country disposed to abolish slavery, I had no reason to believe they were numerous; but on the contrary that I had reason to think no disposition to agitate the subject existed either on the part of the Government or any respectable portion of the citizens of Texas. I also stated to Lord Aberdeen that I was informed representations would be sent out to Texas, based on statements made by members of the Antislavery convention, who had called on his Lordship touching this matter, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government would afford in some way the means for reimbursing or compensating the slaveholders, provided slavery were abolished in our country. I enquired what grounds there was for these assertions. His Lordship replied in effect: That it is the well known policy and wish of the British Government to abolish slavery everywhere—that its abolition in Texas is deemed very desirable, and he spoke to the point at some little length, as connected with British policy and British interests and in reference to the United States. He added that there was no disposition on the part of the British Government to interfere improperly on this subject, and that they

would not give the Texian Gov^t cause to complain. He was not prepared to say whether the British Gov^t would consent hereafter to make such compensation to Texas as would enable the slave-holders to abolish slavery. The object is deemed so important, perhaps they might, though he would not say certainly.

"Lord Aberdeen also stated that despatches had been recently sent to M^r Doyle, the British Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico, instructing him to renew the tender of British mediation based on the abolition of Slavery in Texas and declaring that Abolition would be a *great moral triumph for Mexico*. Your Department will not fail to remark that this despatch to M^r Doyle appears to introduce a new and important condition into mediation.

"The British Gov^t greatly desire the abolition of slavery in Texas, as a part of their general policy in reference to their colonial and commercial interests, and mainly in reference to its future influence on slavery in the United States."

*From Edward J. Black.*¹

C. C.

Barnwell Dt. S. Carolina. Sept^r 1st 1843.

M DEAR SIR, I would have written to you frequently before this, but I knew that you must be almost overwhelmed with correspondents of all sorts and descriptions. Do not believe, however, that my silence is indicative of forgetfulness of yourself individually, or of your political interests. Far otherwise. After I returned from Washington I exerted myself to get as many of our friends from lower Georgia into the Convention as possible. I went, as a member, myself, and had the satisfaction to see our labours crowned with your nomination. The old cry of the triangular influence of Colquett, Cooper, and myself was raised by a few Van B. men with the hope of defeating you before that body. Judge Kennan, Mr. Hunter, of Crawford Co. and a few other leading men, but more especially Col. Cobb², of Clarks, one of our

¹ Edward J. Black (1806-1846), a native of South Carolina, was M. C. from Georgia from 1839 to 1841, and from 1842 to 1845.

² Howell Cobb, M. C. 1843 to 1853, Speaker 1849-1851, Secretary of the Treasury 1857-1860, Major-General C. S. A.

members elect to Congress made every effort to defeat you. For this opposition Cobb is mainly responsible, as he sustained and directed it. We laboured under some disadvantages in the Convention, neither Colquett or Cooper were members. Cooper was not present, and was a prominent candidate of a nomination for Gov^r, and Colquett did not arrive in Milledgeville until towards the last of our session. But notwithstanding these difficulties we turned out and measured our strength with these old Van B. advocates, and they soon found that your name, even if it had been turned loose in the Convention without a rider, would have run through, and distanced every competitor. I assure you all that we had to do was to fix things a little, and then to hold in our young men, who, if let alone would have been indiscreet in their ardour for you. After the nomination was made we succeeded, I think, in allaying the feelings of the great mass of our disappointed friends; and also succeeded in having the Geo. delegates to the Baltimore Convention specifically *instructed* as to their votes, and that too without an *alternative*, that is, to vote for you and for no one else. Now if Mr. Cobb, who is a delegate, will not obey these instructions he must resign, and his place will be filled by the remainder of the Delegation. I am very glad to see the Democracy succeeding in their elections, and I am also *glad to see that they are defeated in Tennessee*. Of course I do not speak this publicly, but where I may say it with safety I do say it. It is well in my opinion that Democracy is temporarily defeated, just at this time, in Tennessee. It is to be hoped that it will operate as a sort of quieting dose to Blair, and Ritchie. It will also serve to shew to the American people that there are other spokes in the Democratic wheel besides the "*Old Hero*". If you remember I got a letter from Mr. Boston, of Savannah, asking me to send the Globe to him *if it was not unfriendly to you*. I sent the letter to Blair and [Rives?], and they replied, in answer to Boston, at some length, and with much warmth, protesting their absolute neutrality until after a nomination. And privately to me they made the same professions, and Blair declared to me that he would not be guilty of forgetting *your* friends in the House who had helped him to the printing of the 26th Congress, in which I bore some part. But that

as he was the Central organ of the whole party he would support only the nominee of the Convention. How widely they have departed from their written promise to Boston, and their verbal promise to me. If it would result in no injury to our friends I would procure their letter to Mr. Boston, and publish it with an accompanying explanatory article. Their letter is very full and explicit, and indulges in some feeling because they were suspected of being averse to your election. How strangely their present position would contrast with that letter. I look forward with some satisfaction to the casting of my vote next Winter for Printer, and I hope we shall have some friends in the House who will know how to *reward merit*.

Will we have many aspirants for the Speakership? It is a most powerful and important office, and I, for one, am not disposed to *give it away*. Without meaning to say that a man would be justifiable to buy support with the patronage of office, I am yet quite sure that whenever I have it in my power I shall so cast my vote, or patronage, if I have it, as to sustain those who sustain the principles upon which alone we must expect to succeed.

I read your letter to Gale and Seaton,¹ and it is just such a letter as you should have written; it has and will increase the confidence of Thousands in you. Your friends in Georgia regard it with the utmost satisfaction. We are in great hope of beating Geo Crawford in Georgia, and if we succeed in keeping the Democracy together I think there can be no doubt of his signal defeat.

My dear Sir, I shall be at Washington this Winter, and if I can serve you there in any way I hope you will not hesitate to call on me for my services. I propose to take some part in the action of the House and party during our session, and would not only be happy to render you any aid in my power, but to receive such suggestions as to our course and movements as your ability and experience entitle and enable you to give. I do not mean to impose any unnecessary additional burden of correspondence on you, but to signify my desire to sustain my portion of the struggle that is before us.

¹Letter to the editors of the National Intelligencer, July 28, 1843. See Niles's Register, LXIV, 383.

My family are in this District, spending their Summer at a healthy spot, where we have the benefit of a School, and where I am occasionally with them.

I am, my dear Sir, with great respect, Your's very Truly,
EDWARD J. BLACK.

From Duff Green.

C. C.

London 2nd Sept. 1843

DEAR SIR I have seen M^r Goulbourn the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Palmerston since I last wrote to you, and conversed with them both on the subject of American affairs, especially on the subject of the tariff, the Oregon and Texas questions. I have seen other influential men of the Whig party who are prepared to rally against ministers on the question of slave grown produce, and especially on their policy of interfering with the question of slavery in foreign states.

I enclose you the Anti Slavery Reporter, the organ [of] the Anti slavery Committee and would call your attention to the speeches of Lord Brougham and Lord Aberdeen on the subject of Texas and the speeches of Sir Rob^t. Peel on Lord Brougham's slavery suppression bill as well as to the comment of the Editor, and the Speech of M^r Bright. The latter is a quaker and his speech shows that a reaction has begun here. The Anti slavery party are losing their influence and if our Gov^t. can be induced to take strong ground on the question of Texas, the free trade party here will rally for us against the fanatics and the Whigs will make the refusal of ministers to meet the proposition of our Government a matter of serious assaults.

I was most strongly advised to bring out an extract from your letter and also from a letter of M^r Upshur, that the people of England might know that you and he were in favor of an adjustment by treaty. It is believed that the effect will be to induce ministers to make the treaty or to so strengthen the popular sentiment ag^t them as to bring in the Whigs.

I am satisfied that it will do service here and in the United

States. It will show that if all the questions between us be not satisfactorily adjusted, the fault is not with us.

I hope that you will not disapprove of what I have done. I did it for the best and I am sure it will result in good. I am progressing with my arrangements and hope to conclude them advantageously. I may get home in October, if not, in Nov^r. Bennett of the New York Herald is here. I have induced him to purchase all the Anti slavery documents, and have introduced him to influential parties here who have convinced him that the Anti Slavery movement has nearly run its course, and he goes home prepared to take strong ground with the south on the Tariff and on Abolition. His paper will cooperate with us most efficiently and your friends may command it to the fullest extent.

I have seen your letter to the Ed. of the Intelligencer and as you say you are under obligation to them.

Your friend

DUFF GREEN

From F. H. Elmore.

C. C.

Charleston 4 Sep. 1843

MY DEAR SIR I was prevented leaving the City (as I informed you I would in my last) by an attack of the prevailing influenza. I have therefore had some more time to push our measures here. The opportunity has not been lost. Since I wrote we have succeeded in inducing M^r. Rhett to go to Washington with funds in hand and at his draft to put the Spectator into a daily if thought advisable and also, to make a movement for a paper in New York. The Journal of Commerce has been of late doing us some kind service—but we must have a good decided and able paper there if we can. Rhett left us last Wednesday. He was to stop a day or two in Virginia to see M^r Seddon, Scott and other friends and members of the Central Committee. Also to have an interview with Ritchie &c. He will probably be by this time in Washington. I had written to induce Gen^l Saunders,¹ Hunter, M^r Maxcy, M^r Broadhead and such others as they might think

¹ Romulus M. Saunders of North Carolina.

advisable to summon, to meet at Washington and make all proper arrangements for a systematic and regular plan of operations. Rhett had also written to Hunter. His plan adopted upon Conference with our Committee of 15, is to first put the Spectator going and if possible to get Hunter to take it, he promising to remain and with or without Hunter, aiding to edit it. He also will go to N York as soon as he can be spared to see if he cannot get a paper there. We have authorized him to say that we will raise \$10,000 at least if our Northern friends will raise \$5,000—all of what they raise, they may use in their own quarter. I have no fear of getting \$15,000 if our friends in the Country will do half as well as we are doing in the City. We have suffered not a little in our operations by the prevailing influenza. My attack and Alb Rhett's have both greatly impeded action. We would have had before now some one to visit Pickens, M^cDuffie, Hammond and others to get their aid, but sickness in the family of M^r Simons our Secretary has stopped him. In a day or two we expect to get M^r A H Brown off. He is a very warm friend of yours and will I hope visit you on his way. You will find him shrewd and sensible, but full of prejudices,—yet on the whole well suited to the mission. We propose to send him first to Edgefield and thence to Abbeville, Pendleton, Chester, Fairfield, Sumter, Columbia Orangeburgh and home. Alb. Rhett was taken sick on his way to Beaufort after his Brother and was able to do nothing in that direction. Georgetown we must reach in some other way.

Our Correspondence is becoming more active, but still it is not what it ought to be. I cannot do a tithe of what is needed. I endeavor to keep up something in that way, but it is but indifferently done. We have letters from your friends in Mobile and I think I will send you Campbells. A few days before I rec^d. his, one from Jos. W LeSesne¹ (a son in law of D^r. Coopers) was rec^d by the Mercury asking much the same information that Campbell does. I wrote LeSesne—gave him a short history of our movements—let him understand the points in controversy with Ritchie and told him to keep his eye on that and he would easily understand what we should be going for. I also apprised him of Rhett's probable move-

¹ See his letters, *post*.

ment to Washington where I hoped some Central organization would be made and that he and our friends would know it if done. I also urged popular movements as widely as possible. Last winter they adjourned their Democratic Convention till the coming December. I said that now was the time to have County meetings to appoint Delegates—and one great movement should go off as a Leader with some strong exposition of our creed, resolutions declaring their preferences for the Presidency—District system, per Capita vote &c. I urged this as strongly as possible and inclosed the letter to Lewis with one to him insisting that he should go immediately up to Montgomery and Autauga and see Gov. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Belser and form their plan of operations and set immediately about its execution. I have stimulated Gen^l Saunders as much as I can.

I have waited anxiously to hear from you since Mr. Ritchies paper of the 22nd Aug. noticing “A member of the Convention”. I have prepared a short reply to his questions, but I will not put it in print for a day or two, waiting to hear from you. I hope you will not hesitate as soon as anything appears in his paper requiring it, to let us have your views without waiting for us. You can see the course so much more clearly than we here who have so limited a scope of the field, that we would in all important moves rather greatly have your opinions before acting.

I hope to day to hear from Rhett—if I do I will put in a postscript to let you know what he says at Richmond. Would it not be well for you to drop your friend Greenhow of the Petersburg Republican a word of advice. He is too rough—too hasty—too unguarded. Mr. Ritchie gets greatly the better of him by his temper. . . .

Very Truly yours

F. H. ELMORE

From Lemuel Williams.¹

C. C.

Boston, Sept^r 6th 1843.

DEAR SIR Your letter of the 5th inst was duly received. If my anticipations regarding the movements of President

¹ Lemuel Williams, a classmate of Calhoun's friend Virgil Maxcy (Rhode Island College, 1804), was collector of the port of Boston from 1842 to 1845. He died in 1869.

Tyler had been realized fully, and your friends had been placed, at an earlier period, in situations of influence, we should have elected all the Delegates to the Baltimore convention from Maine (excepting two) friendly to you. But our opponents have had the advantage of party organization and will or have carried all the delegates excepting four; while I am assured, *upon the best authority*, that a decided majority of the Democratic party in Maine are favorable to you, including the most active and intelligent. The power of calling the conventions in the several states and counties lies with the committees who were appointed *under the old regime* and are in the interests of Van Buren. Knowing the rapid progress your cause is making, they appointed meetings to be held at an early day and in that way have been successful; when if they had delayed calling there meetings until next Spring success would in almost every instance have been with you. Not content even with these proceedings, but fearing the effect which the developement of public opinion may have upon their own delegates, they have resorted to the expedient of instructing them to vote for Van Buren, thus violating a great principle adopted in fixing upon May rather than November for the time of holding the Baltimore convention. The reason for preferring May to November undoubtedly was that the later period would better enable the convention to judge with precision as to who was the most available candidate. By choosing delegates in August or September we lose the advantage of acting upon the information that we should be furnished with, from developements that will assuredly take place during the next session of Congress. The time between this and next May was intended for the benefit of observation and deliberation. These objects are lost by an early choice of delegates, bound too, by instructions. Our State convention is to be held at Worcester on the 13th inst: The contest is going on with great activity and no little virulence. I shall send you a few papers by which you will see that some of the towns are instructing their delegates to nominate Van Buren and others are instructing to keep the question of the Presidency *an open one*. Gov. Morton¹ throws all the weight of

¹ Marcus Morton, governor of Massachusetts 1840-1841, 1848-1844.

his influence in favor of instructing the delegates to nominate Van Buren. Had he been friendly to you his position was such that with the aid of his influence we could have procured your nomination in Massachusetts, which would have powerfully influenced the action of the other New England States. As it is we shall nearly equal our opponents in convention and we expect to defeat the plan of nominating Van Buren. I do not expect the convention will amount to more than about four-hundred members. We have elected 60 of the delegates from Boston favorable to you to 12 Van Buren. About the same proportion in Essex. 10 to 2 in Salem. Eight in Charlestown beside many other towns favorably heard from. One thing is certain—if the convention nominate Van Buren Mortons vote will fall greatly short of what it was last year. We shall gain then *in any event*. If Van Buren is brought forward (as he assuredly will be) and fails of a nomination it will be evidence of his unpopularity. If nominated and Mortons vote is greatly diminished the same inference will follow. The meeting in the Park has come off gloriously. Your cause is certainly looking up at the North. A week since I thought the nomination of Van Buren certain. Now I think your chance of a nomination is best. Your friends here are determined if Van Buren should receive the nomination to run you on an independent ticket. Your friend Brownson thinks that we should have Whig votes enough to carry Massachusetts, Maine and New York and other Northern states which would follow the example of Massachusetts. I do not wish you to make any reply to this part of my letter whatever your sentiments may be. Your opponents are making a good deal out of your supposed sentiments on the Rhode Island question. I should be glad to receive a statement from you on that head which I may show to some of our Democratic friends from that state. I was requested to day to procure one from you but not for publication or even to be copied. One other ground of objection is used with great effect by the Van-buren party which is this; that if you were elected President, your political friends would have nothing to look for, but the Whigs be suffered to retain the offices obtained by thrusting out the Democrats. The Eastern Argus has been very busy of late in propagating this notion. Now as Mr Van

Buren has always acted upon the policy of rewarding his friends, and Mr. Clay has recently declared that he shall *take care of his friends*, some are deterred from adopting your cause from an opinion that if you are successful they would fare worse than tho' friends of either of the other successful candidates. Such motives will always operate on the selfish part of mankind who are but too numerous.

If the Southern politicians know, *as I know*, that one of the most objectionable means made use of by the Van Buren men here against you is your adherence to the domestic institutions of the South *they would never consent to abandon your cause in any event*. But more of this at some future period.

In relation to the Vice-Presidency it seems that Woodbury will not be able to carry his own State and cannot of course, bring the least aid to your cause. Should Van Burens friends hereafter conclude not to press his claims, or failing to procure his nomination, withdraw his name, it seems to me that Silas Wright's name on your ticket as Vice President would give it more strength than any other. If Van Buren should not be withdrawn your friends would have to choose between Cass and Buchanan. Would either of them consent to be run as Vice President?

I learn from intelligent gentlemen from the West that Cass has lost ground in that quarter by his controversy with Webster. Col. Johnson is expected here on his Northern tour and the friends of Van Buren here, and in N. Hampshire are making extensive preparations to receive him. Their object is to persuade him to run with Van Buren for the Vice Presidency. Should they succeed it would greatly increase Van Burens chances. Some think that Johnsons demonstrations are for the purpose only of making capital for the Vice Presidency, while others who pretend to be well informed say that he will not run for the Vice Presidency and that he calculated to go into the convention for the presidency with the strength of ten states on the Oregon question. Are you correctly informed as to Johnsons views?

Sep 8

Since writing the above I have seen a gentleman who informs me that he has, within a few days, seen a letter from Col Johnson stating that he will not *in any event* be considered

a candidate for the Vice Presidency. *This is good news*, and in my opinion seals the fate of Van Buren. He must be defeated by a large majority in the first vote taken in the Convention. I was also informed yesterday from a source on which I can rely that four of the delegates to the Baltimore Convention chosen from Vermont are friendly to you. This we do not want known openly, as we should have to fear that they might be instructed adversely. The news from the Syracuse Convention received this morning has surprised us, *but agreeably*. I have seen many shrewd politicians to-day, among others Gov. Hill,¹ and they, one and all, consider the fact that the Convention have chosen the Delegates to Baltimore as decidedly *injurious*, nay *ruinous* to the prospects of Van Buren. It seems that he is afraid *to trust the people*. Your friends in that State will now rally and make choice of delegates by Districts. We hope the partizans of Van — will try the same thing here, whether successful or not. I have heard it whispered that they intend to do so. Van Buren's friend Vanderpool was here, a few days since, endeavoring to buy up your friends. He was liberal, I am told, in his offers, promising to one the post office if he should succeed, and to my partner his former post of Naval officer, &c.

I have just received a letter from our friend Maxcy which as it is interesting I will send you a copy next week. I am going to [Baltimore?] next week for the purpose of trying an important case there. I hope on my return to find a letter from you.

With sincere regard Yr friend

L. WILLIAMS

From S. A. Lawrence.

c. c.

New York 13th September 1843.

DEAR SIR: The meeting held here on Monday week, was hastily, if not inconsiderately, got up; and neither shows the character, nor number of persons friendly to your election, since many of the most respectable and influential were not

¹ Presumably Isaac Hill, of "Kitchen Cabinet" fame, governor of New Hampshire from 1836 to 1839.

apprised of the meeting in time. I was called upon on *Sunday*, and invited to serve as an Officer of a Meeting to be held the next day! without having seen the call, or names of the Officers, or order of business and Resolutions; and of course declined—having long since laid it down as a rule, to understand *before-hand*, the principles, and contemplated proceedings, of political meetings, previous to sanctioning the same with my name.

The Chairman waited upon me the next day, and explained the manner of getting it up &c. I encouraged the effort, and suggested, for future operations, the *District plan* of calling meetings in this City. I also urged upon him—and now pray leave to present to your consideration—the necessity and importance of establishing in this City, a Democratic paper, friendly to your Election. It would, as I observed to him, do more good, than forty mass meetings! and recommended prompt and strong exertions for its establishment, which I think will be made with success. An issue of 2000 daily papers at Two Cents each, will be required to defray the expense, and sustain such a journal. 1000 can be circulated in this City and State, and subscriptions are now being obtained; for the balance foreign aid must be solicited, and can unquestionably be procured. Perhaps the most ready and easy mode of accomplishing it, is by furnishing the names of one or more prominent, influential friends in each State, who should be apprised of the importance of the enterprise (by a Central Committee of one or more members from each State, to be organized for the general purposes of furthering your Election) and invited to aid in its Circulation not only, but also to furnish Articles and Communications; and, if it can be so arranged, that a given number of papers shall be guaranteed to be circulated in each State, there would be little or no delay in its publication. The *Plebian* is the only Democratic morning paper published in this City, and speaks for itself!

A strong Democratic morning paper, denominated the “United States Advocate,” or some other appropriate name conducted by an able Editor, of great respectability, probity, and a high order of talent, advocating the *union* and doctrine of Free Trade and sailors rights, is required in this City; and, in my opinion, would succeed, and yield a fair profit to the

proprietor; and most assuredly, it would carry a very great political influence and weight in your favor. It would unquestionably be the most useful and powerful engine, that can be brought to bear upon the enemy, if worked adroitly upon the high pressure system, and the steam kept up, by editorial articles, communications, extracts from other papers, from your pamphlet, remarks upon your patriotic conduct towards the Van Buren administration, in sacrificing private opinions and prejudices of the man and with a single eye for the public good, throwing yourself in the gap, and thereby saving his administration from dissolution, and preserving the union and integrity of the Democratic party, shewing up his ingratitude in becoming your Competitor under such circumstances, his deception and want of honesty in professing to approve the *one term* doctrine, and, at the same time, offer himself for a second term! But, in his case, I am not surprised at any of these things; for I have marked his entire political career. He, not having had the benefit of a Classical Education, and all his time having been occupied in the practice of law, and the turmoil of politics, has had little or no time for Reading or improvement, which has always operated much against him:—but he early acquired the character of an artful, cunning, selfish politician, which he still retains. And these qualifications, with fugitive political principles, and much good luck, has raised him to the high political position he now holds, and *nothing else!* What great or good act, has he ever performed for this State, or the United States? If any, I am ignorant of it.

The Irish vote in this City is very large; and a member of their fraternity, observed to me a few days ago, that Mr. Van Buren would not get 300 of these votes in this City and County! At the Syracuse Convention his friends had a majority, and as you'll observe have rejected the District plan, and adopted the old Anti-republican system of choosing delegates. The proceedings of the Convention are irregular; and they, in appointing Electors, have exceeded their powers; and many members were received *without Credentials!* Four of our delegates *protested*, and have called, or will shortly call a Meeting of our Citizens friendly to the District System, and lay before

them the entire proceedings of the Convention, which will not—cannot be sanctioned.

The influence I most fear, is the Anti Slavery Societies; and should they act in concert, it will be a powerful vote, and *given* to the Candidate who favors their principles. This subject requires deep consideration and must be met, and controverted; its unjust, improper and dangerous tendency, and thus *fatal consequences*, if carried out, would be a violation of the federal Compact, and cause a separation of the Union! Let it once be understood, that no President shall hereafter come from a Slave holding State, and the Rubicon is passed. But relying as I do upon the good sense, intelligence, and patriotism, of the Citizens of the U. S.—I hope for, and expect, a more favorable result. Pray excuse the liberty I take in addressing you, as above, but I feel a deep interest in the success of your Election, and a desire to do what I can to promote it; and have thought, that some of the preceeding suggestions, may in some slight degree, benefit the cause. With a tender of my services, which you may freely command, I remain

Very respectfully and truly Yrs

S. A. LAWRENCE.

From R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Sept^r. 19th [1843].

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from Washington where I have been to consult with our friends. M^r Rhett I presume has advised you of our proceedings there. He inclines to Greenhow as an editor and so do I unless we should lose the Republican by taking him away. M^r Rhett is probably this day in Richmond upon that business. He promised me to consult Seddon and the Richmond Committee before he saw Greenhow and in any event *not to destroy* the Republican which is doing good service. I could not wait to see Maxcy. He had then just returned home from the North where he published a pamphlet on the Convention said to be very able. I have not yet read it but Maxcy writes well. Hatton writes me from N Y that our friends are in *high spirit*. They mean to fight the battle in earnest and they will probably raise

funds in N York to establish an efficient Calhoun paper in that city. I do not know who is to be the editor. Some assistance can be had from Norton. I advised Rhett therefore not to offer funds from Charleston, but when he reached the North to urge them to establish the paper in N York with their own funds. This I believe can be done. The residue of the money raised in Charleston ought to be kept (I think) for a document and contingent fund. Mr Rhett will endeavour to organise a committee in Washington to assist him. Gen^l T thinks this will be difficult but I found one man who will cooperate efficiently and others doubtless may be had.

I found that Mr Rhett had written you despondingly. I am no prophet and of late I distrust my judgment as to future occurrences more than ever. But I by no means despond. We may be beaten but not if we fight with the proper spirit and judgment. The Syracuse Convention has given us a great advantage if our friends are staunch and know how to use it. Our New York friends have taken the right stand and we must sustain them. We go for a district convention and if the states known to be favorable to you will take their stand upon this, we will beat down the Syracuse plan and elect our man. At least there would be fair chances for electing him. I urged Rhett to write to Buchanan at once. If Johnson Buchanan and Cass unite with us on this position we must either beat Van Buren or there will be no Convention. It is very desirable to have their aid but we had no time to wait. The Syracuse proceedings must be met at once. I fear however that B. J and C will keep up the old game of making us contest all matters with V B so as to obtain the second place in the affections of his friends. But dispersed as we now are we had no time to play the game with them. It is very desirable that our friends all over the Union should second the movement of our N York friends. It was made at Maxcy's suggestion who informed them that I had been endeavoring to prepare such a movement throughout the summer. So I have but God knows with little enough of success so far as organisation is concerned. But they think that there is more of this last than really exists and the idea serves to inspirit them. The course of Georgia and probably of Mississippi will embarrass us. Early in the last spring I wrote

to some of our friends in S^o C^a and I think also to you to urge the propriety of districting Georgia as had been done in N Hampshire. Unfortunately for us two of our most reliable states have the general ticket system and there will be great difficulty in getting them to aid us in this movement. Gen^l. T thinks this movement vital to our success. If our friends sustain it there will be no Convention and New York will have the responsibility of defeating it. Will they aid us? You have seen by this Rhett's article in the Spectator on this subject. I will write tonight to urge Greenhow to sustain it. I have already written to young M^cLane. This last writes me that our friends in the middle states are prepared to break up the Convention and he asked my opinion of the propriety of his advocating the election by the House. I replied that to advocate an election by the House as good 'per se' would do us mischief but he might well show that the evils coming from it would be less than that of a packed Convention or one which like the Syracuse plan would destroy all the influence of the smaller states in the Presidential election.

As I came through Baltimore last Saturday I saw Waterson of Tennessee who has been recently appointed to Buenos Ayres by Tyler. He was just from a tour through 8 states. He says he thinks there is a growing impression amongst the Democrats that their only hope of success is in an election by Congress. He says that in Tennessee since the election the party are convinced that they will be beaten in Tennessee if V B is run. He was at the Hermitage about 4 weeks ago and Gen^l Jackson told him that he would vote for you if nominated. He thinks that J still prefers V B but says he is now very silent about it. He was told by Polk's brother in law that you could take Tennessee but V B could not. Turney is now convinced that V B cannot run successfully in Tennessee but talks about Cass. Johnson is gaining strength in the west and Benton it is said is alarmed. He says in his public speeches that it is "no mark of democracy to vote for Col^o Johnson". Allen Medary and that set Waterson thinks are immovably for V Buren, but they will be beaten (he thinks) in Ohio by the Whigs. In my own State M^r Ritchie will have more difficulty than he expected. Your friends here do not

yet know their own strength, but they are numerous and talented.

I have so many letters to write this evening that I must reserve what I have further to say for another occasion

Yours truly

R M T HUNTER

From Digff Green.

C. C.

London 29th Sept. 1843

MY DEAR SIR I send you the Examiner's Comments on your letter. The article was prepared by one of the most influential members of Parliament who has at all times taken a most prominent lead in the Anti Slavery movement, and I value it the more because you cannot fail to see that I have done much to remove from his mind the prejudice against the south, and especially on the questions of slavery and state rights.

I have also seen Lord Palmerston and several other leading Whigs who were most disposed to go astray on that point and have done much to pledge them to free trade principles without reference to the source from where the produce comes in exchange. Sir Robert Peel is sound in Principle but it is now manifest that he will fold his arms and wait for events. The Anti Corn law league are making great progress and have enlarged their basis so as to go for free trade and against all monopolies. They have just made their report of the proceedings of last year, and have expended about \$240,000 and propose expending 500,000\$ more the next year in disseminating tracts, delivering lectures and prosecuting all bribery &c at Elections.

The Tories were put into power by the free trade and liberal party, because they had no confidence in the Whigs. Hence Sir Robert Peel was compelled to do more than the Whigs had promised to do. The Whigs are now prepared to go further than the tories and hence the free trade and liberal party will support the Whigs ag^t the tories. What I have labored to do is to commit the Whigs in favor of free trade with America and of a favorable arrangement of our boundary. The

article in the Examiner, which is one of the most influential of the Whig papers is one step, and I propose before I leave to make arrangements for an active Correspondence, *through the press*, between the free trade party of England and the free trade party of the United States; I am to see Mr Cobden on Tuesday for this purpose.

As part of my arrangements Mr Senior one of the ablest and most influential writers for the Edingburg Review has agreed to review your life and speeches and Judge Upshur's review of Judge Story's book on the Am. Constitution,¹ and Mr McGregor has promised me that he will adopt and engraft our view of the Constitution and of trade in his great work which he is preparing under the order of the British Government on the Commercial systems of the World. His will be a standard work of great merit and altho he is not a lawyer he will do much in disabusing the European Public as to our character and institutions.

I have written to Judge Upshur requesting him to forward to Mr McGregor and Mr Senior Copies of your Life and Speeches and of his review. It is of the first importance that these gentlemen shall be furnished with Copies at an early day, and hope that the Judge will attend to it. . . .

From R. B. Rhett.

C. C.

[Washington, Oct. 7, 1843]

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from New York whither I went to endeavor to establish a new Press there. I am assured that it will go into operation next week: but I fear it will not have the means to employ such talent as to make it very useful. I went also to Richmond, and we have arranged that Mr. Greenhow is to come here so soon as his place is supplied in Petersburg. Neither here nor at New York was anything done before I came. Next week, I propose starting the Spectator as a tri-weekly Paper, I being the sole writer in it. I suppose you receive it, and see what I have done in it.

In New York our friends are very firm. If they can get up a vigorous press there we will accomplish a great deal.

¹ Petersburg, 1840.

Last week without an effort we carried 9 out of the 17 wards, for nominating Candidates to the Legislature Sh'ff &c. Our side is moving I think both in that City and in New England. I saw also men from the interior of N. Y. A Press will shortly be set up in Utica. One is apt to be deceived from hearing only from one side, but I am strongly of opinion that we are gaining and M^r V. B. is loosing ground. We will carry the District system in Connecticut, and may succeed in postponing the action of the approaching Convention in that State. Watterson was here last Week and had a long conversation with Johnson, and the result is, that he has written to Polk that Johnson will take the Vice Presidency on V. B. Ticket. The rumour here to Day is also that Webster and Clay are again friends and Webster is to run as V. P. on Clay's Ticket. The Old Swiss is bought up again by the [*illegible*]. But this is not certain altho' likely.

If my views of the State of things are correct, it will not be wise to scale off from the Democratic or even V. B. Party. It appears to me so plain that M^r V. B. cannot be elected, that a few months must convince stupidity itself. If he persists in his method of organizing the Convention, it will require no great effort to kill him. He will do that himself, and if it is necessary for us to do it, it will be time enough to take our way of doing it, when the time arrives for doing it. It is equally clear, that altho we can destroy him, we cannot succeed ourselves without M^r V. B. friends. We have not yet reached the popular mind with our reasons for opposing a Convention, by a Consolidated State Representation. We must have their ears: that when we move off we may move with power, and have the estimation of all impartial men, instead of violent prejudice to battle with. Hence I am for a moderate but firm tone. Fair and repeated discussion of principles. Repel attacks—but do it in such a way as to show we are on the defensive and rather from our tone than from our words let them understand where we will be found. Much [talk] of our future course in or out of the Convention will be wrong. Some of our friends I think have gone too fast in this respect. It will be time enough when the Convention is to meet to determine first whether we will go into it—and second what we will do in it. In my opinion, it is by no means

improbable that at this time Mr. V. B. will be no Candidate—Cass will then be the most formidable Man. If he would consent to take the V. P. it would be the best arrangement. I have rec^d. proposals to that effect. What say you to it?

I am urged to return home to see my new Constituents this fall and I am told that if I do not I may be opposed in the next election. My answer has been, that it was my design to visit my Constituents this fall; but that I am satisfied that I am here doing them more service than by going to see them. If they will not believe this, they may turn me out, if they please. I shall stay here and work in their cause and the cause of the Country.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Clemson and believe me Dear Sir

Yours truly

R. B. RHETT

Oct 7th 1843

Mrs. Rhett is still in So. Car.

From R. B. Rhett.

c. c.

Washington, Oct 16th 1843

MY DEAR SIR I find I will be compelled to leave this City and go home to bring Mr. Rhett, and I think I had better do it at once, so that I might be able to return the sooner, before the meeting of Congress.

The late Elections have very clearly shown that the Whigs are very powerful—so powerful as to render it pretty clear that Clay will beat Van Buren. Webster it is now well understood will sink back into the Whig Party, and they will be united. If Van Buren is run, Clay will beat him any how; but with the divisions and lukewarmness, (if no worse occurs) which must necessarily follow a nomination by a Convention constituted as Mr. V. B.'s friends propose, it will be desperate folly, to attempt to run him. And yet if they persist in their method of organisation, and we oppose or secede from the Party, it is clear you cannot be elected; for, there are sufficient V. B. Men in all the States, with the Whigs, to defeat us. Indeed, if you were to get the nomination in the present tem-

per of Mr V. B.'s friends, it would be useless, for I am satisfied they would stand aloof and see us beaten. Van Buren cannot succeed without us, and we cannot succeed without his friends. Neither in their present mood will allow the other to succeed; whilst we are conjointly too weak, to carry the election with a nobody like Cass, or even Buchanan. You are the only Man, who can beat Clay in the South, and the carrying of the South has usually been the Presidency. As things now look, there appears to me to be but one method for the Democratic Party to succeed, and that is, each portion of the Union running the man most popular in each Section. Clay's chance is decidedly the best for the next President.

All this mischief has arisen from Mr. V. B. allowing himself to be used by others who in flattering his vanity and ambition, were only using him to keep you down. He will fail; and prove himself to be the heaviest curse of the Party. Had he not stepped in the way, the whole [Atlantic?] board would have united on you, and we would have known none of the divisions which are the strength of the Whigs.

I shall not leave here until Friday, and hope before I leave here, to hear something definite from Mr. Greenhow, who is waiting for a fit person to take his place. In the mean time I have written to Hunter and Maxcy to aid Mr. Hunt until I return, but to tell you the truth I calculate but little on either of them, to contribute to the Paper.

The next Congress will be a very agitated one, and will doubtless affect powerfully the Presidency. If the Democrats would play the free trade policy boldly out, and sustain the Texas question—and run you;—we can succeed. The Zealots at the North will oppose Clay because from the South, and in the South you would beat him on the Tariff question, especially if his friends oppose the modifications which we propose, as they will. But I fear there is little hope of such a combination of wise results. The probability is, dissension and defeat.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Clemson and believe me

Yours

R B RHETT

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Charleston Sunday Morning, Oct. 22, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR On my arrival here day before yesterday I found your friends in some excitement. I heard that you were determined to refuse immediately to go into a convention at all, and that you desired the central Com. here to take the stand openly unless N. York receded from the Syracuse Convention &c. &c. I saw Elmore, Boyce, Conner, Gadsden, Gourdin, Aster &c. &c. but could get nothing very definite or certain, except they seemed to be in confusion. Elmore then shewed me a letter from Rhett at Washington, in which the first sentence was, "I entirely disapprove of the course advised by Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Maxcy," and then goes on to give excellent advice and full of good sense according to my judgment, but I could not understand what yours and Maxcy's advice was, and Elmore could not tell me, only that he understood it was to refuse to go into convention &c. &c. This was all strange to me. Rhett is to be here to-day and Elmore is to have us all together to-morrow to consult freely. I think nothing ought to be done decisive until Congress meets and let every friend of ours be on the ground at least 5 days before the meeting and let them consult together freely, and give the most authentic information as to the true state of things in their different States. My own opinion is that we ought to give up the Speakership if we can get the Printer—in the present state of the country it is more important to us. But I would give up neither unless they would liberally and cordially give to us the Printer. It will strike a decided blow at the Globe and Enquirer. If they will not agree, then push Lewis—or I would still rather take a Buchanan Speaker if they will act with us and the Whigs and give us the Printer. But I fear Lewis might not like this, as I hear he is eager for the Speakership. But of one thing I am sure the most decided move ought to be made at the opening of Congress. And in the consultation tomorrow I shall take decided grounds agst. doing anything final at present, but wait the meeting of Congress. I think Clay is stronger than he was. I have no idea that any portion of the Whigs will ever support you as long as there is the slightest chance for him.

I have just seen Col. Hansen from Milledgeville. He was with Berrien day before yesterday at Savannah, and has recently been all through Geo. You know he is Whig but personally a friend of yours. He says that State will undoubtedly go for Clay, and that the Democratic party are split and that a new convention will be called and nominate V. Buren &c. I recd a letter from Col. I. W. Hayne of Montgomery and also one from J. M. Calhoun the other day. They both say that they think the Democratic party will nominate V. B. this Winter at Tuscaloosa. Now this may come from their fears and their peculiar position.

If N. York acts upon what our friends have moved there—that is to elect Dist. Representatives to the Convention this will bring up the Question directly, and we may have a separate Dist. Convention, but I hardly think it will *break the organization* of the *Democratic* party and will only throw off our own State. The consequence may be to give us also N. Ca., at least to keep it from V. B., but this would not take you to the house. I think it very probable it might elect Clay.

Do tell Mr. Clemson that Dr. Geddings tells me there will be no vacancy in that Professorship and that he would always be pleased to aid him when an opportunity occurs.

In great haste but Truly

F. W. PICKENS.

*From Joseph Smith.*¹

C. C.

Nauvoo, Ill. Nov. 4th 1843

DEAR SIR. As we understand that you are a candidate for the Presidency at the ensuing Election; and as the Latter Day Saints (sometimes called Mormons, who now constitute a numerous class in the school politic of this vast Republic), have been robbed of an immense amount of property, and endured nameless sufferings by the State of Missouri, and from her borders have been driven by force of arms, contrary to our National Covenant, and as, in vain, we have sought redress,

¹ The Mormon prophet, Calhoun's reply, dated December 2, 1843, may be seen in Niles's Register, LXV, 357.

by all constitutional, legal, and honorable means, in her courts, her Executive Councils and her Legislative Halls; and as we have petitioned Congress to take cognizance of our sufferings without effect, we have judged it wisdom to address you this communication, and solicit an immediate, specific, and candid reply to What *will be your rule of action*, relative to us, as a *people*, should fortune favor your ascension to the Chief Magistracy.

Most Respectfully, Sir, Your Friend and the friend of peace, good order, and Constitutional Rights,

JOSEPH SMITH.

In behalf of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

From James Hamilton.

C. C.

Milledgeville Nov 21st 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, On my arrival at this place I found a most unfortunate state of things in regard to the *Democratic Party*, which is broken routed and disunited. The Old Union Flank of the party attribute their defeat to your friends bringing forward the nomination at the June Convention and selecting Cooke instead of some one from their own ranks. The truth is the old Unionists are deeply tainted with Van Burenism, and if some means are not taken to unite the party it can never be rallied again by its old Leaders. I think the party is panic struck with their overwhelming Defeat here. I can find but one man in the right spirit and that is Howard. We have both written for M^cAllister who has more influence with the Union portion of the party than any Man in Georgia, to come here and consult with us what it may be best to do.

The District System will be engrafted on the Constitution of Georgia in the composition of the Senate and H. of R. and for the Congressional Representation. The Democrats have called a Convention to meet here on the 2^d Monday in Dec. expressly in reference to the Presidential election. The Van Buren Men desire by its means to reconfirm the present Delegates to the Baltimore Convention but to leave them unfettered by instructions to *vote for you*, but to vote as they deem best at the Convention. Howard and your friends will of course if they are strong enough come out with an open nomination of

yourself—or if this cannot be carried Refer the choice of new Delegates to the Districts which the Amendment to the Constitution will lay off. I have advised this latter course most strenuously because I know that it is more in conformity with your own views—Connecticut and N. H. having gone against us and Mr. Van Buren's triumph in N. Y. have disheartened your friends exceedingly in this State, and with the exception of Howard and a few other staunch spirits—the opinion seems to be gaining ground that you ought to withdraw, which I have discountenanced with utter scorn—as a pusillanimous retreat before even the Battle is commenced. Judge Colquitt I am sorry to say seems to incline to this opinion that he doubted if Dick Johnson runs whether you would be one of the *three* highest to go into the House, and if you did go in, he thought you could get no other than the States that sent you *there*. In other words that in the House Van Buren had already a majority secured or if not, that Clay would be elected. By retiring Colquitt thinks in 4 years you would be the Man chosen by the people of the U. S. above all other Candidates if you were *now* to make yourself so acceptable to the Democracy as to withdraw from distracting it any further. As I regard such a retrograde movement as not to be entertained which would be construed as resulting rather from a source of weakness than a Magnanimous concession to your opponent Mr Van B. who has no right to ask or expect it at your hands I have set my face resolutely against your backing out as had our friend Howard. The truth is My Dear Sir the democratic party of Geo composed as it is [is] not worth the paper on which its obituary might be written—and what is the Democracy of the Union to which your friends have linked you?—An immense mass of *ignorance* moved by the necessary Momentum of *Knavery*—I never believed the Leaders and organs of the party would have the public vertue and discernment to select you as their Man. Your friends have committed a great and fatal mistake in committing you to the Democracy and of bringing you out *eo nomine* under its banner. You should have stood on your own ground as a War Republican of 1812. and in your place in the Senate *still have been at the head of a Great Southern party*. I believe this Session of Congress would have not passed without you having

a Republican party around you which would have given you a primary strength not inferior to your Competitors. But they have attempted to bind you hand and foot and to throw you in the midst of an old subtle and implacable foe, the Old Jackson party of the Kitchen and Bed Chamber happily uniting the morals of Kendal with those of M^{rs} Eaton. I was cursed by your friends for my London Letter. I wrote it I confess to you to give you a Platform to Stand upon in this coming contest which I knew you could only occupy with strength on some Middle ground, which your Speech in 1835 on the Currency and your last Speech on the Tariff most amply afforded. If we had had a distinct party formed between the extreme restrictive rigor of M^r Van Buren school which means hypocrisy covering licentiousness and the extreme licence of M^r Clays, I believe the Country might have been carried under the lead of your genius and public vertue. But it is too late now. Your friends have brought you out as a Democrat and under that Flag with a devided Empire you will have to fight.

I have told our friends here that nothing now remains but to *agitate* and to *agitate deeply* and *extensively*. At a Meeting of our friends in Charleston it was agreed on my suggestion that we should get up a Young's Mans Convention to meet at Columbus Geo calling on all young men among your friends to hold meetings all over the South and send Delegates early in the Spring to that place [to] take into consideration the best means of promoting your election. The question was from what point the invitation should come for the assembly of such a body. It was agreed that it should not come from S. C. and the Season of the year forbid all hope of its coming from New York as Delegates would not travel to N. Y. during the inclement weather of the coming Winter and early Spring beyond which the Convention could not be postponed. It was agreed that if possible the invitation should come from Georgia which our friends will endeavour to effect before the adjournment of the Legislature, if it can be compassed with harmony and perfect concord, which can alone give authority to such a move. It is not to be concealed that the old Union party of Geo desire to *repress every token in your favor for fear it may prejudice Van Buren*. It is still confidently believed in a fair issue before the people

of Georgia you could beat any man in the U. States but between Clay and Van Buren it will scarcely be a contest—as I believe the struggle all over the Union will turn out if it should happen that Van Buren is the Nominee of the Baltimore Convention. From the progress of events, I am more reluctant than ever to go into that “Den of Thieves.” Let me know your own views of *our* best course, and whether you have determined on *your own*. My advice to you may be comprehended in a single sentence—*Stand firm and wait the progress of events.*

I shall leave this next week for the Chattahoochee, there will write fully and without reserve to Major Howard as to the [appearance ?] of the affairs of our party throughout the Union and in this State.

Address me at Fort Mitchell (Ala) to which place I shall return next week prepared to give any impulse in any quarter you may desire.

Having disposed of this public matter let me advert to another.

Do you know that I think that our friend Howard has started a Question upon which the highest interests of the South may be involved to wit—whether Texas as an integral part of Louisiana is not *de jure* now in the Union. If under the treaty of 1803 between France and the U. States she was comprehended in the Limits of Louisiana and as such was admitted into the Union, the Gen^l Gov^t. could not cede any portion of the Territory of a State without violating its territorial sovereignty. This was overlooked by you all in Mr. Monroe’s administration when the Florida Treaty was concluded. But no lapse of time can consecrate a Usurpation on the part of the Federal Gov^t. If this be a true view of the subject, Louisiana according to Howards opinion Louisi^a has nothing to do but to enter her jurisdiction over Texas and she is *de jure* and *de facto* in the Union. Let me hear from you immediately on this point.

Ever faith^{ly}.

P. S. Major Howard is at my elbow since closing this Letter and begs me to say emphatically to *you hold on*. He will be exceedingly gratified to hear from you.

Howard may move on the Texas question in a few days.

C. C.

*From Theophilus Fisk.*¹

Portsmouth, Va. Nov. 29, 1843.

SIR, May I dare to presume so much upon your kindness as to beg that you will favour me with a letter to any friend you may have in Europe, that you may feel at liberty to make me acquainted with. Should it meet your convenience and approbation to grant this request, you will please add to the obligation by addressing it to me at Washington, under cover to the Hon. D. H. Lewis. I expect to sail for England or France about the middle of December as bearer of despatches from our government.

I take the liberty of forwarding you the proceedings of the late meeting of our district Convention, to elect a delegate, or delegates, to be held in Baltimore in May next. You will perceive that it adjourned without going into an election, in consequence of three of the Counties in their district, being unrepresented. The motion for adjournment was made and carried by your friends, and they have gained great credit for their magnanimity, as we outnumbered the Van Buren delegates more than *two to one!* And that too with but little effort on our part, while they moved earth and sea to pack the Convention with their exclusive friends. We shall lose nothing by adjourning, as Princess Anne and Surrey Counties will elect delegates friendly to yourself, and the other (Southampton) will, it is thought, do the same. The votes of the Counties will stand in the Convention:

<i>Calhoun.</i>		<i>Van Buren.</i>	
Norfolk County	2	Sussex	1
Norfolk borough	1		
Isle of Wight	1	<i>Doubtful.</i>	
Nansemond	1	Southampton	1
Surrey	1		
Princess Anne	1		
	<hr/>		
	7		

I very greatly fear that the Convention at Baltimore will be anything rather than a true exponent of public opinion. Indeed I have feared this from the very first, as M^r. Pickens

¹ Theophilus Fisk was an editor in southeastern Virginia, and a prominent supporter of Calhoun in that region.

and Mr. Lewis can both testify. Knowing the trading politicians who draw the wires for Mr. Van Buren, as well as I do, I could not trust them so far as to meet them in Convention; this made me so anxious to unfurl your banner "subject *only* to the decision of the American people." I ventured to do this; it met the approbation of all our friends here; but other papers devoted to your interest thinking it best to say "subject to the Baltimore Convention" I very reluctantly yielded my preferences. I hope that your friends will never again consent to submit their claims to any other body than the sovereign people.

We have gained a very considerable accession to our numbers by the "Tyler meeting" which was held here some six or eight weeks ago. The Clay and Van Buren men united and established a new paper here in opposition to the "Old Dominion;" to counteract their base designs, your friends united with those who were friendly to Mr. Tyler and held a large public meeting—the proceedings of which have been so basely misrepresented by the Whig papers, as being of an unfriendly character to yourself. These gentlemen continue to act with us in good faith, and will do so at the polls, when they see that there is no hope of his re-election.

Pardon the liberty I have taken and believe me

With the highest respect your ob't sev't

THEOPHILUS FISK.

From Virgil Mawcy.

c. c.

Tulip Hill West River, 3rd Dec. 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, I duly received your letter of the 14th Nov. some days ago and should have gone over immediately to consult with Mr. Rhett on the expediency of a congressional consultation for the purpose of preventing a split in the party, but circumstances occurred which prevented my doing so. I have concluded therefore to present the conclusions to which my mind has been brought by a view of the past. It would not be safe to go into any convention, however formed, with the Richmond and Albany politicians. And it would not be consistent with principle to give countenance to any one, not formed on the District System, and as there is no reason to

expect that the friends of M^r. V. B. will alter their course in regard to this, it appears to me that you ought at some period—what period future events must decide—to publish, thro' the medium of a letter to a friend written for publication or in some other mode, your reasons for determining not to produce division by allowing your name to be presented before a convention, formed in whole or in part on any other plan than a direct representation of the people in Districts. Such a course would place you higher than ever before the country, which is getting sick of Caucus or Convention Dictation, and preserve your lofty name and character as a rallying point in the future,—whereas if you went into the convention and should be rejected, as you undoubtedly would be, it would lower your character and destroy in a great measure the influence of your name in rallying the good men of all parties, when a new organization of parties shall take place as it will undoubtedly do after M^r. Clays term is out. I say after M^r. Clay's term is out: for such is the dissatisfaction and ill feeling now produced in the different portions of the Republican party by the base fraud which has procured every one of the nominations of V. B. that I do not believe that if he should be withdrawn even you could be elected. The treachery of the V. B. men would produce your defeat, if nothing else. I do not think that any consultation of the Republican Members of Congress would do any good. A majority of them are for Van B. and determined I believe to persevere as they have begun. Our friends in New England have grievously misled us—and painful as it is to say so, yet as I feel it a sacred duty of friendship to give my opinions without reserve, it does appear to me, that there is nothing left but to decide how you should be withdrawn so that you may be preserved for the country in future. There is one event and but one, it appears to me, that can alter this state of things—and that is, the immediate calling up of the Texas question, which may possibly unite the South and by weakening Clay bring the Southern candidate into the house. Whether this will take place or not cannot be known before the meeting of Congress, a day or two after which I will go over to Washington and write you again.

Faithfully yours,

V. MAXCY.

From R. B. Rhett.

C. C.

[Dec. 8, 1843.]

MY DEAR SIR I told you in my last written in great haste and disgust that I would shortly write to you again.

For a month before Congress met I was labouring to effect an organization of all opposed to Mr. Van Buren, and thus control the elections in the House of Representatives. I thought, if this was accomplished, it would show such a decided opposition to him, as to put him out of the question for the Presidency. For this purpose I saw Mr. Dallas¹ of Philadelphia the Brother in Law of Judge Wilkins,² and disclosed to him my views. The Judge fell into our policy. We were to run him for Speaker, keep out of all caucusses, and with the Pennsylvanians and our Southern Men with the Johnson Men control events. Johnson who has been for some time in Washington fell into our views. Everything went on well until Ingersol and Buchanan arrived in Washington. The former by an active and the latter by a negative influence, scared the Pennsylvania Delegation, and they broke ground. Our Southern friends who were trembling before at the boldness and hazards of this policy, soon gave up also. As soon as this was ascertained on Saturday I returned home and wrote to you my last Letter informing you of this result and my determination to have nothing to do with the Caucus. Near Sun-set however Lewis sent a Gentleman with a hook to me, to beg me to return to Washington, to consider with our friends some new measures. I went, and found the proposition, to force on the Caucus, the 2/3 principle of nomination, or to secede. To carry this, I was strongly urged to go into the Caucus. I consented at last went into the Caucus and carried it. The rest you will have learned from the Papers. We were obliged to stand to the nominations when made according to our own rule.³ The Georgians tried hard to make one of their Citizens [?] clerk. It failed and I was glad of it.

¹ George M. Dallas, Vice-President of the United States from 1845 to 1849.

² William Wilkins, Secretary of War 1844-1845

³ The Democrats nominated and the House elected John W Jones, of Virginia, Speaker, and Blair and Rives printers,

The effect of the organization of the House and indeed all late events bearing on the Presidency, is undoubtedly, to make M^r. Van Buren the nominee of the Party. Indeed, if you could obtain the nomination, as I stated to you before, it would be useless in the present temper of things. The Van Buren people would defeat you as they did Cooper in Georgia. And unless the revision of the Tariff is properly supported by the Party, it is equally impossible for M^r. V. B. to be elected. Our friends will undoubtedly defeat him. Our policy at present is, to keep things as they are. Push on our principles as to the Tariff and the organisation of the Convention and take position in future as circumstances render necessary. Strive to control events for good, for the present, and as to the future to keep you in position to be head of the Party if it dissolves by defeat, or should even succeed. Time will develop what we shall do, and when we shall do it. We are going to be beaten most disastrously with M^r. Van Buren; and I trust there will be end of the cursed and cursing influence of the old Jackson Clique. On you we must rally—and you must keep yourself in position, to enable us to do so. The Whigs are sanguine and buoyant of success, I think with good reason.

And now My Dear Sir in communicating to [you] once more the sad tidings of failure, I know you will appreciate the efforts of your friends, whilst you will probably regret results so far as you are concerned probably less than any of them. Let us cheer up our hearts with the remembrance and consolation, that if God regards the interests of individuals, he must much more regard the movements of Nations—and that in him we are safe. To labour with energy and cheerfulness, but to submit with humility to his decrees is the dictate of the truest philosophy as well as the requisition of our peace. You have heard of my mighty affliction in the loss of my Brother. In him is gone the chief personal reward I looked to in my public labours—lifting up this great and virtuous mind to a sphere of usefulness congenial to its powers. God has said, “I forbid it” and calls him home to himself. I bow I trust with a proper submission, and may I not hope, that I shall meet you hereafter, if no more on earth, with him, in the mansions of rest, Let me implore

you, my aged friend and political Father, seek God in Christ. I have found him, and you will find him also if you will seek him. Excuse me, if it is presumption, in thus speaking to you, and attribute it, to a sincere and affectionate interest in your temporal and spiritual welfare. That God will bless and visit you and yours with his salvation is the prayer of

Your friend

R B RHETT

Dec 8"—1843

P. S. Mrs. Rhett who is working at the table makes me take up my pen to send to you her kindest remembrance.

From Virgil Murey.

C. C.

Washington 10th Dec. 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote the enclosed letter a few days ago, but missing the hour of departure of the mail from West River, I brought it over here and have concluded to send it to you. If I write now under feelings of less discouragement, I do it under those of greater mortification from the events that have taken place here. You have no doubt received various accounts of them from your friends here, who participated in them. I am glad I did not get here till after the final Caucus, in which your flag, tho' not struck down, as represented by the correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer, was nevertheless not held up by your friends in defiance of the violent gale that was blowing, with the unflinching firmness it ought to have been, for fear as I could not have changed the current of things, my excitement might have led me into indiscretions, that might have excited the resentment and ill-feelings of some of our friends without doing any good, as my private station would have given me neither the right nor the opportunity at the suitable moment to interfere or remonstrate.

I have now been here four days and have been endeavouring amidst conflicting accounts, (from the desire of those who participated in the movements here to cast blame from themselves upon others,) to find out the truth, which I believe is as nearly as follows.

Mr. Rhett, as he, no doubt, has informed you, had taken a journey to Philadelphia and New York partly with a view to form a coalition among the friends of the Candidates for nomination opposed to Mr. Van Buren for the purpose of making Mr. Wilkins speaker, who I understand without hesitation gave the necessary pledges in regard to Committees, the 23rd rule &c. Rhett thought he had succeeded in forming a combination sufficiently strong, with the aid of the Whigs to elect Wilkins and to refuse to go into caucus. Among the allies were the Pennsylvania delegation and some of Johnson's friends. If all had remained firm, Wilkins would have been elected, but it is said that Buchanan after his arrival had not firmness enough to keep his friends up to the sticking point. Your friends then, I understand, yielded so far as to go into the caucus in the expectation of being able to prevent the election of the Van Buren Speaker by requiring $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of the number to effect a nomination. The Van Buren men unexpectedly agreed to this proposition and obtained the majority required on the first vote:—thro' the aid, as Gen. Anderson who is here informed me, of three votes from your men, who from weakness dreamed of *conciliation* of the V. B. men to the last. Even our friend Lewis is charged with want of firmness in resisting the torrent, and did not, as he might have done, keep one or two of his delegation straight. Mr. Payne is the only name I recollect of the three, except Mr. Arrington, of N^o Carolina, who are said to have voted for Jones. It was now too late to retrieve the false step of going into Caucus at all, and all the officers fixed on by the V. B. men were elected.

Some indiscreet remarks by Mr. Belser, one of your friends from Alabama, to the effect that "constituted as the National Convention would be Mr. Calhoun's friends had not the slightest expectation of a nomination" have been the ground of the false representation by the correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer.

The result of all has been to place you in a false position and make the impression on the public that you were given up as a Candidate and that your friends were disposed to fall in with the current in favor of V. B. One or two only, I am told, are suspected of a disposition to fall down and worship

Moloch but the rest are deeply mortified at the course of events and now would be glad if they had taken a different stand in the beginning. You will see from the Spectator the turn which Rhett is endeavoring to give of the matter with a view to rectify public opinion in regard not only yourself but of your friends' disposition to give way to the violence and despotism of the Albany politicians. I have given it as my opinion, that something more was necessary than newspaper declarations, and that some of those known to possess your confidence should come out and in their own names and contradict the false representations of surrender on the part of your friends and that there should be a meeting of your friends and an expression of opinion given by it, which should relieve you from the false position in which they have placed you. Whether anything will be done or not I cannot even give an opinion, but I am rather disposed to think that some occasion, that may arise in some of the proceedings of Congress will be taken to set public opinion right. At first I was of opinion that you ought to come out in proper person and avow your opinions on the subject of a Convention, constituted as it evidently will be and the impossibility of your ever permitting your name to be placed before it or giving in any way your sanction to the protective doctrines of the Syracuse Convention, or their mode of forming a National Convention. I now think if this course had been firmly taken before the assembling of Congress it would have been best, as to do it now *immediately* would be attributed to the recent events. But my opinion now is that it would be best to wait until the Administration are prepared to make a communication to Congress on the subject of Texas, which Mr Upshur thinks will be in about three weeks, and then come out on all these grounds together.

With the last Gentleman I have had several free and most confidential communications, with permission however to communicate what I please to you. These communications have revived my hopes and put me in better spirits than when I wrote the enclosed letter. He, as well as all your friends, with whom I have conversed are of opinion, that convention nomination will still have such force, even in the Southern States as to preclude the hope, that a rally can be made

against Mr V. B. on the Anti-tariff protective principle alone, there are so many even of Southern men, who yield to the Doctrine of discrimination for incidental protection being admitted into a Revenue Tariff. It is necessary therefore to have some more exciting topic connected with it and this will be the Annexation of Texas.

In this opinion I concur, and think that your manifesto, whenever it shall come out, should embrace the three topics of Convention, Tariff and Texas.

Mr Upshur informs me—in the strictest confidence however except to you—that the terms of a treaty between him and the Texan Minister have already been agreed on and written out, and that the latter only waits for instructions from President Houston, which are expected in two or three weeks. But some of the suspicions of the treachery of this Houston, which you have seen circulated in the newspapers, it is feared, have some foundation and instructions may possibly be refused—in which case Mr U. thinks the Texan Minister, convinced as he is of the almost unanimous desire of the people of Texas to come into the Union, may be induced to sign a treaty without instructions and go home and throw himself on the protection of the People of Texas. The President is resolved that he will communicate such a treaty to the Congress, and if the Minister has not firmness to sign he will adopt some other mode of bringing the matter before Congress. Mr Upshur is of opinion that this is the only matter that will take sufficient hold of the feelings of the South, to rally it on a southern candidate and weaken Clay and Van Buren so much there as to bring the election into the House, where the Southern States would not dare to vote for Mr V. B. and C. This is the result I alluded too—as inspiring the only hope I now had—in the latter part of the enclosed letter. The President has some hopes that he may become that Southern Candidate. But Mr U. considers you as the only one that can be taken up and with a view to your availing yourself of the first moment, after the Executive communication to Congress on Texas, to place before the public your views on the question, that all, who concur with you, may at once rally upon you, you ought at once to write a letter as if in answer to one from myself making inquiries of

you as to your opinions on the subject, in case it should come up, which letter I should at once publish after the Communication by the Executive should be made,—for which purpose he would write me as to the time of coming over to Washington to have the letter published.

I beg to say, that I mention my own name as the person to be written to, simply because M^r Upshur did, tho' I think it would be better to choose some more conspicuous person for your correspondent. I will only add, that if you choose to address it to me, I beg you to believe I shall fear no consequences of proscription in consequence of my name being identified with this subject as well as the others I have above suggested to you to join with them—as it is possible may be the case with some of your more important and more ambitious friends, who I have heard with grief and mortification have yielded to the idea of your running on the ticket with V. B. as *Vice President*, in order to secure the successorship!!! The first wish of my heart is to see you President but I would rather see you lose a dozen Presidencies, were it possible, than to see the high honors of your great and pure name brought down so low and tarnished by such a polluting association. No: the more bold and lofty the ground you take the better and the better chance you will have [of] forming a rallying point in better times for the virtue of the country.

I had a number of other things to say, but the time has come for my going to the rail road by which I go to Annapolis this evening on my way home. General Anderson is here, who concurs in all my views and would have written to you but from an injury to his hand which disables him from doing it.

With kindest regards, with those of my daughter M^{rs} Markoe to M^{rs} Calhoun and yourself—I remain
faithfully yours

V. MAXCY.

From Thomas W. Gilmer.¹

Washington Dec. 13, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR At the instance of a mutual friend I venture to drop you a line, not to speak of the chances, calculations,

¹Original lent by Mrs. J. F. Calhoun. Printed once before, in Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 130. See Calhoun's reply of December 25.

and chapter of accidents of a presidential election, (for these I have very little appetite)—, but to remind you of a conversation we had nearly a year since on a subject, which, as I then predicted, is beginning to attract general and deserved attention. I allude to the annexation of Texas to our Union. I have not doubted for some time that this question would soon assume a practical shape and that its results would ultimately (if not immediately) enure to the peace, perman[en]ce and prosperity of the Union. If the question were free from some prejudices (which by the way apply with equal force to a portion of the Union as it is) it would not be approached for a moment as one of only local importance. It is indeed a great American question and involves the first principle of American independence. The efforts of European powers which have been or may be made to establish an influence in Texas prejudicial to our commercial interests, and republican institutions, will probably aid in giving to this question a national aspect somewhat sooner than could be hoped from its intrinsic merits. You remember I asked you last winter to turn your mind to this subject in all its bearings and to be ready to meet it. As a Candidate for public favor, I would not have you or any other to be committed on this question in advance. I do not therefore approach you as one of those now in the public eye as candidates for the chief magistracy, but as an illustrious citizen, whose opinions would derive no additional force from any station, as I believe they would not be influenced by a desire to obtain it. I have no doubt you *have* bestowed much reflection on this particular subject. While I am not at liberty (nor am I informed) to speak of the precise state of this question at present, I will say to you that negotiations have been commenced, the object of which is to annex Texas to the Union. On a question of such magnitude, it is not meet, that a voice, which for more than thirty years has been heard with so much interest on all public questions, should be silent. I will esteem it a favor, and so will many others, if you will give us the benefit of your counsels now. They shall be regarded as confidential, if you chuse, or otherwise. You are familiar with the negotiations, correspondence, &c between our government and Spain from 1805 to 1819, with regard to the boundaries of Louisiana under the treaty with

France. The effect of annexation on the interests (domestic and foreign) of our country, however, is the point to which public attention will be chiefly directed. The test will be practically applied, whether the compromises of the constitution are to be regarded, or the union to be endangered by violating rights secured under the compact of 1787.

Excuse this liberty, I beg you, and allow me to subscribe myself

with sincere esteem and very high consideration

Your friend &c

THOMAS W. GILMER.

From R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

(Private)

Loyds Essex Dec^r. 19th 1843

MY DEAR SIR Since my last to you I have learned from Washington from a *source entirely reliable*, that a treaty for the annexation of Texas will probably be submitted to the Senate this Winter. Nothing but Houston's refusal can prevent it (as I am informed) and it is supposed that he *dare not refuse*. He will probably impose the condition upon the Texian minister that there shall be a probability of its ratification in our Senate. Van Zandt the present representative of Texas in Washington is anxious for the treaty and will probably be easy to satisfy that there is a chance for its ratification. These things I was requested to communicate to you concealing the name of my authority which is entirely unnecessary as you will readily guess it. It is thought to be a matter of great importance by the administration, as I suppose it is, to do all that is possible to secure the Senate. Of the effects of such a measure both as to principles and men you will be better able to judge than I can be. It will be something if we can really make an issue with the antislavery feeling and arouse the public mind to its importance. Can this be done? will not the Presidential Election absorb it and will not Ritchie et id omne genus do all that they can to give the question the "go by" and divert public attention from it? If it could be made one of the real issues of the day I think I foresee many consequences to flow from it which will be interesting to you

in more than the public point of view. Would it not force you again upon the theatre of public action let the question terminate as it might? Could the South look to any other man to conduct it through such a crisis?

I learn orally that the Ritchie wing of the Democracy affect to be anxious for you to be placed on the V B ticket as Vice President. Some of their papers hint at the same thing. Perhaps I ought not to make any conjectures as to the meaning of all this. I am too remote from the active theatre of public affairs to form reliable opinions, but I suspect that there is no friendly design in these *intimations*. Benton and Wright would neither be willing to see you V P and Ritchie would not move against their wishes. He would not elect you if you really desired it, (which I am far from presuming to be the case) if he could in any other manner secure V B. The danger I fear is to bring down upon you the jealousies of the other aspirants Johnson Buchanan Cass Polk &c &c and to prevent any combination between their friends and yours. The V B men begin to be afraid that they have pushed things too far in the recent organisation. Speaker printer clerk and even doorkeeper—all, all have they grasped and now frightened at the prospect of reaction they wish to soothe your friends by an act of pretended friendship which will at this hour render all the candidates for the V Presidency and all the expectants of the Presidency after the next term more jealous of you than of V B. They have coquetted with Polk until they have killed him and now they strike at higher game. Perhaps after all these suspicions are too refined. It may be that they really desire such a combination to secure V B's reelection but I doubt them.

The course of things in Washington has dispirited our friends at a distance very much. I have been asked the reason but having heard nothing from Lewis or Rhett since the commencement of the session I have nothing to give but surmises. I suppose that the friends of Buchanan and Johnson being unwilling to oppose the majority of the party in anything, our friends thought it useless and imprudent to make an unavailing contest and thus draw down upon themselves the whole odium of the division.

And yet as it is I fear their course has driven all the timid and wavering of our friends into the arms of Van Buren.

Unless some explosion should take place in Congress to arouse the South I fear that V B will get the nomination from a convention constituted on his own terms and I suppose the resistance which he will experience in the party will be rather passive than active. Such seems to me to be the present tendency of events. In this view of the case I look to the probable future course of public affairs with deep despondency. I have struggled for the South and for what I believed to be the true interest of my native state, not long it is true but through the best years of my life and I have had an uphill time of it even at home. I have not regarded the difficulty on my own account but it is a source of the deepest mortification to me to see the hands into which Virginia is about to fall.

I hope that your contemplated book goes bravely on and I assure you that I contemplate with the greatest pleasure the prospect of such a monument as I hope it will rear to your fame.

Yours truly

R M T HUNTER

The antislavery men in Washington are supposed to be in entire ignorance of the move in relation to Texas. Nor are there more than two men in Congress informed of the real state of the case. I mention these facts to you that you may be guarded in your communications to your friends. The Administration is anxious (I am informed) that nothing should be known of the movement in Washington until the Treaty is made.

*From F. H. Elmore.*¹

C. C.

Columbia 9 Jan'y 1843 [1844]

MY DEAR SIR I have just rec^d. yours of the 3rd. inst forwarded to me from Charleston. I have not been to the city since I met Lieut. Calhoun. I was taken next day with grippe

¹ The address discussed in this and several subsequent letters is that which is printed in Calhoun's Works, VI, 239-254. Upon it and the changes made in it, see, besides the ensuing letters, those of Calhoun dated December 22, 1843, and January 15, 1844, in Part I, *supra*.

and prostrated for several days and since then have been here much engaged in private affairs, which have harrassed me exceedingly and incapacitated me for almost everything. I, as soon as I was able to attend to it, inclosed your address to Co^l. J^on, M^r Gourdin and M^r Boyce. The two latter only were in town. M^r. Gourdin writes me that he took out and read letters from Gen^l M^cD and M^r Rhett to me after reading your address which has been submitted to the Delegation. They approve your withholding y^r name from the Convention and think you should publish the address with some modifications—what he does not say. I have a letter from Lewis of the same date as yours begging me earnestly, if your address is not published to stay till I hear from you as he had written very fully to you giving his views as to an important modification. I had in my letter to the Committee in Charleston taken the same view expressed by M^r Lewis. I send you as he requests his letter, begging you to send it back to me when you have read it—with your views. The address I expect to find in proof when I get down tomorrow. I wrote to M^r. G. that I hoped the Committee would be in the City by that time and we could have a meeting. His letter to me was dated the 6th. and mine in reply went next day to him. He told me that M^r Boyce was the only one of the Committee in the City since he rec^d. the address. He and M^r Boyce seemed to express the same opinions that Lewis has stated so strongly.

It will not I trust be out of place to express to you the impression made on my mind in one respect by the address. It is liable to be used by M^r. V B.'s friends to your disadvantage with the party and to be made the means of holding you up as the cause of that defeat which they are bringing on themselves. You know there are some of their Leaders who hate you and who have the control of their presses. No sense of justice or fairness will restrain them and the fire you have poured out upon their selfish unprincipled conduct and treachery they will convert into attacks on the Party, and before you and your friends can stem the torrent, they will have raised up such a current against you, that you will be discarded by thousands who are honest and who are truly your friends. The grounds you have taken in withdrawing your name from the Convention are such as your friends will sus-

tain in all their extent if you decide on them—and yet I think they would as far as I have the means of ascertaining, be more pleased that you should take a course which will not endanger you with the mass of the Democratic Party—one which will give you all the strength of your present course without subjecting you to any fair or plausible charge of having broken them down. The ground Lewis suggests I confess strikes me as the best and under my present opinions I think it would give you a position of great power—perhaps the intire Control of the matter.

L^t. Calhoun in some sort misapprehended me in one particular—the Tariff proceedings were only a part of developments subsequent to your writing which I thought might have commanded your attention—the Abolition and Texas questions were also referred to. They are every day assuming so important a position in politics, and the Course of certain of our professed friends has been such that they or the first of them at any rate, I thought should have been treated of in your address. I intended to have written to you next day, but the attack I was subjected to was first confined to my head and eyes and was so painful and depressing that I was unable to do anything and fearing too much delay as soon as I was able I inclosed the papers to the Committee for their action. This was prevented by the intire absence of the Committee.

I go down in the morning. A few days more will make no great difference and if I don't hear from you in consequence of Lewis' letter, (which I suppose you have had before this,) when I get down, I will propose to the Committee to wait even a few days more, having the address in type to be ready the moment we hear from you for any course.

I write this immediately on receiving yours and M^r. Lewis' letters to night, after a day of much fatigue and in so desultory a way as nothing but the urgency of the occasion will excuse.

If M^r. Clemson is with you do say to him I will answer his letter from Charleston.

Yours truly

F. H. ELMORE.

C. C.

From F. H. Elmore.

Jany 13, 1844

MY DEAR SIR I have but a moment to drop you a line. I will endeavor to morrow or next day to do more.

I was detained a day in Columbia longer than I expected when I wrote you by indisposition. I got down in miserable weather. I found no members of the Committee in Town except M^r. Bailey, Gourdin, Boyce and Frost. Gen^l Hamilton was here and I met M^r Bee on the road who told me of it. I saw him immediately, and last night we got all we could of the Committee with Gen. Hamilton, M^r. Furman, Mazyck and [Prioleau?] together and read your address. They were told of M^r. Lewis Letters and there were before them some rec^d. from other quarters. I send you one from M^r. Campbell,¹ and one from Gen^l Green. From M^cDuffie and Rhett we also heard. The substance of their letters was that beyond the So Ca Delegation and a very few others, to nominate and run you ags^t. the Baltimore Convention w^d. produce such an irreconcilable breach with the Democrats that you would lose many very many of them who are warmly and truly yours. That you would lose in all respects a position which may yet be one of controlling power even on the adjustment of the Tariff at this Session. They do not say so but from the tenor of their letters I think both of them w^d. rather that you should postpone the publication of your address until the Course of the party shall be more definitely fixed.

Of your friends here, none will fail to stand up to whatever Course you adopt. If you publish at once or postpone—as it is or with alterations I believe you may count on their standing by you. At the same time, however, they direct me to say to you that they feel a great reluctance to your taking any position, which is not necessary, that will cut you off from the next Canvass. They partake greatly of the feeling of M^r Campbell. They think if any act of Providence should before the election open a way to the Presidency for you, that you should not by any step not absolutely called for, put a barrier in your way. That if M^r V B is defeated, as he in

¹ Presumably John A. Campbell of Georgia. See his letters of November 20 and December 20, 1847, *post*.

all probability will be, that to you the party will surrender, if you have not before hand made that impossible—that in your hand they may be purified and victorious and that you with them may restore the purity of the Government. Under these Circumstances, five of the seven present, and Boyce to day added his vote, concurred in directing me to say to you that if you could reconcile to yourself to decide not to publish at present your reasons, but simply to withhold your name from the Convention, promising or not your reason hereafter, and stating that you would be governed by circumstances hereafter in their conduct as to your support of the Party, that it would perhaps be best. But as I said before, if you say otherwise the paper will be ready for the press the moment you say so.

If it is to be published they also suggest that you allow some of those portions which may be considered as bearing to strongly on individuals and the party where it will not weaken or alter the argument, and may prevent the misconceptions that your enemies will endeavor to circulate that your feelings have influenced your Course. The instance you alluded to as to M^r. Tazwells remark is one—there is one or two which M^r. Wright might feel and make the excuse for arraying hostility in the ranks of the party ag^t you. Will you My Dear Sir pardon us for the freedom we take and give some discretion to such of your friends here as you may designate to do this for you? I know it is a delicate point in us to interpose, but you may rest assured that it is only the strongest friendship that would *venture to ask for such responsibility*, and I would far rather that you should blame us than the *hopes of the whole South* and the Countrys welfare should be destroyed or even endangered. I must confess that the comparisons of opinions last night and the letters we have have even made me more fearful of the result and more anxious that you should think again before it is too late, if this movement may not be preternitted or at least postponed.

I remain as ever Yours truly

F. H. ELMORE

P. S. On one point more I was directed to say a word. If the Treasury Dept. is in a proper way tendered to you, that

you might accept it. By a proper way is understood such a way as would put the Gov^t. in your control. A year is a short lease, but in that time you could do much to give spread to your principles, exhibit your policy, see, and give consistency to the action of your friends—in short prepare a harvest hereafter without violating any of the rules you have prescribed for yourself as a public man.

From Eustis Prescott.

C. C.

New Orleans 15th. Janr^y 1844.

MY DEAR SIR You will undoubtedly ere this have seen the proceedings of our State convention, declaring that the first choice of the people of this state for President, is M^r Van Buren; my object in now addressing you is to express my firm conviction that such is not the fact, altho it is very difficult to ascertain popular feeling in so scattered a population, and I am confident that conventions are rarely fair exponents of the public will. One fact I have ascertained, that *you* are the first choice of a majority of the Democratic members of the Legislature, but I fear *they* have committed themselves by becoming members of this convention.

I have deprecated its action from the first, but could not persuade your friends, many of whom are as warm in their attachment to you as myself, from taking part in it. From the onset I have urged an appeal to the people in the Congressional Districts to elect delegates for each direct, to the National convention, but some of our friends could not be induced to deviate from the former practice of the party, and a few of them are Delegates,—instructed to cast their vote first for M^r V B and next for you.

The only good which the Convention has done for us, is an unanimous declaration in favor of our principles, and instructing the delegation to sustain them in the convention; if they do this manfully, as I know some of them will, it may produce discord, and change the aspect of affairs. I am satisfied that there is no cohesion between Northern and Southern Democrats, and that the friends of Free Trade will ultimately have to rally under their own flag, when they will receive

important strength from eastern whigs, as well as many, in the south and west.

I have taken some pains to ascertain the feeling in the parishes; in one, Mr V B had a majority of *one*, in a general meeting of the party, in another *two*, and in a third *four*, but in very few parishes was there even this test. . . .

Believe me to remain My Dear Sir Very sincerely your
Obed^t Serv^t

EUSTIS PRESCOTT

From R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Loyds Essex Jan^y 19th. 1844

MY DEAR SIR I was very glad to receive your last letter and you were right in your conjecture as to the cause of my silence. I had so little that was pleasant to tell you that I had not the spirit to write. I did not go on to Washington to see your letter because I could not well leave home at that time and I supposed that it was in any event to be published as written. I am so remote from the scene of action that I should scarcely confide in my own opinion upon a subject of so much importance as that of your letter. I was not surprised to learn that you have refused to place your name before the Baltimore Convention. In your strictures upon its probable organisation I have no doubt but that I should concur. The course of the New York Democrats in the present congress deserves to be damned by every honest man in the country but I fear your motives would be misconstrued should you give utterance to such sentiments. Upon this matter however I cannot judge without seeing the letter as I know language to be the most flexible of human instruments as I have often heard you say and I know also that you have a mode of delivering truth without offending others which is almost peculiar to yourself. But I confess that I think it safest and most prudent that in this letter you should not give utterance to the idea of running a separate ticket for yourself. Under present circumstances I fear that as against the nominee of the Convention such a ticket would not receive a tithe of the votes of those who really prefer you. In this I

may err. I am not well informed as to the state of public sentiment and your judgment is much better than mine. You doubtless have considered the question. But I should dislike very much to see your name before the people and the state of S^c. Carolina alone voting for you. Your popularity is worth preserving not only for your own sake but for that of the South. To whom else shall we look for a defender?

In the Congressional district in which I live we have succeeded so far in preventing the party from pledging itself to the nominee of the Baltimore Convention. But it is the only district in the state in which your friends have made an approach to a successful fight. How long they will hold out here I cannot tell as the people are fast coming to the conclusion that M^r V B's nomination is inevitable. In this state some of the leaders amongst your friends may hold off but the mass I think incline to support the nominee, not because he is the nominee of the Baltimore Convention but from their desire to defeat Clay. At the same time I believe that they will hold aloof from the Baltimore Convention. In our state Convention in Feb^y next the V B men will probably propose a pledge to support the nominee of the B Convenⁿ. as a test of Democratic fellowship. If so there will be a split in the party in this state. Most of your friends will refuse any such pledge and attack the organisation of that convention. In that event a separate ticket will probably be run in this state. I was in Richmond ten days since. Some of the first young men in the state are warmly your friends—undecided as yet as to a separate ticket, but determined to refuse a pledge to the nominee should an attempt be made to exact it. Amongst these are Seddon¹ Giles (a son of W^m B Giles) and Corbie. Scott is an older man active able and zealous. Seddon I think inclines to a split. He says he would not propose it because he fears it would be fatal to your future prospects and he thinks it a question for your own decision only. Should you be willing to risk it he would not hold back. I have promised to attend the state convention. Our course is as yet undecided except as to refusing the pledge to sustain the Baltimore convention no matter how organised. Gordon

¹ See his letter of February 5, 1844, *post*.

and Taylor I am told will give such a pledge but your friends generally will not do it. We hope to have a general consultation amongst our friends at that time. Should the attempt be made to force this pledge from us we shall issue an address to the people of Virginia. It will be prepared for this contingency. Mr Ritchie is very angry and very arbitrary towards us at least his conduct would . I should be very glad to hear from you before this convention. To meet me in time your letter ought to be directed to me at Richmond under cover to James A. Seddon who will take care of it should it arrive before or after the Convention. Our friends in the V^a. legislature will move resolutions on the subject of the Tariff, the 21st. rule and the negro petitions from the District of Columbia. I advised them to do so *at once*. They will move them without previous consultation with the V B democrats in Caucus. So much do they distrust them. Queries will probably be sent to Mr V B to ascertain his opinions upon the course of the N York Democrats in the present Congress.

Yours sincerely

R M T HUNTER.

From James Gadsden.

C. C.

Charleston S C Jan'y 27-1844

MY DEAR SIR I have for the last 4 weeks been absent from the City on a visit to Florida. On my return on the 24 inst I heard for the first time the position in which you have been placed. If not anticipated, it was not unexpected. I have been among the few in this state, who have for the last 12 months looked upon the movements made on the political check board with very great distrust. Your resignation from the Senate I considered a mistake. To trust Van Buren and his corps of political plunderers was a still greater mistake. but to consent to go into convention with his division of assumed Democrats was a fault. The issue has been, as I expected, and how for us advocates of Free Trade to get back to the position we occupied some 12 or 18 months since I confess is beyond my ken. Prospects then looked encouraging.

We had a little band united and moving onward. But in an evil hour, You retired from the only position in which you could then aid our cause and the one you had so long battled for—and by intimating a willingness to ally with Traitors we have or may be made to suffer from their treachery. Indeed our Position is delicate. Professing to be Democrats we are accused of desertion of party; and that because we cannot carry our Candidate. Whatever the enlightened may think, the Mass believe that no other motive actuates Carolina but to carry her favourite, and that disappointed in securing his nomination before the Democratic convention, is the sole motive for refusing, if we do, going into that convention. You will understand me, I speak of what I hear, and having mingled much among the citizens South and West of late, I hear the above asserted in all quarters. It would not deter me however, any more than I know it will not you, for still adhering to our principles let the impugning of motives be what they may. But in adhering to we wish to see these principles triumph, and having got a check of late, it becomes a question of moment how can we recover our lost ground. Again rally our little Spartan band and move onward once more for victory.

As things now stand, we have nothing to do with the Presidential Election. Clay will be successful—but he is our open opponent. Van we cannot trust, and ought not to contribute to his success. Indeed our cause will ultimately be safer in his defeat than his election. Success will now secure the power to a party, indeed I may call it a faction, who have no principle to contend for: and who as you once said are held “together by the attractive cohesion of plunder.” Alliance with them is death, their defeat is necessary to the ultimate triumph of our cause. But to succeed even hereafter, we must keep our force embodied and in the field, and encouraged with the hope yet of victory. To do this we must have a rallying point, and it is with no motive to flatter that on you and you alone can we rally or depend. You must return then to the Senate—There to keep before the Community and the Government our principles—and not permit our forces to be distributed between Clay and Vanburen, because they have no hope. It has been intimated that sh^d Spencers place as

Sec^y of Treas^y be vacated, the tender will be made to you. Should this be the Case, I hope you will not hesitate in accepting. The Sec^y of the Treasury is at this time the Government. It is the place of all others which would enable you to bring before our People in bold relief those principles of free Trade for which we are contending. The shortness of Tylers administration may be an objection—not giving time for such a report and its circulation as would and must awaken the People of the U S. to their true interests. A People of all others most deeply interested in the success of free Trade. A Long session however, which now seems inevitable—would give you an opportunity and as Sec^y of the Treasury, with the whole government as completely at your disposal, as if you were President, you might, ere a new administration comes in make Such an impression as to force either who may obtain power to come to our principles. I really hope you may take the view I do, of this all engrossing subject, and will not reject the opportunity and the position, which seems to me of all others at this crisis best calculated to restore our forces to the place they have lost and to rally us with renewed hope and confidence in an ultimate triumph. If you do not—if you are resolved to remain in retirement, I fear nothing that you can do—no Manifestos or no communication from Pendleton will stir us up, but despairing, many like you will go into retirement, while others wanting firmness to fit the high places they occupy, will rally under a pretended democracy and join the assumed Whigs. We Free Traders will literally have no party and no leader, and without an army and a General what cause can expect to triumph. I have my Dear Sir for 18 months past looke[d] with such distrust on events and movements, that I have rather avoided taking any part in the political movements: and fearing what now seems inevitable, I was unwilling to be committed to a support of a Man in whom I never have had any trust, or to a party which he professes to represent. Indeed it did seem to me as if some of our friends were blindly sacrificing every thing for which they professed to battle. If with present prospects we must disband and await future times to rally, the cause of Free Trade is dead, and I must confess that if we have not the Spirit to resist the oppressive exactions on our industry

by the selfish restrictionists of the Country, I for one would convert these exactions to my benefit by demonstrating to the North that we have advantages in manufacturing &c fully equal to theirs: and that we may be both producers and manufacturers and enjoy the protection on both. But to return to the subject which has elicited these remarks—Let me have your views as to the future and say how or by what means are the Free Traders to be kept together and encouraged in future efforts in their cause if they have no rallying Point—No incentives to future action. To you we look, and I really hope that should Mr Tyler acknowledge his inability to govern, by virtually resigning the Government, you will not decline administering it—if it be but for the brief space of 12 months. It will give you time, at all events, to throw before the Public and in an official form, something to think on, which must produce action: and will at least prove to the nations abroad that there is a party and no inconsiderable one who will rally with them in the great cause. You well said once “Names are nothing things every thing.” The Secretary of Treasury at this crisis is virtually the President, in the hands of one who understands the present condition of our Country and who comprehending its great interests will promote them without regard to sectional and selfish influences.

With a hope of hearing soon from you I remain as ever
Your friend

JAMES GADSDEN

From Francis Wharton.

C. C.

Philadelphia, February 1st, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, You will receive by the present mail, or at all events very soon, the February number of the Democratic Review.¹ I have just glanced over the leading article, about which I have already spoken to you, but I can scarcely put it into your hands without expressing my sense of the inadequacy and feebleness of the tribute it bears. It may be of some use, however, among the class of politicians who have eyes, and

¹ See Calhoun's letters to Wharton, of February 4 and 22, in Part I, *supra*.

see not, and hearing, but do not understand. It may be that a few even of the narrowest of the Albany politicians, may be led to read it for the sake of the magazine in which it is contained, and may thus be obliged to stare full in the face at opinions from which they have always hidden and skulked. I hope and trust, and I take it that my trust is not in vain, that the day will soon come when hiding and skulking will be over. The worst sign I see now, is Mr. Buchanan's equivocations, both about the tariff and the presidency. The great danger is that a few designing manufacturers in this city and in the coal district, will succeed in placing the republican party in the state in a false attitude. Such a step would be attended with consequences almost fatal to our ultimate success, more however, from its reaction on the South, than from its local bearings. I am afraid that the friends of free trade in the South,—the *true* friends, by which I mean *your* friends,—will become disgusted with the vacillations and ignorance of many of our northern leaders, and will refuse to act in concert with them in matters of general policy. Be assured that a severance of the republican party will be now fatal. There is not one of our great measures which we can carry if we refuse to accept of the qualified aid of even the regency politicians. They offer us their hand under the proviso that they are not to go beyond a certain mark. Let us seize hold of it and see whether when we once get them out of their ambush, we may not commit them to the whole figure. Mr Van Buren himself is susceptible of being forced, on a great emergency, to go all lengths, as the sub-treasury measure showed. Let us get him out of his hole, and then when he is fairly uncovered, he will have to fight fairly, or run away. If he runs away, his apostacy will be notorious, and he will leave us the possession of the field undisputed, without the incumbrance of the feeble and treacherous alliance he has lately professed. If he really fights, he will fight in *our* cause, and for *our* victory. I am most anxious to see your expected letter. I trust and believe that nothing in it will have the tendency to exasperate the Northern section of the party. Withdrawal from the Baltimore convention I think is right, but I am most anxious that it should be such a withdrawal as will conciliate, and not repel, the aid of the

Democratic party in the North for the subsequent campaign. Mr V. B. is lost already—Pennsylvania is tottering,—the South is gone. If we kick him now, never will the jackalls who are awaiting the reorganization of the kitchen cabinet forgive us. I look upon the next election as his state funeral, and at such a ceremony, our attitude should be such as to avoid unnecessary offence to the mourners who will attend his interment. I cannot forbear therefore, repeating my hope,—a hope in which your friends here,—I wish they were as many as they are warm,—join to a man, that your position for [the] present may be such as to give the venomous and feelings of the Albany politicians no [field of exer]cise. If we would use them, as we hope to do, we [must] avoid ruffling them.

With great respect, I am Yours &c

FRANCIS WHARTON

From Benjamin F. Porter.¹

C. C.

Tuscaloosa 5 Feb. 1844.

DEAR SIR, I have been wishing for some time to address you, but desired, first, to see what course would be taken by your friends in this and other states. The tame submission of many upon whose firmness I relied much, to the action of the Convention, in Alabama, has given a plain indication of what may be expected in the course of the Baltimore convention. Had I been in this Convention, I would have firmly called upon your friends to secede, and led the way. But the resolutions of the Van Buren men to coerce, while still pretending to conciliate, to deceive us with frankness, were too well concocted to admit of opposition. You may have perceived that some of your friends in the convention, from different parts of the State, were selected as delegates and electors. I could have received this favor if I had chosen to connect it with promises of acquiescence in the action of the Convention: that is, take a Calhoun appointment with Van Buren instructions. I was sorry to see your friends submitting to this course. I should have indignantly rejected it.

¹ Benjamin F. Porter, born in South Carolina, was a prominent lawyer in Alabama.

The whole matter has, however, settled down to this, that Alabama must vote for M^r Van Buren. This proposition settles another, to wit, that after M^r Van Buren, she is bound to the succession of M^r Benton. I know the men here so well, who have originated and passed this affair, I know so perfectly the train of circumstances and motives and opinions of those concerned, as to see that this event is arranged.

Your friends here will take different steps. Some will support M^r Clay as the only course to secure a healthy action in Alabama: Some will remain neutral: Some support M^r Van Buren. Whatever direction I may give my own efforts, I pray you be assured, I shall neither abate a tittle of the general principles upon which I have endeavoured to extend your popularity in Alabama, nor cease to admire your public and private character.

The state of things in this state I have more than once endeavoured to inform you of; you will understand me when I say, the connection of one person with the Van Buren ticket, has effected these results. The men who to day reject you for M^r Van Buren, will to morrow set you aside for M^r Benton. Self interest is a powerful lever in the actions of men: And impels them to do often what conscience condemns. Foreseeing, as I think, the arrangements made here for the future, I shall feel it my duty to mingle with any honorable opposition to defeat it; looking to the virtue of the people, under the direction of Providence for the success of those main principles, on which rest the safety of our common Country.

For the kindness with which you have received my suggestions, I return my grateful thanks. My communications have been governed by motives of patriotism: And I hope the day is not distant when my Country will feel the same enthusiasm in the prospect of your elevation, that I do.

I need not say that this letter is considered due to my previous professions in your favor; and is written in the same confidence with which you have received my others.

Very respectfully Your Obt Servt

BENJ. F. PORTER

*From James A. Seddon.*¹

C. C.

Richmond February 5th 1844

DEAR SIR Tho' not honored with your personal acquaintance I am induced to trespass on your indulgence in accordance with the request of Mr R. M. T. Hunter for the purpose of giving a brief explanation of the course pursued by your friends in the late V^a Convention and the motives which induced it. This duty I am aware could have been much more appropriately and ably discharged by that Gentleman himself but that circumstances compelled him to leave the city before an opportunity was afforded him of Communicating with you except by a hasty letter. Premising that however unknown, in profound appreciation of your abilities and virtues and in sincere devotion to the great principles of which you are alike the best exponent and ablest Champion, I yield to no friend or adherent you have in this State, I shall proceed on my assumed duty in a Spirit of the fullest candor and freedom.

Your late letter reached here only the day before the session of our convention and it was immediately given the grave and anxious consideration of all your leading friends who had then reached the City. It was immediately perceived that the Juncture had arrived, when some decisive line of policy must be adopted, for the guidance of our friends in the approaching contest for the Presidency, and that on us had devolved the grave responsibility of determining it. With the noble boldness which has ever characterized your public Career, you had struck a heavy blow against the wretched system of Party organization and packed Conventions, by which public opinion had been so long, at the will of selfish cliques of interested partizans, either manufactured or smothered, but at the same time with no less generosity, had left to your friends the option of taking such course as they might deem under the circumstances most advisable. Even before the receipt of your letter we had become satisfied, and the report of our country friends as they came in confirmed the

¹ James A. Seddon (1816-1880) was subsequently a member of Congress from Virginia, 1845-47 and 1849-51, a member of the Peace Convention of 1861, and of the Confederate Congress, and Secretary of War in the Confederate Government from 1862 to 1865.

conviction that for the present the arts and machinery of party leaders here as in many other States of the Union had proved too strong for the cause of Truth and Merit, and that to persist in presenting your name as a Candidate for the Presidency at the next Election would almost certainly result in present failure and the utter sacrifice of your future prospects of enlisting the whole Republican Party. It was I believe certainly true that your friends held in this State at least the balance of power and might had they deemed it wise or politic have prevented the vote of V^a. from being cast for any other Republican Candidate—more they could not do, nor indeed could they have rallied one half of those who really entertained a decided preference for you over all Competitors, for such under the working of a corrupt System of party organization established for many years were the influences of hope and fear and the apprehensions of distraction and defeat, artfully induced and pressed on the minds of the people, that in a “triangular contest,” a large proportion of your friends would have been seduced or drawn from your support to that of the competitor sanctioned by the corrupt usages of the party. Such a result, deemed by us inevitable, would have been most unfortunate both for your own future prospects, with the promotion of which the best interests of the Country are identified, and the State rights party of which you are the acknowledged leader. Ever afterwards, that result would have been considered as exhibiting the strength both of yourself and your cause, and such conviction however untrue would have been productive alike of mortification and of serious mischief in the future struggles of parties. It was not to be disguised either that notwithstanding the truckling and disgraceful course so justly rebuked by you of a portion of the Northern Democrats on the questions vital to the South of the Tariff and Abolition, a great majority of your friends in this State thought much was to be gained in a contest between M^r Clay and any Democratic Candidate by the election of the latter, and much reluctance was felt to pressing any third Candidate, even yourself, to the extent of destroying the ascendancy of the Democratic party and ensuring the triumph of the Whigs.

We all felt likewise that in the event of your being pressed as a Candidate and the Democratic party sustaining defeat, the

whole odium of the result would be dextrously cast on you and your friends and your own weight and efficiency in the party as well as the great good to be obtained by the whole Country from your future elevation would be utterly lost—perhaps forever. Neither we your friends, nor the South could endanger or sacrifice you, for so long as you remain as a rallying point and stand ready as a leader we can inspire apprehensions and enforce respect and protection of our rights. We also felt that under the stalwart blow you had given to the oligarchy of political Intriguers and their infamous Machinery, they must totter, and that if time were given for the inculcation of the views of your letter, sanctioned by the full weight of your character as one of the undoubted leaders of the party, and weakened by no suspicion of personal ends, and especially if the whole prostituted press of the Party (the Richmond Enquirer among them) could be muzzled against attack upon them or their author, they must be in another contest with you as a leader, utterly subverted. This was an end of immense importance, involving restoration of purity in the practical exercise of the elective franchise and release from infamous party thralldom to the country and ourselves, and to attain it, we were willing to make some sacrifice.

All these considerations, as you will readily perceive my dear Sir, inclined most of your friends to acquiesce in the painful necessity of relinquishing for the present the cherished hopes of elevating you for the Presidency, but opposed to such a course were all the predilections of our nature; our deep and ardent admiration of your talents, our devotion to your principles and Character. In this struggle I for one and many others with me were willing to have risked all, cheerfully resigned every personal aspiration and be content to fall battling for our principles and our choice, and would have done so but that similar considerations themselves forbade that we should by abuse of your own generous permission to use your name peril the ultimate attainment of the destiny for which you were intended and cut off all the immense advantages to the South and the union which we believe would result from your administration of the government at a future day. These latter considerations, I believe I may safely

assure you alone prevailed with the mass of your friends, whose feelings might else have proved too strong for the sole convictions of Judgment.

In accordance with the views above were the resolves of a meeting of your friends Delegates to the Convention and members of the Legislature, held at my rooms on the night of the receipt of your letter. They determined to attend the Convention and when there to require and obtain the adoption and recognition in full of the soundest State rights principles upon all the questions in agitation in the Country (including the Tariff and abolition questions) as constituting the creed of the whole party in the State, and that such principles in all their extent should be pressed with all the influence of V^a on the whole party of the Union. That those principles having been fully sanctioned, we should withdraw your name as our Candidate and issue an address (separate from that of the Convention) announcing our solemn convictions against the proposed constitution and organization of the National Convention and assailing it in the ablest manner we could, but at the same time consenting not to press the decision of that issue at this time in consequence of the danger of division to the party and success to our opponents thereupon. In this address, we also determined to rest our support of the Candidate of the Republican Party not upon the nomination, but treating that as an objection, upon its apparent necessity under the peculiar circumstances of the time, provided we could feel assured by the pledges of the Candidate or the action of those who supported and nominated him that by his election we should promote the principles expounded in the resolutions of the Convention. These wishes of your friends were frankly made known by a Committee appointed for the purpose to the leading adherents of M^r. V. Buren, and they were received in a spirit of ready acquiescence that disclosed the seriousness of their previous apprehensions. An informal understanding was then had that our resolutions avowing the principles of the party should be adopted fully. That no pledges to sustain the Convention or vote for the Nominee should be exacted. That our address should be issued and opposition to the Convention aroused without severance of the party, Exclusion from its communion, or censure imputed to the principles of your let-

ter,—Your course or our own. Upon this basis, the proceedings of the Convention were concluded smoothly and harmoniously. Our demands were complied with and in effect we controlled tho' we could not command the Convention. At the same time the best spirit prevailed, especially toward yourself. The merit of your withdrawal and the sacrifice made by your friends redounded to your elevation in the confidence and affections of the whole party. The secret feelings of many, heretofore smothered by party influences, burst forth in your favor, and with it cooperated the gratitude of M^r V B's blindest partizans, so that I am thoroughly convinced at no previous time have you ever been more securely fixed in the esteem and confidence of the Republican Party of V^a. This fortunate state of things must daily be enhanced. Your friends, constituting most of the speakers of the party, will conduct (as indeed all the Republican speakers from the adoption of the resolutions by the Convention will be forced to do also) the canvass on your Principles. Your authority, your arguments must be duly avouched and familiarized to the people, and now that all personal motives of detraction are removed, your character will be more highly appreciated and your services and labors more justly estimated than ever heretofore. From all these causes many just auguries may be adduced of the course of future events, and if the firm resolves and best exertions of a host of able friends can aid their realization, they shall certainly be so wrought out as to fill the measure of your honors, which now fall short only of your fame. To yourself who have already done enough for glory to your name and state this may be a matter of comparative indifference, but to your friends, it must constitute a matter of deep anxiety and lively anticipation, and to none more truly than to

Yours with Sentiments of unfeigned esteem

JAMES A SEDDON

From R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Lloyds Essex County Feb^y 6 1844

MY DEAR SIR I addressed you a hasty note before leaving Richmond to advise you in part of the motives of your friends

in the V^a Convention. Before this reaches you I hope you will have seen our address as it is expected to appear in the Republican this morning. Your letter reached us the morning before the Convention in the Mercury. The same paper contained an editorial taking your name from the head of its column and announcing the terms upon which the candidate of the Dem: party might receive the suffrages of S^c. C^a. So at least we understood it. Under the circumstances to have nominated you would have been a great injustice as we believe to your fame and popularity. Such a ticket would not have received near all of those who really prefer you. To have assumed a neutral position would have disbanded your friends. The mass would have divided, some voting for Clay but more voting for V B or whoever is the candidate. The object was to take such a course as we believed would most advance your popularity and our common principles. We determined to issue an address taking our position against the Baltimore Convention, announcing our intention to support the candidate of the party if we could promote the principles of the Dem Rep party as announced in the *resolutions of our convention* which you will perceive are *good principles* and leaving it undetermined what we would do in the other event. Such seemed to be the position of the Mercury, which seemed to us the true position. Our object was to drive the friends of M^r V B as far [as] possible on the right line and to maintain and advance your popularity in the party. It was distinctly understood with Ritchie that there was to be no attack on you or your letter, and I publicly told him that if the issue should be disastrous to the South the *responsibility* would rest upon him and M^r V B's southern friends who had insisted upon him. In the private meeting your friends determined upon preserving their organisation and upon presenting your name immediately after the next presidential canvass was over without regard to conventions, unless they would give us such organisation as we claimed in justice. In the meantime we have determined to use every means to increase your strength and extend your popularity. Our object was to bring you in next time if you would permit it and to raise up a Southern party upon true and Southern principles. You will see the bearing our address has upon this point. When the con

vention adjourned many very many of the supporters of V B assured us of their determination to support you next time. They said our course had strengthened you and that the party would be disgraced if it did not take you up on the next occasion. Mr Ritchie assured me privately and in confidence that he had seen lately letters from V B which would satisfy me and the South as to his disposition upon every point. I did not see those letters and therefore cannot vouch for their existence. He pledged himself to use all the means short of actually renouncing V B to drive his friends to the right line of action and that he thought our course would be useful to this end. What he will do I know not. But we have a position in the party which will make it a matter of political life or death with him to do so. Your friends I believe were actuated by a most sincere desire to raise your name and popularity and to preserve a position in which they could defend your principles and the South. I do believe that our movement will make you the strongest man in Virginia should it not be disapproved by yourself. We also considered its effects upon the South and our principles. to have supported Clay would have been utterly inconsistent and ruinous. to have remained neutral would have destroyed the leaders and disbanded the mass of your friends. nothing was left us but to declare our determination to go in with the Democrats if we could promote our principles by doing so and to throw the responsibility of selecting V B upon those men in the North who have forced him upon us. What shall we effect by it? We shall put an end to such national conventions as have heretofore been organised. We have induced the *whole party* in V* to adopt the resolutions which express your principles, we have I believe greatly strengthened you in Virginia and I hope in the union and we have preserved a position in the mass which will enable us I think to force the quondam leaders to go on properly or else *break them down*. If Mr Clay had been elected through the neutrality or with the active cooperation of your friends it would have been destruction to you and them. If he should now be elected the Dem party must rally upon you next time. at any rate we have a position in which we can better unite the South upon your principles. The movements as have [been] taken

in all their attending circumstances have been amongst the most painful of my life—I need not say why. I never was more decided in my life as to the propriety of the course. The apprehension has been lest you should disapprove it. I most earnestly trust not. Should you do so, my position will be painful indeed. In the meeting of our friends, I told them I was governed entirely by your public letter which they had seen and my own views of what was proper. That I did not even know what course you would desire us to pursue, but that I felt to run you under such circumstances would have been cruel injustice towards you. That I knew you would be perfectly willing to the sacrifice if you thought our common principles would be advanced by it. But ought we to be willing to ask such a sacrifice? I think they were all of opinion that such an idea was not to be entertained. You will perceive that your friends have prominent positions on the electoral ticket. I did not advise this course. But as every other in the private meeting seemed to think it highly important, I did not express my doubts. They offered me the post of elector which I declined. They then appointed me an assistant without my knowledge. I left a letter in Richmond declining this also. My doubts were as to the chance of our prominent friends becoming real V B men from the habit of defending him. But when it was determined to be important that they should take their posts I then suggested (and it was so understood) that your friends on the ticket would take the ground that the resolutions of the convention (expressing in fact your principles and drawn by your friends) should be held up as the party creed, that the Whigs and their candidate should be attacked for their opposition to this creed and that the Dem Candidate should be defended where he approached the creed more nearly than the Whig, and that no departure from it in him should [be] justified.

Before seeing your letter I had prepared an address in the event that the V B should present as a test a resolution pledging us to the nominee. They offered none such and in some respects it was changed. The arguments against the Baltimore Convention and on the true position of V^a. was from myself, the three first and the three or four last pages in the manuscript were from Seddon. After our course was taken

and shortly before the convention adjourned a letter reached Greenhow from Duff Green urging us to nominate you on a separate ticket. Our course had been previously taken, nor did we presume that he was acting under your advice as the Mercury had taken down your name and as we thought too that such an act would be ruinous to you, as it would close your political life under appearances which would do the greatest injustice to your real popularity and estimation amongst the people, and which would be false if taken by posterity (as they would be) as evidences of your true strength and popularity.

I shall look with great anxiety for a letter from you. if we have done wrong let us know it and if the error is of a character to be repaired tell us how. If you should disapprove our course because you apprehend disastrous consequences to ourselves we are willing to meet them and encounter all the hazards. Should you disapprove however because you think the course may be injurious to you we should be grieved indeed. Our position was difficult and painful. The exhibitions of feeling on the part of your friends were deep and nothing I believe restrained them but the fear of injuring you and the settled determination to make you the President next time should God spare you to us so long. If our course should be approved by yourself and friends elsewhere I believe we can do it.

I am my dear Sir most truly yours

R M T HUNTER.

*From Friedrich Ludwig von Roenne.*¹

C. C.

Berlin February 13th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, M^r. von Raumer, the celebrated historian, who will have the honor to hand these lines to you, is about to visit the United States. He is most anxious to make the acquaintance of one who stands so prominent in the United

¹ Friedrich Ludwig von Roenne (1798-1865) was Prussian minister at Washington from 1834 to 1843, arbitrator between Mexico and the United States in 1839 and 1840. He was president of the Handelsamt from 1844 to 1848, a member of the Frankfort Parliament in the latter year, German minister at Washington in the two years succeeding, and afterwards a prominent member of the Prussian Diet.

States and whose life must afford a double interest to an historian like M^r von Raumer. I need not tell you that he is full of admiration for you—how could it be otherwise! The great kindness which you have always shown me, makes me hope, that you will kindly receive M^r von Raumer. My love and esteem for you will never cease, believe me ever most truly and sincerely

your most obdt servt

ROENNE.

*From George McDuffie.*¹

C. C.

Washington, 22nd Feb: 1844.²

MY DEAR SIR: Our friend Judge Huger,—as he will inform you by a letter which will go by the mail which carries this³—has come to a very decided conclusion in his own mind, that the political circumstances of the country are such as demand your services in the Senate. Prompted, therefore, by that perfect self-devotion to South Carolina and the whole country, which has so prominently distinguished his course, he proposes to resign his seat immediately, if you will consent to take his place. He entertains no doubt that the Governor would appoint you, as a matter of course, upon being assured of your acceptance, and considers it your duty not to withhold your services in the existing emergency, so deeply involving the interests of all the slave holding states on two great and vital questions. At his request I shall write to Governor Hammond confidentially on the subject, and shall expect an answer from him by the time yours may be received. I will add that I know that Judge Huger would feel it a personal gratification to be assured that such an arrangement would be agreeable to you. Permit me then to suggest that you at least go as far as to say, that if Judge Huger is determined to resign and the Governor should tender you the appointment, it will not be declined. We have a reasonable prospect of reducing the tariff very nearly to the average

¹ George McDuffie (as to whom see a note to Calhoun's letter of June 18, 1822) was at this time Senator from South Carolina.

² The accident on board the *Princeton* occurred this day.

³ On Calhoun's reply, see his letter of March 5, 1844, in Part I, *supra*

of the compromise, with specific duties of 20s a ton on iron and 2s a hundred on sugar, as the only specific duties and no other above 30 pr ct on the foreign cost. My best respects to Mrs. C. and the family.

Sincerely your friend:

GEO: McDUFFIE.

P. S. Judge Huger has been quite unwell for a week or ten days but is now much better. This matter should be kept secret of course at present.

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Charleston 3. March 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I came here and found things in much confusion. I think your immediate friends in this city managed very badly, and the country gentlemen were very much excited (many of them being in to the races). I called a meeting or caucus to consult together. Elmore introduced resolutions—which I did not approve, and I moved a substitute and carried them. The main point of which was that 1st. we should not go to the Balt. Con. and 2^d. that your friends should distinctly hold your name in reserve and under control, and that it might be our sacred duty to vote for you finally. &c. &c. Upon consultation I found that we had to tamper a little at present as to the Convention, for fear small meetings would be forced up in places to appoint delegates as from the people &c. So we called a meeting of the Con. for the 18 March, so that we could gain time and the developements in Congress, and by then there would be no question as to our course in the State. It was suggested by Elmore that we might find it politic to go into Convention as to the future &c. but I said this was folly and they would laugh at us as their victims, and that our keeping out would produce no impression in two years time however much they might pretend to be offended now.

The great difficulty was to get your name back again. You see the article in the Mercury yesterday (Saturday). It was presented to me and was drawn up to meet the general views of my resolutions in Caucus. It does so but with more policy,

as they say to prevent a meeting in this city to be called immediately by Pinckney. They say the meeting is now killed, but I tell them if he calls one, let our friends attend and either move to lay on the table and adjourn or vote down the resolutions. I think there has been some bad moves and I hope it has been from bad judgement rather than from any thing else. M^cDuffie has written that every thing will be done for us that we desire on the Tariff &c. So writes Rhett and Lewis. But Holmes writes differently. I fear M^cDuffie has been imposed on.

You see the dreadful accident at Washington and deaths.¹ I hear some of our members have written today here that I am to be offered a place in the Cabinet &c.—but of course this must be premature, and even if so, I shall refuse.

In haste, but truly

F. W. PICKENS.

*From George McDuffie.*²

C. C.

Washington, 5th March 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: I write this merely to say that I have had an interview with the President to day, at M^r. Wise's request, on the subject of your acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of State. The President is very anxious that you should accept and come on immediately, as the Texas negotiation admits of no delay, and requested me to say so to you. The moment you communicate your willingness to do so, your name will be sent in to the Senate, and I, therefore, wish you to write to me immediately. I now repeat the opinion I expressed in my last, that it is my decided opinion and that of your friends here that your acceptance would be regarded by the country as a magnanimous offering at the shrine of patriotism, and that you ought not to hesitate. I mention to you in confidence that the Texas question is in such a state, that in ten days after your arrival the Treaty of annexation, would be signed, and from poor Upshur's count 40 senators would vote for it. The President says he has hopes of the

¹ The accident on board the *Princeton*.

² For the curious relations of this letter to Calhoun's nomination, see Wise's *Seven Decades of the Union*, 221, and Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II, 294.

acquiescence of Mexico. It is a great occasion involving the peace of the country and the salvation of the South, and your friends here have ventured to say for you, that no party or personal considerations would prevent you from meeting the crisis.

Very sincerely yours,

GEO: M^cDUFFIE.

*From Dixon H. Lewis.*¹

C. C.

House of Reps, March 6th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR—I have just heard in a manner, which leaves no room to doubt its correctness, that your name has been to day sent to the Senate, as the Successor of M^r. Upshur to the Office of Secretary of State, and that the name of John Y. Mason of Virginia has also been sent in as the successor of M^r. Gilmer in the Navy Department.

In effecting this result, your friends here have had no agency, and are in no way responsible. Many of them were unconsulted and entirely ignorant in relation to it, untill the rumour has this moment reached this House. Others have in reply to the general designation of your name to the station, expressed doubts whether you would accept it. So far as I know or believe none have solicited the place for you. In reply to frequent enquiries addressed to me, as to whether you would accept—(enquiries in some instances coming from those, who I supposed had the ear of M^r Tyler) my uniform reply has been—that if it were a mere question of whether you would accept the office of Secretary of State under M^r. Tyler, I did not believe you would accept of a station, which could confer no honour on you, and which would consume much of your time at an advanced age, which would not likely be requited either by an advancement of your own reputation, or the interests of the country, but if by the death of M^r. Upshur and the State of the Texas and Oregon questions, there was an exigency which required your services, I knew you too well to doubt that considerations of duty and patriot-

¹ Dixon H. Lewis (1802-1848) represented Alabama in the House of Representatives from 1829 to 1844. In May, subsequent to the writing of this letter, he was appointed to the United States Senate, in which he served till his death.

ism would control you in this, as I believed it had on all other questions—and that at any personal sacrifice you would accept. This opinion so often expressed, contains my deliberate view not only of what you *will* but what you *ought* to do in this matter. I am of course ignorant of the true state of both the above mentioned questions, but I take it for granted that M^r. Tyler will disclose to you fully their actual state. If I am not mistaken in my conjectures, the Texas question has already been reduced to a Treaty, waiting only to be submitted to, and receive the confirmation of the Senate. The opinion of *all* is, that the question is imminent, and in the present condition of the Country, to confirm a Treaty at all, and to do it under circumstances which will not involve us in a double war with Mexico [and] Great Britain, will be a most difficult matter. If the Treaty be rejected, I consider the Union at an end. It may not at once suffer absolute disruption, but the interests and sympathies of a large portion of the Union must be stronger in favour of an Union with Texas, than with a confederacy, which in the midst of unceasing plunder by Taxation, is waging a relentless war against their Institutions, and making those Institutions the avowed ground of objection to a political Union with those who in every other respect are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

In this view of the question, in the opinion of all, it is important that the question should be under the charge of one having the confidence of every party, both for intelligence and patriotism. I have taken some pains to ascertain the state of public feeling, and I am glad to say, that I have never seen stronger evidences of *complete unanimity* on any public question, than that you are the man, and as most of them say, the only man to meet the crisis. The rumour of your nomination at once created here, a great stir. Men neglectful of business were talking about in groups. I left my seat to gather public opinion. I heard a general expression not only of approval but of satisfaction. Many in their anxiety urged me to write, and beg you to accept. Payne of Alabama, says "Accept by all means, to meet a great crisis, but to base your acceptance on that crisis and to limit your acceptance to the crisis." I think your acceptance ought to be put on that high ground, and that your continuance though not strictly limited

by it, ought not to be much beyond the period you are actually and necessarily engaged in what all consider, the *extraordinary* duties of the Station. I take it for granted Tyler will give you a *carte blanche* as to the two great questions.

While writing Blair has come to my seat and asked me good naturedly what I was doing. I answered that I was writing to you. He said he had come to beg me by all means to earnestly advise you to accept. He says he goes his death for Texas and wants you to manage the matter, that you are the man, and that you have the confidence of all parties. He said further that by taking this position you would build up a reputation with the Democratic Party which would make you impregnable at another time. He evidently however betrayed a little anxiety that in your position you should do nothing to weaken and divide the Party, as he expressed it, but which of course meant, to dislodge Mr Van Buren. I give you this for what it is worth. Dr Martin is in ecstasy at your appointment, and comes to tell me that Joe Gales¹ has just said to him, that the appointment meets his entire approbation. The Whigs all say so.

I have written this to give you a better idea of the state of feeling. The Senate have just confirmed your appointment unanimously without referring it to a Committee. Everybody is delighted and are expressing themselves so. The evidences are so strong it is needless for me to write more.

I must however say that this matter proves the truth of what I wrote you before this winter, that you have a strength and consideration in the Democratic Party which should prevent you from doing any act which would separate you from that Party. The extent of this feeling was never so obvious as now. Men are expressing themselves without reserve and it is almost universal even among those whom party machinery have unwillingly united to Mr Van Buren. The Leaders I have no doubt dislike you and dread you and this day has been a dark one to them, but of the Van Buren men as they are called numbering a *majority* of this House, I believe that three fourths of them are more friendly to you than to him and if left free would rather run you as the Candidate. The other

¹ Of the National Intelligencer.

fourth are however so bitter that I believe that in no event could they be brought to support you, and therefore I am for not risking your name in a contest in which I fear a majority of the voters are already inclined to Clay even if V. Buren's friends are wise enough to back out from him. Still I agree with the opinion expressed so often to day that in the position you are about to occupy, you can place yourself in a position which will make you unpregnable in 1848. It may be however that a ground swell from the people themselves growing out of the Texas question may roll you into the position of a Candidate. If so no one would be more delighted than myself, but I mean to say that no action in my opinion on the part of yourself or your friends ought now to look to that result. Let Van run and be beaten as he *certainly* will and then the Party will be purified of him and his clique. Let them be forced to withdraw him and run an indifferent man and then his organization is destroyed and you must be the man four years hence.

These are my views given to you to cover every aspect of the question as to your acceptance. If the *occasion* calls to your services, accept. If not, decline but in any event look to the effect which your course may have on a popularity in the Democratic Party, which will at another time prove stronger than a corrupt Party organization which manacles your friends at present, but which has received its death wound by your withdrawing from the Convention, and which will be doubly killed and damned by the certain defeat of V. Buren Benton &c. in the coming election.

I am truly your friend,

DIXON H. LEWIS.

From John Tyler.

C. C.

(Confidential)

Washington, March 6th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, After a free and frank conversation with our friends, Governor M^cDuffie and M^r Holmes of South Carolina, and in full view of the important negociation now pending between us and foreign Governments, I have unhesitatingly nominated you this day as Secretary of State in place of my much lamented friend, Judge Upshur. I have been prompted to this course by reference to your great talents

and deservedly high standing with the Country at large. We have reached a great crisis in the condition of public affairs, which, I trust, will assume the place of a commanding epoch in our Country's history. The annexation of Texas to the Union, and the settlement of the Oregon question on a satisfactory basis, are the great ends to be accomplished: The first is in the act of competition and will admit of no delay. The last had but barely opened, when death snatched from me my lamented friend. Do I expect too much of you when I, along with others, anticipate at your hands, a ready acquiescence in meeting my wishes, by coming to the aid of the Country at this important period?

While your name was before the Country, as a prominent Candidate for the Presidency, I could not have urged this request without committing alike an offence to yourself and many others; but now, since your friends have withdrawn your name from that exciting canvass, I feel it every way due to the Country to seek to avail myself, in the administration of public affairs, of your high and exalted talents.

I hope the action of the Senate will be as prompt as my own, and that you will immediately be at my side.

JOHN TYLER.

From Francis Wharton.

C. C.

Philadelphia, March 8th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, The news of your appointment and confirmation as Secretary of State has just reached Philadelphia, and I am going to take the liberty of telling you that the hope and trust of your friends in this section of the country is that you should accept the appointment. Independently of the conviction that no other than a master mind can adjust the Oregon negotiation,—that such a labour requires the whole of that great intellect which can only be found in two men of the country of whom you are one,—that there is but one man who can unite to such an intellect a character which precludes the supposition of fear, favour, and affection, and that that man is yourself,—independently, I say, of such reasons, I cannot doubt that your appearance once more in public life,

in a catholic attitude, will awaken in the men of the middle and northern states, the feelings of pride and attachment with which they looked upon you in 1812 and 1816. The parenthesis of nullification,—misunderstood as it is by the great majority at the North,—will be merged, even in minds of the most prejudiced, into the whole context of your history. Believe me, looking at you once more as the representative of the Union as a whole will open the old fountains of affection. There was a time when Pennsylvania would have voted for you by acclamation,—that time may come again. I may be sanguine, but who would not be sanguine when so great a consummation as the restoration of the North to the true republican creed, has become for the first time for twenty years probable? The Secretaryship of War made you the second man in the affections of the nation: the Secretaryship of State will make you the first.

With great respect I remain yours,

FRANCIS WHARTON.

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.

C. C.

New York March 18th. 1844.

(Confidential)

MY DEAR SIR The Enclosed you will please hand to Mr. Calhoun when he arrives in Washington. Should he however not accept the appointment of Secretary of State, you will please forward the enclosed to him, as a testimony that his friends here will support him in any political station he may be in, so long as he is an exponent and a Vindicator of those principles we cherish, and which lie at the foundation of our political fabric.

You will please read them, i. e. the enclosed proceedings of the Calhoun Central Committee of New York. They were passed unanimously after some opposition. We have here some good and true Calhoun men of the State rights breed. Permit me to say that you and some others at Washington were rather imposed on by the Scovil tribe.

We hold it a matter of propriety to advance to the support of Mr. Calhoun even in anticipation of his acceptance of the

premiership. We wish him to know when he arrives in Washington that his friends in New York are ready, aye ready to stand by him in any department of Government. It is something of a proof of our estimation of him that while east west and south of us, some have fallen and others have bent down before Van Buren yet that we in this city with three administrations (United States, State and city) against us have stood firm and uncompromising, almost alone defying the party organization in its strongest Citadel.

Never had so strong a man such weak partizans as M^r. Calhoun's Southern friends with a few exceptions. I say weak because of their want of energy and perseverance in the cause. Had they arose with enthusiasm and activity and spoken with determination to the people of the North East and West such confidence would have been given to his friends in Maine, Mass. N. H. and Con. as well as in the Western States as would have elected other delegates to the Baltimore Convention. To no movement of his friends here has the South responded. Languor and laziness is doing the destiny of the South. She is now compelled to compromise her Candidate for the sake of Tariff and twenty first rule. Power never shews justice or magnanimity to the opponent who is not in a formidable position nor to the rebell who indicates his weakness by grounding his arms and trusting to the fairness of those who have the power in their hands.

I shall be much pleased at M^r. Calhoun's acceptance of the premiership provided he shall be able to settle the Oregon Question and the annexation of Texas. If he shall acquire additional reputation on these subjects, he may yet be president but not otherwise, for the South cant, because it wont go through the necessary exertion.

As regards the tariff that is sure to come right in a few years because the agricultural population of the north and West are beginning to find it is not profitable to them. . As to Texas the people who gave twenty millions for Louisiana and five millions for Florida will undoubtedly take Texas without cost. It is not in the race of Anglo Saxon Land robbers to refuse that which of all other things is the object of the master passion of the race. There may be some talking on the subject on the score of Abolition, but American aboli-

tion is about equal to British justice always a tremendous affaire when it costs nothing but display. The best way to argue with these hypocrites is to give them trouble about their own institutions. Titles or rights to Slaves are as good as titles to lands—both are creations of human law. Why not have petitions for the abolition of land titles?

Write me frequently. I am well acquainted with men and things here.

Yours Respfy

F. BYRDSALL

From Wilson Lumpkin.

c. c.

Athens March 23^d, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR That the destiny of men and nations are under the controuling influence of an *All-wise* Providence, has long since been one of the settled *Tenets* of my *faith*. And it is thus that I account for your being placed in the position which you now occupy in connection with the great interests of our beloved Country. I know that your present position has not been anticipated by you, or your friends. I hope, trust and believe, that the recent changes, however deeply mingled with calamity, woe and regret, may be overruled for the good of our Country. At this particular juncture, your post is the most important one under the government.

Upon an enlarged consideration, of the permanent interest of our Confederacy,—We have nothing at this time of equal importance to that of the great Territorial questions, of *Texas* and *Orrigon*. Upon these questions I entertain no doubt of the correctness of your views, as well as of the views of President Tyler. And therefore trust you may be the honored instruments of bringing these vexed questions to a happy and successful issue. As regards the adjustment of the Orrigon question, you know and will do what is best to be done on that Subject.

Upon the subject of *Texas*, allow me to say that country must speedily become a part and portion of our great confederacy—or the abolition spirit will destroy our beloved institutions. The peaceable acquisition of Texas will go further

to ensure and perpetuate the general welfare and permanent Union of our Confederacy than any thing which has transpired since the acquisition of Louisiana. I have no special knowledge of the exact relation of things touching this subject at present. I have, however, a very accurate knowledge of a large number of the leading and most influential men of Texas, and of the true character and feelings of the great body of the population of that Country. My eldest son emigrated to that Country about 10 years ago, and has continued to live there ever since. He has a wife and children, is a steady sensible, educated man—and has several times been a member of the Legislature of Texas. I am intimately acquainted with President Lamar, Genl. Rusk and various other Georgians who have become prominent in that Country. Therefore through these associations I have continued to know more, and feel more in regard to Texas than most men.

The great body of the people of Texas ardently desire to come into our Union. Any opposition which may appear to Annexation, whether from President Houston or others, I am well assured is altogether selfish and factious.

Anxious as I am to know the state of our negotiations and prospects upon this subject, your present position forbids my making many inquiries which might be suggested, if I considered you at liberty to confer with a private Citizen upon a subject, which may at the present moment require the most profound silence, out of the Council Chamber.

I could easily write an Essay, or Volume, upon the great importance of the annexation of Texas, but deem the multiplication of words upon this subject, when addressing you, altogether useless—because I know you will duly appreciate its magnitude in all its bearings.

I would willingly make any sacrifice of my quiet, ease and inclination—to aid in furthering and consummating this all important object. And if I find the state of things touching this subject should in the course of the present year, open a door for useful and efficient service, I have it [in] view to visit the Country. If Texas should become a part of the U. S. It will be a matter of Vital importance to the entire South, that all the incipient steps, touching the establishment of the local institutions of that Country, should be based and founded

in wisdom, and that far seeing forecast, so necessary to the permanent prosperity and harmony of the whole Union.

Any thing that may be proper for me [to] know, at any time, on the subject of Texas—will be received with thankfulness. For your health, happiness, and success in your present labors my poor prayers and best wishes await you.

As Ever Yrs.

WILSON LUMPKIN.

From Colin M. Ingersoll.¹

private

New Haven, Apl. 3^d 1844.

DEAR SIR. You have doubtless heard the result of the recent election in this state and perhaps, knowing as you did the conduct of Mr V Burens friends in our state convention, it was such as you anticipated. Our defeat cannot be ascribed to the apathy of your more prominent friends in Connecticut, for never have they done their duty more faithfully than during the campaign which we have just come out of, but in a great measure to the want of that enthusiasm throughout the state which the nomination of our Middletown Convention failed to inspire. For the past five weeks I have been traversing this and the adjoining counties and addressing our friends. I had an opportunity of knowing something of the feeling which pervaded the state, and I found many a warm hearted man supposed by the "wire pullers" to be strong for the *restoration*, actually condemn the nomination of our Convention, they try however to keep cool and are in fact the most radical and determined Democrats we have. The vote of the state shows, as any one will perceive who will examine it, that where we have proclaimed our choice for President to be another than Mr V Buren, the Democracy have done well. New Haven County which went nearly unanimous for yourself in the Convention shows a good vote, while Hartford Co. from whence the order for the Nomⁿ. of M^r V Buren went forth to our convention, has fallen in the rear. The city of N. Haven has increased her Dem. vote about 150 from last year, and Hartford where the leaders, whose pet M^r V Buren

¹ Afterward member of Congress from Connecticut. Original lent by Mrs. J. F. Calhoun.

is, reside, has not come up to her vote of last year! Another circumstance might also be mentioned; notwithstanding the Federalists previous to the election had raised the cry of "Free trade and direct taxation," and appealed to the manufacturing towns to sustain the present tariff, the result of the election shows that the manufacturing towns have done as well as the farming towns, and in some instances better. Our opponents had the aid of about one half I should think of the Abolitionists in the recent election. I never knew them so active and unscrupulous in their means before, money was poured out like water, and many instances of open bribery have come to my knowledge recently. Their victory however is not a great one, their Governor probably falls short of an election by the people and they have both branches of the Legislature who will elect the Governor. Had our friends been united we should have secured the Legislature. so small are most of the federal majorities, that I have no doubt two hundred votes properly distributed would give us the Legislature and as a consequence state offices and an U. S. Senator.

With a candidate for the Pres^y. who carried with his name a degree of popular enthusiasm I think we might carry the State at the fall election. With Mr V Burens name we can do nothing. I do hope that the Nat^l Convention will yet look to the interests of the people rather than to the interests of mere party leaders.

I have the honor to remain Truly Yrs.

C M. INGERSOLL

From Benjamin E. Green.¹

Mexico April 11th 1844.

Private.

DEAR SIR. I learn by the newspapers, the sad death of Judge Upshur, and your appointment to the State Department, with a view to the Oregon and Texas questions. My position here has given me an insight into the condition of Texas, California and Oregon; and as it may be of some im-

¹ Benjamin E. Green was secretary of the United States legation in Mexico. He was the son of Duff Green.

portance to you in the anticipated negotiations at Washington, I deem it proper to give you all the information I possess.

That information is chiefly derived from a M^r. Hastings, of Ohio,¹ who, some two years since, led a party of emigrants from the West to Oregon, and past through this city about three months ago, in his return to the U. S.

He describes Oregon as a fine country; but chiefly valuable for its fisheries and fur trade. The salmon of Columbia River is unrivalled in quality and inexhaustible in number. In an agricultural point of view, the country is important, but much less so, in comparison with the rich soil and more attractive climate of the adjoining Californias.

The political state of those countries is very interesting to us. M^r. Hastings told me, *in confidence*, that California is on the point of following the example of Texas, and declaring her independence. The whole project has been well digested, and reduced to a systematized plan. The province of California is far distant from the seat of the Mexican Gov^t; which has neither soldiers to send there, nor money to support them. Michael Torrena,² the Mexican Commandante General, has but two hundred vagabond soldiers to oppose the movement, and has no resources within himself, being destitute both of talents and courage. The military strength is in the hands of the foreigners, and the natives in their favor. A German, named Suter, is at the head of the movement, and the execution of their designs is only delayed for the return of M^r. Hastings, with a reinforcement of settlers.

The settlers in Oregon have already a legislative council and governor: and while M^r. Hastings was in Oregon, they were debating the propriety of declaring their independence of the U. S., and of forming a separate Republic on the Pacific Coast, in conjunction with the Californias. They do not wish to do so, however, if they can obtain protection and encouragement from home.

Nor is California the only portion of Mexican territory in danger. Sonora has been for two years the theatre of civil war, and will probably join in with the movement in California. The provinces, bordering on Texas, have long envied

¹ Lansford W. Hastings, a leader of the Oregon and California emigration of 1842, and author of *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, Cincinnati, 1845. See Bancroft's Oregon, I, 258-267.

² Micheltorena.

the freedom from forced loans and martial rule, enjoyed by their neighbours. New Mexico has been on the eve of a revolution ever since the Santa Fé trade was closed, and there is reason to believe that even Tamaulipas, were it not for her exposed condition would at once throw herself into the arms of Texas. Santa Anna is trying to provoke a war with France. His object is believed to be to take advantage of the confusion and excitement of an invasion, to make himself Emperor; trusting to the English mediation to pacify France, as soon as his object is accomplished.

If France refuses to be pacified, her Minister here, if he advises well, will advise that the attack should be made through Texas, and upon the discontented provinces. It is by no means improbable that the result will be the annexation of those Departments to Texas. With that addition of territory, Texas would no longer desire admission to our union, but on the contrary would prove a dangerous rival both to the cotton interests of the South and the manufactures of the North.

I have the honor to be Very Respectfully Your obt sev^t
BEN E. GREEN.

*From W. S. Murphy.*¹

C. C.

Legation of the United States.

Houston Texas, 29th April 1844

SIR. Your despatch of the 13th Inst was delivered to me, on the 26th Inst. at Galveston by R. C. Murphy who was also the bearer of the Texan duplicate of a Treaty annexing the Republic of Texas to the United States.

The President of the Rep^b. of Texas, (by an arrangement between his Excellency and myself,) being in waiting at this City, for the Earliest information on this deeply interesting subject, I thought it proper to accompany your messenger to this place, in order that I might have a personal interview with His Excellency after he should have received the duplicate Treaty.

¹ Gen. W. S. Murphy was chargé d'affaires of the United States in the Republic of Texas from 1843 to June, 1844, and was actively engaged in promotion of the treaty of annexation.

The President was highly gratified, at my having done so, and gave to your Messenger an Expression of his approbation.

After his Excellency had fully examined the duplicate Treaty; and in Conjunction with the Attorney General of the Republic, fully considered its provisions, in connection with all the Private letters, from the Texan Envoys on the same Subject—he expressed to me his hearty approbation of every part thereof, and his high and sanguine hopes at the final success of this important measure. I then took occasion to make known to his Excellency, So much of the substance of your despatch to me, relating to the defence of Texas pending the Treaty of Annexation, as I deemed useful, and proper to Communicate; at which he rose to his feet, and gave utterance to his feelings of gratitude towards the President of the United States and yourself for this distinguished manifestation of the generous and noble policy, which ruled in the Councils of my beloved Country.

His Excellency will remain near this Legation, until the final or definite action of my Government, upon this Treaty is known.

His Excellency finally pressed upon me the Momentous Consideration, of the utter hopelessness of ever effecting this great measure of annexation, in case the present Treaty for that purpose should be rejected by the Senate of the U. States.

I have so often and so earnestly labored to impress this truth upon my government, that I am almost ashamed, to repeat it at this time.

You will have the goodness to excuse the haste with which this brief despatch is drawn up. I have barely time to do it. Your messenger leaves here immediately for Galveston that he may take the Neptune for N. Orleans, tomorrow.

With great respect and esteem, I have the Honor to be Your
Obt Sevt

W. S. MURPHY.

NOTE. It is almost useless for me to add, that I am fully impressed with the high responsibility which your last despatch casts upon me, and that I shall take care to follow your instructions with great caution and precision.

Private

Houston 29th April 1844.

SIR. I have not seen the Treaty, and as the President did not offer it for my perusal, I thought it indelicate to ask for it. Yet, I cannot doubt, but that my government has obligated the U. States, to assume the payment of the Public debt of Texas. And inasmuch as the assumption of that debt, would create no greater obligation on the part of the U. States, than that under which Texas rests, it may not be unimportant to suggest, even now, that the Treasury Drafts of Texas now outstanding were not issued for the amount which appears up[on] their face. Some were issued as equivalent to 50 cents on the Dollar, some as equivalent to 25 cents &c &c and some as low as 16 cents on the Dollar, and the Gov^t of Texas was only obligated to redeem them at the price, or value, for which they were issued.

The Gov^t Records will shew, when compared with the date of the Drafts, for what equivalents they were issued. in great Haste,

Yours Respectfully

W. S. MURPHY.

P. S. I learn from the Auditor of the Treasury, who is here, that the Public Debt of Texas, when fairly audited as above will not amount to 5.000.000.

From M. P. Norton.¹

C. C.

Houston, Ap. 29, 1844.

DEAR SIR I write you at this moment because I am sure there is no one here will do it, as most of those in the confidence of the President here are bitterly opposed to annexation. It is now *certain* that we can form such a commercial treaty with Great Britain as will insure our immediate independence. Gen Houston had an interview with Capt. Elliot² on the day he left Galveston for New Orleans. Mons^r Saligny the French minister is now at Galveston. the President is strongly urged and importuned to break off from the treaty with the U. S. and listen to their propositions. We are all

¹M. P. Norton, postmaster and journalist at Houston, was a prominent Texan politician, and afterward a district judge.

²British minister in Texas.

prepared if we are spurned again from the Union to enter into a commercial *free trade* treaty with G. B. and France on a guaranty of our Independence which we can *now* have and the advantages it promises us in the cotton trade renders it very desirable. The enemies of annexation urge upon the President that we can not get as good terms after annexation fails and that it is his duty now to receive propositions and I can assure you beyond a doubt that when it shall be known here that Gen Henderson¹ shall have made his visit of leave at Washington that propositions will have been received and agreed to by us that will place annexation beyond all hope forever without a war with G. B. and that such propositions will be gladly accepted by our Government and people. The President was strongly urged to consent to entertain the proposition when it was apprehended here that certain pledges made to us by Gen. Murphy were to be disavowed, that apprehension is removed by Gen. Henderson's letter of 9th Ap. These apprehensions were founded on a certain communication supposed to have been made by M^r. Nelson to Gen. Murphy before your arrival. It is very important to the success of the measure that all the assurances made to the President by Gen. Murphy shall be carried out to the *letter* not so much from immediate fear of danger from Mexico as that the President may not be induced to seize upon a breach of them to break off the treaty which it is urged here that he may do at any moment when he shall have received it without submitting it to the Senate. It is therefore of the utmost importance that no single assurance of Gen. Murphy be disavowed or left *unfulfilled*. I do not say these things because I have any want of faith in President Houston but because I know the almost overpowering influences that are brought to bear upon him. You will doubtless be furnished by this mail through Gen Henderson with the evidence that the commission for an armistice was at once rejected by Gen. Houston when it reached him on the ground that we were treated in it as a department of Mexico and that the commissioners had not the slightest authority to treat upon that basis. In truth the Commissioners who are violently opposed to annexation are

¹ Texan envoy to the United States.

believed here to have entered into that agreement for the very purpose for which it will doubtless be used by Mexico and the opponents of annexation—to defeat the measure and there is great fear here that the disavowal by the President may not reach you in season to meet the objection, as a copy of the instructions to the commissioners and the action of the President on the armistice will not reach here in season to go out by the Neptune. Gen. Henderson will have however a letter from the President which may have the same effect to a certain extent. Allow me to suggest that the commissioners to settle claims under the ten million allowance made for that purpose in the Treaty be allowed to sit at “Washington in Texas,” or *such other place in Texas as they may themselves appoint*, as there are very serious objections to that place and that if any lesser sum than ten millions shall be likely to accelerate the passage of the Treaty that it had better be amended in the Senate even down to eight if necessary as that change will not prevent its ratification by us. Most of these claims are held in the United States. It must certainly be desirable if you have a majority in the Senate but not two thirds, that you hold the Treaty up and not allow it to be *rejected* untill action shall have been had on the question on *affirmative* resolutions in the House as when these shall reach the Senate and the opponents shall see that we may be annexed by resolution they may be disposed to favor the treaty—besides if the Treaty shall be rejected you will no longer have any such hold upon the Government of Texas as may prevent the President from entering into negotiations that must greatly embarrass if not entirely defeat the measure for I am absolutely certain that this is the only treaty you can ever get and that propositions will be crowded upon us the moment the Treaty is rejected that will place the subject beyond your reach by peaceable means; there is no doubt entertained here that the English and French ministers at your Court have instructions to interpose their protest if they think such course may prevent and not accelerate the measure and may be the *only means* of preventing it; such information has been received here from a quarter entirely to be relied upon at Paris—but the movements of those Governments with your own on that question is better known to you than to us.

I am not willing that this letter should go on to the files of your department. I am not certain that you think the facts communicated of any importance or that you may not have them from other quarters on which you have more right to rely or that they may not be too late for any useful purpose, if annexation shall fail this letter might prove very injurious to me if known here; if the measure succeed I care nothing about it. I am known to Gen. Henderson and Messrs. Evans and Fairfield of the Senate and I refer you to them for the faith you can place in my statements. I am among the few friends of annexation who are so much in the confidence of the Executive as to know what movements are taken to favor or defeat the measure and I repeat, if I have said it before, that annexation can never occur peaceably unless by the present movement, that it is not at all unlikely to be broken off from this quarter and that the line between Texas and the United States will form the *Slave line* within five years after a commercial treaty shall be formed with G. B. and that too by our own free will and still sooner if we are left alone to take care of ourselves for we cannot go into another war with Mexico and leave our families at home exposed to the dangers of a slave population and we never *will* surrender the country to Mexico while one man is left to fight.

Yrs. Very Truly,

M. P. NORTON.

From James Gadsden.

C. C.

Confidential

Charleston 3 May 1844

MY DEAR SIR Clays and Van Burens letter on Texas have created some excitement here: particularly that from the latter.

The first was expected. But the course of the latter was the reverse. It demonstrates most clearly what the influence of abolitionism is at the north in spite of declarations to the contrary.

I consider the annexation of Texas now that the views of Great Britain and the Northern States are not only disclosed, but openly avowed the most vital one which has occurred since the revolution. On it hinges the very existence of our Southern Institutions, and if one of the south now prove recreant:

we will or must content to be Hewers of wood and Drawers of Water for our northern Brethren. There is much excitement among us: and many ready for immediate action. But what should be the action is the question with a very large portion of our Friends. Unity of action seems to be the difficulty. No inconsiderable portion of the Democracy are ripe for hoisting the Tyler flag and of rallying under an Administration party to carry out the Presidents policy as explained in his message. Others however, and the decided majority of the Democrats, do not think Tyler equal to the crisis and still turn on and confide in you as our leader. Unwilling to have a split at a period when Union is so important we feel much at loss untill we can be better instructed from Washington. Would you, in confidence communicate your views to me.

Your friends are all ready and anxious to raise a standard which should never have been lowered: but they are unwilling to act precipitately and possibly against your judgement. If you think from indications at Washington that we should move—We will do so—but if you think delay preferable: or if you concur in bringing out Tyler: why we will be prepared to act. We all are resolved to hold communion with Van Buren no longer—for myself, who never did trust him, I feel gratified at the course he has pursued

Your friend

JAMES GADSDEN

I have written to Gen^l Jackson and hope to bring him out.

From James H. Hammond.

c. c.

Silver Bluff 10 May 1844

MY DEAR SIR. I rec^d from you a few days ago a note, and a letter addressed by the British Minister to you. From the Tenor of your note, and the letter of the Minister I apprehend you have not sent me the paper you intended. In this M^r. Pakenham merely informs you that he will notify the Authorities of Canada that the American minister in London will apply to her majesty for a pardon of Robert Marsh transported to Van Dieman's Land. As an evidence of his good feeling it is equivocal and not to be put in the balance against

his protest—if he has made one, against the Treaty with Texas. I should like to know what right Great Britain has to interfere with the Treaties of Nations on this Continent other than her Colonies. Is it intended to endeavour to introduce here the European System of the Balance of Power according to European ideas? I was delighted with your note to Mr. Pakenham in reference to Slavery. It is precisely the thing that was wanted and I do trust it will be published in every European paper. I have not seen the attack on you in the Globe and am at a loss to conjecture on what ground you can be charged with hostility to the annexation. I should say it was flatly impossible to make even a plausible showing, if I did not know that with the baseness and malice of the devil Benton has his power of invention also. I think however it is clear that he and Van Buren have both split on this Rock. The feeling in favour of annexation—the reason and imperative necessity of the thing cannot be met in the South and S. west by humbug or chicanery: and these two masters in this art will for once find their magic powers fail them. Benton's hatred to you is at the bottom of this movement and I am rejoiced that it has at length led him to his ruin. As to Van Buren, after this letter and the Virginia election I don't see the use of assembling a Convention in his behalf. Is the Democratic Party then to make no show of hands even? It is never to be too much lamented that after your letter the Mercury and Spectator so hastily withdrew your name. It was a great error though doubtless done with the best feelings towards you. I can make no conjectures that would be worth offering to you who are at head quarters—but is it impossible yet to rally your friends so as at least to get your name into the House? Might not the Democratic Party run its favourites in each section? I think you could at least carry all south of No. Carolina—if not of Virginia. No anti-Texas candidate could rally the slave states against you or any of them. At all events the Texas question should be pushed. If the Union is to break there could not be a better pretext. With Texas the slave states would form a territory large enough for a *first rate power* and one that under a free trade system would flourish beyond any on the Globe—immediately and forever. I confess I despair of the Union more and more daily. The

combat on the floor of the House—the violation of the secrecy of the Senate almost prove us both incapable and unworthy of having a Government as at present organized. The resolute adherence to Tariff—the sectional hostility to Texas—the increasing zeal and impertinence of the abolitionists show that the North and the South cannot exist united. I have not been for any length of time in close contact with my negroes until this year since 1839. I am astonished and shocked to find that some of them are aware of the opinions of the Presidential Candidates on the subject of Slavery and doubtless of much of what the abolitionists are doing and I am sure they know as little of what is done off my place as almost any set of negroes in the State. I fancy—it may be fancy—there is a growing spirit of insubordination among the Slaves in this section. In the lower part of this district they have fired several houses recently. This is fearful—horrible. A *quick* and *potent* remedy must be applied. *Disunion* if *needs* be.

It is very dry, but crops, particularly corn promising.

Very truly and sincerely yours

J. H. HAMMOND

From John S. Barbour.

C. C.

Warrenton [Va.] May 11th 1844

MY DEAR SIR. I send you by this Mail the paper printed at this place which contains the proceedings of this County on the Texas question. The Article in it addressed to Blair (the Editor) is the offspring of the pen of your excellent friend Mr. Edwd Dixon. A young gentleman of good Talents, fine Character, and brave, chivalrous and manly.

It is obvious to every eye that Mr. Van Buren can no longer be upheld. Johnson and Muhlenberg have occurred to me as strong enough to carry the West and the North. With a Strong Man in the South also holding to Muhlenberg for the Vice Presidency success would be sure.

The selection might then devolve on the House of Reps. Evil as this is, it is lesser evil than a surrender to the Whigs, whose success *now* is probable Success for twenty years to come—perhaps to the euthanasia of our System, or the violent disruption of the Confederacy.

Muhlenberg can carry Penna. Who else can? As to Stewart, it is idle to think of. Tyler cannot be elected. I have not the slightest doubt of your having strength enough in Virginia to carry the State. The talent of the State is with you, its disinterestedness is with you, its principles with you, its virtue and patriotism with you. I will not close my eyes to night until I have written Ritchie. I think his character is not well understood by you. Gen^l Bayley of the H^o. of Rep^s has a fairer and truer appreciation of him than any one I know. Ritchie is not selfish—he is not base. His character combines in it some of the noblest virtues—Steadiness in friendship, elevation in Morals, Stability of patriotism with great simplicity of character and therefore sometimes led astray by those to whom he may unwittingly have given his heart and his confidence. To these qualities he unites no common ability. I told him in 1825 that he was utterly ignorant of you, and last winter he admitted it to me. He is valuable as a friend, from the possession of those virtues, that grow in value (like the books of the Sybil,) because their possessors have so greatly diminished in numbers. I never had his friendship, and have nothing from him to warp my judgment. I have narrowly watched him for thirty years, and the result of my experience is the high estimate I have placed on his head and his heart. Talk with Bayley of him, and do not allow Ritchie to do you longer injustice, by injustice in your opinion of him.

I write freely to you—for that is the province of friendship.

I have refused in several instances to give letters to you, for persons desiring office. I hope it will not be regarded as a departure from the propriety under which I acted in these refusals, to bring to your care the claims of Edward Dixon.

In all haste and with all Respect

Yrs faithfully and cordially

J. S. BARBOUR

From Francis Wharton.

C. C.

Philadelphia, May 22^d 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I am much indebted to you for your goodness in noticing my letter of a few weeks since. In common

with most of the members of the bar here, of which though a young, I am somewhat an ambitious member, I feel a deep interest in the nomination to the vacant judgeship. I wish the matter were in your hands,—I still trust that such matters may some day be—but as it is, both the bar and the country will hope for the best in the filling of that, and the remaining important vacancies.

I cannot refrain expressing my anxiety at the troubles brooding over a northern wing of the Republican party. The south may be safe enough, but I see here no prospect of a safe reorganization. You will allow me to speak frankly on the subject of Mr. Tyler; and I believe I can truly say that so great is the distrust felt here towards him, that nominated or not nominated, anti-Texas or pro-Texas, he will not collect a thousand votes in the state. Were not your own great name connected with his, the Texas question would be dragged by him into the dust. I am in the habit of occasional conversation with the old recognized leaders in this city, and I believe that it is the fear of his nomination alone that prevents them from coming out manfully. As it is, the argument for immediate annexation has not come to us fairly. Mr. Tyler's advocacy is suspicious,—Mr. Walker's Quixotic. Mr. Benton's speech, as I glanced at it in this evening's Globe, will produce a strong and abiding effect, unless its reasoning be controverted from a source entitled to the respect of the community. What Mr. Buchanan may do, I know not, and perhaps he may succeed in working a change. If such should be the case, and *you* should be brought forward as the annexation candidate, or Mr. Buchanan himself, or perhaps General Cass, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Hampshire might be snatched from Mr. Clay. But with Mr. Tyler as a candidate, the game is up. The Texas scheme will become as ridiculous as the Exchequer, and will be almost as easily crushed, at least in its present shape. Whatever office-seekers or office-keepers may say, I have no doubt that if the issue is to [be] made upon Mr. Tyler's reelection, we will not only be miserably but ludicrously defeated.

If you could find time and opportunity to exhibit the bearing of the present treaty in such a manner as to recommend it to the republicans of the North, a great point would be

gained. The published documents, to a Northern eye have a baldness which made me for one almost believe that the hand which purloined, had garbled them. Our instinct is in favour of the scheme, but our reason has not been sufficiently courted. The frankness, and I must add, the unexpected *logicalness* of Mr. Van Buren's letter, has shaken some of our best friends, and I believe that to turn things round suddenly enough for the November election would require exertions superhuman.

What then can be done? I answer, we must bide our time. So great and unexpected a change of popular sentiment as that called for by the treaty cannot take place in a flash. I see no reason for doubting the opinion we held but a short time since, that the next election must go by default. Put Mr. Clay in the Whitehouse, and, with a moderate degree of prudence and conciliation on our part, we will have the reversion to ourselves. If the states-rights party acts wisely, in one year, under a Whig president, it will dry up the Albany regency, and draw over its subjects. Mr. Clay will be elected easily enough, and though good faith and policy both require we should oppose him, there is no probability that by doing so he will be defeated. Would not his election be safer for republican principles, with the necessary reaction in our favour which would follow, than would the election of any pro-Texas, pro-Tariff caucus democrat, such as Mr. Buchanan or General Cass? If we could succeed in November with a good and true man, we will be doing well, but of that I fear there is no hope. Under such circumstances I cannot but believe that our true policy is to prepare for the organisation of such an opposition as prudence and energy will enable us to collect, for the purpose of hampering Mr. Clay for his first term, and defeating him for his second.

I hope to go to Washington in the course of the spring, and I believe I would long since have made the visit, in spite of the business claims, which, small as they are, I am trying to nurse into respectability, had I not been frightened by the accounts of the hosts of office hunters by which both you and the president are beset. I am still so young, and have still so very little political experience and political weight, that I feel almost backward, also, to attract a moment of your attention.

Not being, therefore, either an office seeker, or a politician, I am almost unwilling to intrude upon the occupations of the capitol. But if in any manner or way I can be useful to you, or our own great cause, even a suggestion from you, will give me will to do, and energy in doing.

Your faithful friend and servant

FRANCIS WHARTON.

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Baltimore Tuesday 10 O'Clock [May 28, 1844].

MY DEAR SIR I would have written before but for constant engagements. There are some things I cannot understand. I saw it the moment I mingled with members at Washington. Your own friends talked of your name as out of the question at present &c, whereas I had been thinking that circumstances had taken place which made it eminently fit and proper that you should be pushed; and had so talked all the way over.

Well I find hundreds here who all say you ought to be the man, but they cannot get at you &c. There has been something wrong *somewhere* but where I cannot tell. Everything is uncertain here. Walker I have been with much—he fights nobly, but does not see the end of his own moves. If they dispute all points, as they will do I think, it will end in confusion, and blowing up of the convention. All the members begin to see the nomination is in fact the election, and therefore they will contend for every inch. The whole amount is that there will be no other conventions, and we have made the plat-form upon which they will break them down.

It seems probable that, if any one is nominated it will be Cass and Johnson, but still a slight circumstance may change the whole. I never saw such excitement in my life—immense crowds every night and addresses in the streets &c. of the most vulgar demagoguism.

As I return I will see you and hope to receive a letter from home which will be enclosed to you. I shall have no time to stay in Washington, and as I cannot get an interview with Gen^l Anderson at all, I enclose the within note so that I can

receive the answer when I call to see you. Will you be so kind as to make a servant drop it at the Bank for me.

Very truly

F. W. PICKENS.

P. S. My own impression is that the best result *for us* is the nomination of V. B. by a large majority and if it does not force rebellion it will bring defeat and odium upon his N. York clique and future prostration to Benton Wright &c. and the whole Dynasty. Perhaps it is better this than for us to be forced to acquiesce in a weak and uncertain ticket.

8 O'clock—night.

Convention adjourned, last balot Cass 123 V. B.—99, Johnson 21, Buchanan 26 Calhoun 1. I begin to doubt any nomination being made. The V. B. men desperate—great excitement. They will not agree to Cass. It is best for us to break up without agreeing. V. B. dead forever. They begin to see the consequences of things. It does seem to me that the South ought to agree to push you. I do not see why they don't—but all are lifeless.

F. W. P.

From Benjamin E. Green.

C. C.

Legation of the U. S. of A., Mexico 30th May 1844.

SIR. I send you (nos 1, 2 3 and 4) two notes, which I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Relations upon the subject of the Instalment, which fell due on the 30th ulto; and his replies thereto. In addition I need only state that daily application has been made for the payment, but as yet none of the money has been paid. The Minister of Foreign Relations, in his note of the 6th, states that the payment would be made on the following day, and in that of the 23^d, he says that the Minister of Hacienda had two days previous issued an order for the payment. Notwithstanding this, the money has not been paid, and the *order has not been issued*. This needs no comment.

In the present posture of affairs, they do not wish to acknowledge their unwillingness or inability to pay; but the fact is that at present they have not the money.

In relation to the Convention for the liquidation of claims, I have already explained the difficulties in the way of its settlement. The same posture of affairs continuing, their excuse for not entering upon and concluding that Convention now is, that they are waiting for some documents of the late Commission. This is nothing more than an excuse.

Col. Thompson arrived in this city on the 22^d inst. After consulting with him as directed in your letter of introduction, I requested an interview with the Minister of Foreign Relations for the following day. In that interview I presented the note, of which I send you a copy (no. 5); and requested that the Mexican Minister at Washington should be authorized to receive propositions and open negotiations for a boundary line between the two countries. I also requested that, if the Mexican Gov^t should think proper to authorize its Minister to do so, I might be informed thereof on tuesday, the 28th. This was promised; but on tuesday the Mexican Minister informed me, that the President requested that M^r Thompson's departure might be postponed, in order that he might previously have a conference with me on the subject of the proposed negotiations. No 6 is a protocol of the conference with the President. No 7 is a copy of M^r Bocanegra's reply to my communication. This reply was promised to me this morning; but was not received until nine o'clock tonight; and owing to the lateness of the hour, and want of time, I must refer you to Col. Thompson, who accompanied me to the Conference with the President, and who will be able to give you a full account of all that has transpired.

He will also inform you that the course of the Mexican Gov^t is entirely owing to the fact that they are under the impression that the Treaty for the annexation of Texas will be rejected by the Senate, and that they calculate upon our internal dissensions, growing out of the question of slavery.

I send you files of the official paper, and refer you particularly to the article of the no of the 21st May, which I have marked.

I have the honor to be Very Respectfully Your obt sev^t

BEN E GREEN

From Francis Wharton.

C. C.

Philadelphia, May 31st, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, I thank you most warmly for touching what with me, has turned out to be the true key on the Texas question. My "northern" eyes have at last opened, and the eyes of the one or two to whom I read your letter,—who were previously strong opposers of the measure,—have opened also. It is a duty owed by the North to the South. If I can be any way useful, as a writer, on the subject, let me know. If in the course of the campaign, a pamphlet is to be written, to embrace the Northern view, and if my services would be of any value, they are at your command. I wish my practice was sufficiently extensive to enable me not only to *write*, but to *publish*.

I trust you consider Polk's nomination safe,—it certainly has very much dashed the politicians in this neighbourhood. The first feeling was that of delight,—not at Polk's nomination, but that any nomination was made at all. The second feeling is one of wonder and curiosity. The Pennsylvania editors—I mean, the editors of the Pennsylvania Newspapers,—have started on the hunt after M^r. Polk's opinions, and have discovered, to their horror, that he is not only pro-Texas, but anti-Tariff. So far, so good. I will be very much gratified if M^r. Pickens and M^r. Elmer turn out to represent your opinions. As to M^r. Dallas, whom I knew very well personally, there is no one who professes for you a greater admiration. I met him a short time ago, when he told me he had just read my late review in the Democratic Review, and agreed with it thoroughly. He went on to say that there was one man who was the great man of this country, and that was M^r. Calhoun.

From James Hamilton.

C. C.

Oswichee Bend. June 14 1844.

MY DEAR SIR. Since my last to you the Baltimore Convention has met and done its *nothingness*—for I really consider the nomination of Polk as nothing. I do not pretend to

decide on the policy of your friends dropping you, but there is something certainly peculiarly unfortunate in the fact or condition of a party which compels it to pass over the *first* of its Men and to rally on those scarcely above mediocrity. Mr Tyler's nomination would in reference to the Question of Annexation have been far more just and congruous than that of Polk. It must have been made by the Van Buren men expressly to be defeated—or to illustrate the amiable fable of the Dog in the Manger.

We passed on the 8th of June Resolutions in this County providing for the call of a S^c Convention—with a view to a Convention of all the States, to take into consideration the Slave Question. An address is ordered which I am to prepare to appear after the adjournment of Congress—that we may avail ourselves of the result of its final proceedings on Annexation. I will endeavor to combine both moderation and prudence in the paper with a *proper spirit*.—We are however without advices from our Members of Congress who have kept us entirely in the dark as to questions of remedy and redress.

I wish to see whether the South has any pluck left if not the sooner we settle down into quiet submission and capitulate with the enemy the better.—We have talked and Bullied enough.

I have written to Elmore to request Lewis to stop at Oswichee to meet me. If anything is to be done I think we may put Alabama in the lead if nothing why I will quietly return to my Cotton fields and wait with what fortitude I can the bursting of the Storm that cannot be a long way off. Come what may you have done yourself honor.

I remain, My Dear Sir With sincere esteem

Yours faithfully

J HAMILTON.

P. S. I wish Benton had been present at Crawford last Saturday. to the Mirth of the people I handled him without gloves.

From Friedrich Ludwig von Roenne.

C. C.

private.

Berlin July 28th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, I informed you some time ago, that a Board of Trade would be erected of which I was to be the President. Knowing the great interest you have always kindly taken in the affairs of my Country, I beg leave now to inform you, that the new Department has since been erected under the title of "Handels-Amt" and that the King has appointed me the President of the Department. There is to be a Council of Trade, besides, but this is to be no Department at all, only when I report to the King about commercial matters some of the other Ministers ought to be present and we then form the Council of Trade in which the King decides upon my report. I hope this new institution will prove beneficial to the development of our commerce and industry. I regret that the Senate have not ratified our treaty, but hope that our relations will nevertheless continue as friendly as they were when I resided in the U. S. The new Department will, I trust, contribute to promote the intercourse between Germany and America and I hope our joint efforts will place it upon a firmer basis. Every body must see at once that two great countries with a vast population, the one of which has all sorts of raw products while the other has all sorts of cheap manufactures, and both of which are unrestricted by any consideration of colonial policy, seem to be destined by nature to trade with each other. There is one subject which is much in the way of the full development of the commerce of certain provinces of Prussia. Mr. Wheaton will write to you on the subject and I beg leave strongly to recommend it to your consideration. The shipping and commercial as well, as the planting interests of the U. S. are deeply concerned in the question. . . .

Your most obedt servt

ROENNE

From A. J. Donelson

C. C.

private, confidential

Nashville, July 29, 1844

SIR, Having seen the letter which Co^l Gadsden addressed to Gen^l Jackson after conversing with you in relation to the difficulties yet in the way of attaching Texas to our Union,

it was my intention at that time to write to you, mentioning that no time had been lost in addressing to Houston a letter warning him of the designs of Great Britain—but I was taken from home by engagements which have occupied me until now.

That you may be fully apprized of what has been done, I think it best to send you a copy of the letter to Houston, which he will have received by the time you get this. If Houston could be induced to rely with any confidence on the success of the nominations of Mess^{rs} Polk and Dallas I should suppose the advice offered him by the Gen^l would be controlling.

The danger is that he may not be able to stand up before his own people if the guarantee promised by England and France is accompanied by terms otherwise very favorable to Texas. But of this accident we must run the risk, relying on the justice and force of those views which sustain the policy of the measure of annexation, and which we are sure must prevail as soon as the people of the United States understand the magnitude of the mischief which will result from the location of British influence on that frontier.

The Clay party in this state have as perfect an organization as they had in 1840, and it will require the union of every democratic interest to break it down. The state is becoming almost an encampment. My belief is that the Democratic party will gain the victory, but that to do so much must be done that the lovers of good order must regret. We shall be obliged to encourage the association of military companies, and adopt all other honorable means of breaking the chain of such *sway* as was adopted by the Whigs in 1840 and as they yet maintain.

I was gratified to hear from Co^l Gadsden that you felt a deep interest in the success of Polk.

I am very respectfully y^r obt servt

A. J. DONELSON

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.

c. c.

New York August 25th 1844

DEAR SIR I am very desirous of obtaining a copy of Burke's Report upon the Rhode Island suffrage movement,

which I am informed is now being printed at the Globe office. As I know of no better mode of procuring one than applying to you, I throw myself upon your kindness with the request, that you will forward me a copy, if you can with perfect convenience do so.

I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity, now that the National-Convention-Campaign is ended, to say a few words in relation to your political friends in this city. Having formed the only Calhoun organization that ever existed in this part of the Union, I may assume to have some knowledge of its members. In regard to political intelligence and fidelity to any cause they espouse, they are not excelled by any body of democrats in the Union. It was for your State right and constitutional views of our system of Government, that we preferred you as our candidate, and such was our fidelity, that after your own Southern friends had hauled down the Calhoun flag, we still kept it up, untill you became a member of the Cabinet. We then rallied to the Tyler Standard and have remained true to him untill his withdrawal, for which, as well as for his excellent letter, we feel both grateful and gratified, if for no other reason than that now we are *free* to go to the support of Polk and Dallas without any dishonor to ourselves. We are the last to leave any cause we pledge ourselves to support.

Upon yourself or the President we have no reflections to make, but we have been greatly chagrined at the deficiency of organization and tact of your Southern friends, as well as at the heartlessness of his professing friends. Each of you may well say "Save me from my friends!" You for the inefficiency of yours, and he for the perfidy of his.

After all, we have done much—there is great reason for gratulation. A political Dynasty is broken down, a Texas Candidate is nominated and our principles of Revenue tariff, District system of representation and strict construction of the constitution are on the ascent towards ascendancy.

I should be much pleased to receive from you, your Views of our political prospects as well as some hints as to the course to be pursued by your friends here. To what great point shall we direct our efforts?

With Sentiments of the highest esteem I have the honour
of subscribing myself Dear Sir

Your obliged and Obedient Servant

F. BYRDSALL
28 Vandam St, New York

From F. H. Elmore.

C. C.

Columbia August 26, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR Since I wrote you last I rec^d. yours of the 6 Aug^t. and concurring intirely in the views it expressed, I showed it to some of your friends to prevent any misconception of your opinions. Events occurred after I wrote you wholly unexpected to me¹ M^r. Stuart the Sen^r. Editor of the Mercury has not been in Charleston, nor connected in any way with politics, so much as even to write a line for his paper for 14 months, until he suddenly threw off his inaction and without consultation that I can learn with any one out of the small circle in Beaufort, wrote that fiery Editorial which has caused so much excitement everywhere. I knew he was excited himself but I had no idea he would throw himself into such a position. M^r. Clapp did not agree with him and felt fettered and embarrassed, but I fear even now he feels himself called on to stand up to the lead. In Charleston the effect was at one moment alarming—it produced in the old Union men a disposition to renew the old issues. Some of them thought it a most favorable opportunity to force us from our State Rights principles and drive us into a recantation or into a minority. They wished to join issue with the Mercury's Leader and M^r Rhett and cut them off and so weaken us who were left that if at any time hereafter we proposed to put the State on her Sovereignty, that we would be unable to move. Col. Memminger's terms were 1. to join issue with Rhett and his friends and make his proposition a question of Union or Disunion—2^d. That we should pledge ourselves that we would not under any circumstances make any move to put the State

¹ This editorial, printed in the Charleston Mercury of August 9, may be found reprinted in Niles's Register, LXVI, 406-408. It was connected with the "Bluffton movement," as to which see the letter of September 17, 1844, in Part I, *supra*.

in action against the Tariff of 1842 during the whole term of the next Legislature. A public meeting was absolutely necessary, for either, he and those he could influence would take steps to bring the public mind to these points, or we must anticipate him. We had ascertained his views in a consultation of a part of our active men, and as he would not recede and we could not concur with him, we took the lead and had our meeting and passed the Resolutions you have seen. So far I have heard no objections to our Course and am in great hope they will be satisfactory to almost all our friends and go far to prevent any further divisions or to render them if inevitable less dangerous to the Union and good feeling of our Party. We so timed our proceedings as to send them to the great Macon Meeting, which the state of my health and private affairs prevented my attending.

I have rec^d. letters from Mr. Seddon and from Howard of Georgia imploring us to turn aside the movements for State action. They said the measures proposed in South Carolina, were embarrassing them exceedingly and seemed to be exceedingly apprehensive that we would cause their defeat in V^a and G^a. I hope they will be relieved by our Resolutions. I wrote to both to Seddon particularly and requested him to get Mr. Ritchie to notice and give our proceedings such an interpretation as would place us right before the Party. . . .

Yrs very truly

F. H. ELMORE

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Edgewood 9 Sept. '44.

MY DEAR SIR After great trouble and exhaustion I arrived at home yesterday from Tenn: I came across from Athens to Pendleton under an expectation I would meet you there. But when I got there I found you were not expected and I heard one of my children was very ill—so I came directly through and did not see your family.

Although I did not get to Nashville in time for the great convention¹ yet I flatter myself I got in time to do some good.

¹ Democratic mass convention, attended by several thousand men, August 15.

I attended other meetings and addressed the people &c. I saw delegates from every state in the valley of the Miss: and I can assure you that *all is right* in that quarter. There is deep excitement and great activity, and what is best the canvass is conducted on our principles. I went over the whole ground as to measures and men with Polk (at whose house I spent two days) and there are no disguises. *Everything is perfectly satisfactory.* I wish I could have seen you. There is no connection at all with the N. York managers *and no correspondence even.* Benton is off, and he is denounced everywhere. I was at Jackson's a day &c., and he conversed perfectly free with me upon all points. He tells me Benton will never be with us again—and says “thank God! the party can do without him.” He sent a message to Benton by his particular friend Judge Boldin, to the same effect but even stronger. Jackson says he is deranged by the explosion of that game. *Polk is entirely untraveled* and is determined if elected to do all he can to reform the Gov: and the 1st thing is to reduce the Tariff of 1842 to a revenue measure entirely and upon the principles of the compromise act; 2^d to introduce strict economy; 3^d acquire Texas at all hazards. He will plant himself upon these measures and look firmly to posterity to do him justice and without the slightest reference to *temporary power* as he has announced his determination not to look to re-election. He will look to integrity and qualifications solely for office and none will be removed except for deficiency in those points. I found him exceedingly friendly and we were very free, but of course I mention these things to you alone. None of the old leaders are in council with him—*this I know.* He answers no committees and writes to none but very general letters and in particular cases. The information is that every state in the valley will certainly go for him except Kty. and Ohio—and the probabilities are that the latter will go with us, particularly since Tyler's withdrawal.

Our friends are determined to fight every inch of ground for Kty. and with some reasonable hopes so they tell me. Tenn. is deeply excited and from what I see and hear will go for us. They are in full discussion upon the Tariff there and I addressed them exactly as I would a So. Ca. audience, and they are with us in feeling. All we want is prudence and

judgement amongst ourselves to secure the fruits of a complete victory, and if we should be defeated, to organize a powerful opposition upon sound principles, and with the certainty of success. In 1832 we had no hearing with the Rep. party as Jackson had led them off and we had none with the National Rep. party as they were ags^t us on principle, but now we are forcing the discussion upon our issues with the whole Democratic party and they are just coming up to us. We have every prospect of having a combined and powerful union, and with the unsound portion of the party thrown off; now under these circumstances it is madness and folly, and worse *unpatriotic*, to separate ourselves and throw off those who are with us in feeling and principle. All your friends in Nashville, Shelbyville and Huntsville Ala. conversed with me freely and anxiously. I stopped in Huntsville on my return, and the whole population from what I could learn are determined to move for you early after the Election. Judge Thompson, Col. McClang, Mr. Clements are all your friends and they are the *leaders* about Huntsville. I told them when they moved to call the people together, and commence by setting forth that "we the people are determined to manage the next presidential Election for ourselves alone, and therefore nominate you as the people's candidate," &c. They will move in all North Ala. exactly where I want the move to commence in the heart of the old Jackson ranks. *Your friends* in Nashville say they can get at least 50,000 people to meet you in Nashville at any time. From all conversation and from what I have seen of the West I am satisfied that you ought to visit *that country* next May. Go early before any public move is made for you. I know you can do much. I never saw men so devoted to our cause than they are there, and I had such crowds of Gentlemen to call even on me that I talked myself perfectly hoarse every night. I know all they want is light. All our ideas are new to them and they seize them with the greatest eagerness. They are a shrewd people and patriotic. The only thing I had to contend ags^t was the sensativeness, that I feared, might be created in the breast of other gent. from distant states, from the excessive desire manifested to hear from *So. Cu.* to the exclusion of attention to others. I therefore rather avoided speaking when I could.

I saw this feeling distinctly shewn in Mr. Melville of N. York. But I could utter no sentiment on the Tariff too strong for those people, and they are all becoming to understand it thoroughly.

I think we have now every prospect of carrying the election. If N. York goes with us of course Polk is elected, but even if not and N. Jersey and Tenn. go still he is elected without N. Y. If Clay is defeated of course he is done, and will no longer be a disturbing force in the South. I think all our prospects are better than I have seen them for years. I am sure a calm and dignified course in yourself will give you the complete command of the future, and you know I have generally spoken my candid sentiments to you. I think things have developed now clearly who were your sincere friends and those who were so merely from selfish considerations. . . .

I find this State perfectly calm and united out of Beaufort, and the only contrary appearance is exhibited in the Mercury.

I heard M^cDuffie was for Disunion, but I saw him for a few moments in Abbeville as I passed and he did not talk that way to me. I do not think he has any definite ideas. He seemed to deprecate the recent moves in Beaufort and Colleton as far as I could understand him, yet I confess he seemed more confused than I ever saw him. There were several present, amongst them Judge Wardlaw, and I denounced the mad schemes of those who were crying for separate action. I afterwards took M^cD. one side to talk freely with him and told him what I had heard of him—he denied it—and yet seemed indefinite—said he preferred secession to Nullification and that was all the idea he suggested. His health is much improved.

I suppose the Oregon question is before you by this.

Very truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Francis Wharton.

C. C.

Philadelphia, September 11th 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote you a letter some time since, and though I do not know whether you are in Washington, I am

going to write you another. I have been for some time considering the propriety of establishing a weekly paper in this city, based on the plan of the London Examiner or Spectator, designed to be both political and literary. Mr. Gilpin¹ and Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, whom I have consulted, both consider the plan to be judicious, and likely, if placed in enterprising hands, to be of great benefit to the republican party. I am half involved as editor, but before taking any step, I am anxious to consult with you. If it is got up here,—under the patronage of the established party leaders,—it will be soon Van Buranized and Silas Wrighted. There will be no helping it. They will control the subscription list, and contribute the capital. Mr. Ingersoll will hand in a tariff article, and in it will go, and Mr. Gilpin will load us with anti-Texas squibs which we will have to fire. We will be prevented from taking the republican stand,—advocating the States rights party,—rallying under *your* name,—and what is worse, we will be hunkerised and Albany regency-ised till we settle into a weekly edition of the Pennsylvanian.

For such a cause, I have no taste. It is my ambition to fall into other ranks, and it would give me the greatest pleasure to devote, unrepayed, my time to the dissemination of your views in the Northern States. I believe it could be done with success. I see great need for an organ which would do so north of the Potomac. I am fully confident of the ability of myself, and those who would be associated with me, to put the matter firmly and attractively before the public. If we mean to move, however, we must be started; if we do not lean, primarily, upon the North for subscribers, we must lean on the South. Could not twenty gentlemen be found who will contribute fifty dollars apiece as shareholders, for the establishment of such an organ? A paper coming out weekly, under such auspices, with such declared views, at two dollars and a half a year,—could, I am sure, run up a large and active list of subscribers. I have consulted with the publisher of the Pennsylvanian who thinks that as a financial matter, the plan would succeed; and with some government, and more per-

¹ Henry D. Gilpin.

sonal, patronage, its success would be certain. Allow me, therefore, to ask your consideration to its practical bearings.

With great attachment, I am yours &c

FRANCIS WHARTON.

I send one or two English papers on the same plan.

*From Memucan Hunt.*¹

C. C.

Private

Galveston, Texas, October 2nd 1844

MY DEAR SIR, The present momentous position of this country induces me to take the liberty of addressing you this note with view of stating our situation and making some suggestions in relation to what should be our present policy and actions and of asking yours in reply.

. It is doubtful from the course he has heretofore pursued and from what I can learn whether M^r Anson Jones, the Pres^t elect of Texas, is favorable to our union with the U. S. The recent appointments of M^r Terrell as Minister to Great Britain and Mr. Reily to the U. S., both of whom are avowed opponents of annexation when added to the recent zealous support of the British party in Texas of M^r Jones for Pres^t with the declaration, in some instances, on their part, that they voted for M^r Jones because he was opposed to annexation is calculated to increase these doubts. I hope however they are unfounded. When I saw him last, which was in February, we held frequent conversations on the subject and I can assure you that he was at that time an unreserved advocate of the measure, yet he may have changed since the defeat of the treaty for that object, by the U. S. Senate. Whether he has, or has not, I am satisfied that if your congress will pass a law providing for the union within the next twelve months, that at least two thirds of both houses of the congress of Texas will ratify the same.

There is no guaranty however that this would be the case at a later date. The very policy I, as one of the citizens of this country, shall recommend to my friends in congress to adopt—whilst I believe it is calculated to hasten your action in favor of

¹ Memucan Hunt was chargé des affaires of the Republic of Texas at Washington in 1837, and is noted as having at that time made proposals of annexation.

the measure—will at the same time tend to create a powerful party in this country, opposed to it. The recommendation I shall offer is a simple reduction by law of our import duties to 10 per cent, or even 8, or 6, ad valorem on all products and manufactories of any country which will admit the products and manufactories of Texas on the same conditions, and to such countries as refuse an acquiescence a requisition of discriminating duties of from 25 to 200 per cent. This proposition would, doubtless, be exceeded to by Great Britain, France and Belgium—Texas being exclusively an agricultural country. The result of this if it is adopted, will be great, very great, injuries to both the manufactures and revenues of the U. S., for, as I stated officially to your Gov^t in 1837 it will be impossible to prevent smuggling from one country to the other when their tariffs of duties materially differ. The passage of such a law, as the one I have referred to, in the event of its being met with reciprocal regulations in Great Britain and the other powers of Europe with which we have treaties, of which there is little doubt, would at once engage capital enough at this place to supply the valley of the Mississippi with all the goods they need the duties of which exceed 20 per cent. The proprietors of the great manufacturing interests in the U. S. foreseeing this result, will, it appears to me, become advocates of immediate annexation, for, without it, the state of trade above depicted will destroy or greatly impair their prosperity and they are surely wise enough to foresee that if Texas once adopts this, almost free trade system and its citizens derive the benefits that will certainly accrue to them from it they will become opposed in a very short time to annexation. The expenses of our government is a mere nothing and 8 or 10 per cent duties will pay them. Agriculture would be greatly promoted by such a system of trade and the wealth of the mercantile interest in such a state of things would soon greatly control all classes of our citizens and I can not say but that in twelve months after its adoption a majority of the people of Texas would be opposed to annexation, and backed as they would be, doubtless, by Great Britain and France it would be impossible for the U. S. to force a connexion at an after time.

As an individual and one who consulted alone his individual happiness and prosperity for life I should be opposed to

annexation myself and were it [not] coupled with the paramount security of Republican institutions in the U. S. and the prosperity and happiness of so many millions of the human family I should now oppose it.

If you think I am wrong in my views as regards the best policy to be adopted by Texas to procure speedy annexation be pleased to communicate to me any other policy you may think is better. There is no public measure, whatever, the result of which causes me half the solicitude. I believe that the success of *mankind* in sustaining republican institutions depend upon it. I have the pleasure to forward a slip from a newspaper along with this announcing the arrival of Gen^l Duff Green as U. S. Consul at this place. No officer of any Government, or of any grade has ever been welcomed among us with as much cordiality and respect as the Gen^l was on his arrival. It is a matter of surprise here to every person, with whom I have conversed upon the subject that Gen^l Green had not been appointed minister to Texas. I assure you the appointment could not be conferred on a gentleman who would be more welcome to the Texian Nation in that capacity.

I have written in great haste. The Orleans packet that bears this has wrang its last bell. I have not time to read over what I have written and make the necessary corrections. You will be pleased therefore to excuse errors and omissions. I have the honor to be With great regard

Your friend and sv^t

MEMUCAN HUNT.

From Duff Green.

c. c.

Mexico 28th Oct^r. 1844

Private.

MY DEAR SIR From Gov Shannon's Official dispatch you will learn that he has as yet received no reply to his letter to the Mexican Minister on the subject of Texas. I learn that a reply is in the course of preparation and that it may be expected in the course of a few days. Gov Shannon¹ having determined to avail himself of the English Courier which leaves

¹ Wilson Shannon, U. S. minister in Mexico. See the next letter.

to morrow, I will remain a few days longer, that he may forward the reply by the Brig Lawrence which is now at Vera Cruz waiting his orders to convey me to Galveston.

I am convinced that it is *impossible* to obtain the consent of this Government to the Cession to the United States of Texas, California or any part of the public domain of Mexico whatever. I proceed to give you my reasons for thinking so.

The policy of Santa Anna has been for years—since the time of Mr Poinsett,¹ to foster a prejudice ag^t. the United States. His purpose has been to occupy the public mind of Mexico with the apprehension of an invasion from the United States, and make his Countrymen believe that he alone can protect them and the interests of Mexico. The Mexicans are ignorant and jealous of all foreigners and especially of the North Americans, and all the measures which Santa Anna has taken against foreigners are popular in Mexico. He excited a national sentiment throughout the whole Country, which is strengthened by the apprehensions of the Priests who fear that the whole country will be overrun by us and that the Confiscation of the Church property will follow. The fundamental law forbids the Executive to alienate any portion of the public Domain without the consent of Congress, and such is the state of parties that if either Congress or the Executive wished to Alienate Texas, it would be opposed by the other and made the pretence for a revolution.

Indeed Santa Anna left here on the 12th of September for Marugo and Clava, under a confident belief that the Army would pronounce against Congress and make him Protector for life. His partisans were divided, in opinion, many of them urging him to assume supreme power at once, but he feared that if he overthrew the Congress a counter Revolution would ensue, and he might forfeit his life. He has about ten thousand soldiers at Jallapa and Vera Cruz. that he might throw the responsibility on the congress, he availed himself of the occasion of the death of his wife to retire, and Canalizo a creature of his will was appointed President *ad interim*. The government press and the partisans of Santa Anna Every where denounced Congress for failing to make the necessary

¹ U. S. Minister in Mexico, 1825-1829, see p. 190.

appropriations for the "War of Texas" and thus endeavored to make the failure to vote the means of prosecuting that war the pretence for the overthrow of Congress and declaring Santa Anna *Protector* for life. The Army is nominally 35,000 men. Congress had voted 30,000 more and had voted an appropriation of four millions of dollars for that war,—to be raised by a special tax. Of that tax a very small part had been collected, and the greater part, more than it is believed can be realised, had been anticipated by drafts of the Government in favor of favorite contractors. It was with great difficulty that funds could be raised from week to week to pay these troops on which Santa Anna relies for personal protection, and instead of marching men into Texas, they cannot find money to send troops into the Districts where their presence is required to enforce the Collection of the Taxes.

When I reached here it was believed that things had reached a crisis. A Pronunciamento was daily expected. Santa Anna, his old wife not yet one month in the grave, had married a young Girl of 16, by proxy, and I met her on the way to Jalapa, under the charge of her Godfather (Camdo) where she was to meet her husband. The plan was for the Army to pronounce against Congress and to call Santa Anna from his retirement who was to sacrifice his domestic happiness and, leaving his young wife, again to take upon himself the cares of state to save his Country. In the mean time the opposition in Congress and throughout the Country gained strength. The Senators and deputies became bolder. They had voted four millions for the war of Texas, Santa Anna demanded ten millions more. The opposition demanded an exhibit of the manner in which the four millions had been applied and defended themselves upon the ground that the sum voted had been absorbed by the ministers and that they would vote no more without a change of ministers. Each party professing to wish the reconquest of Texas, and both using the Texas question as a means of masking their own movements. Both relying on the Army, not to reconquer Texas but to revolutionise the Government. Santa Anna has the advantage of being in power, and of having surrounded himself by men who are dependant upon him for their Commissions, is without the means of paying his troops. The exhausted condition

of the treasury and the unwillingness of the people to pay direct taxes, must soon bring a crisis. In one district a tax collector was killed and in another the people have refused to pay and troops left here yesterday to enforce the payment. It is well understood that both parties are doing all they can to defeat the measures of each other and to throw upon their opponents the odium of the Revolution which both declare must soon take place. The opposition wish to drive Santa Anna to pronounce against and dissolve the Congress, hoping that the reaction in favor of the Constitutional Government and of Congress will enable them to effect a Counter revolution. In which case Santa Anna and his principal advisers will in all probability lose their lives. On the other hand Santa Anna thinks that as Things are getting worse and worse the Country will soon call him to the exercise of absolute power, in which case he will shoot his enemies.

In such a state of things—In the midst of a Civil Conflict, where each party is seeking pretences to murder and confiscate the property of their opponents, and where the principle [is maintained] that it is treason to sell any part of the public domain to the United States, it is worse than folly to suppose that either party can alienate any part of Texas or California.

I have ascertained too that the Mexican bond holders in England, hold a mortgage on the Californias to secure the payment of twenty six millions of deferred debt, which mortgage expires in 1847.¹

You will naturally ask, if such is the condition of the Country, why is it the Mexican Government will not sell? As the Gov^t. is so much in debt and unable to raise money but by direct taxation why do they not disband the army, economise their expenditure and sell a part of their territory which they must soon lose by revolution?

The answer is "that the arguments of the public interest and public duty, are in vain addressed to both parties. The purpose of Santa Anna and his party is to establish a military despotism, and hence they find an argument in the discord and disorganisation of the government. Both parties look to power as a means of enriching the official incumbents. The

¹So ran the frequent rumor at this time, but Bancroft, California, IV, 298, says there is no evidence that it was true.

embarrassed Condition of the Treasury, enables them to purchase in demand against the Government at a discount, and the command of the Treasury enables them to pay the claims thus purchased in preference to all others. It is said a seat in the Cabinet with a salary of \$6000 per annum enables a minister to realise \$500,000 per annum. Santa Anna himself, it is said, makes a large sum by the sale of Commissions in the Army and in the Customs, and besides he has large Haciendas on which he feeds large droves of cattle, which are sold to the Army at three times the usual market prices.

You will see that the war against Texas is the pretence on which both parties are seeking office and that the embarrassed condition of the Treasury is used as a means of enriching those who have possession of the Government. When to this you add the fact that the state of public opinion is such that any party, being in power, and selling Texas or California to the United States, would be driven from office and that the chances are as ten to one that their doing so would be used as an argument for shooting them and confiscating their property, You can then understand why I say that it [is] impossible to make any new arrangement with Mexico as to Texas or California for some time yet to come, at least.

I believe that there is one way and but one in which all that our Government desire and much more than you ask for can be had, but I am not now prepared to submit my Views to paper. I reserve them for personal explanation, and until after I have visited Texas.

In the mean time permit me to call your attention to the Mortgage on the Californias. I am told that it contains a condition that if the money is not paid in 1847, the Creditors shall take possession of the Country. The British Consul Gen^l. here is the agent of the Creditors. I have endeavored to obtain a copy of the Deed, but cannot do it without paying fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars for it. Permit me to say that it is important that you should obtain this through our minister here or in London, as the possession of California will necessarily command the settlements on the Columbia.

The Tactics of the opposition is not to assail Santa Anna personally, but his ministers. He has been compelled to

sacrifice Trigueros, Minister of the Treasury, and others are expected to follow. Each removal adds to the list of his enemies, and as each new incumbent comes into office to play the game of his predecessor, and enrich himself and his associates by plundering the treasury, the same opposition continues. Thus in the face of Governor Shannon's letter and the declaration that a war with the United States is inevitable the House of Deputies by a vote of 43 to 13 a few days ago, refused the loan of ten millions demanded by Santa Anna. The present Government may therefore temporise, but we have nothing to hope from Mexico. They cannot reconquer Texas but they will not sell Texas. The revolution here may be delayed. It may not be a bloody or a protracted Civil War, but to me it appears that a revolution is inevitable and that nothing but an army can prevent a Civil War. The Army is said to be as much divided as the Congress.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN

*From Wilson Shannon.*¹

C. C.

Private.

Legation of the U S of A. Mexico, Oct 29th 1844.

D^r SIR The draft of a note you had the goodness to send me, I considered so entirely applicable to the present State of things here, that I made no alterations in it, except of a verbal character as you will See by my Despatch.² It has produced quite a sensation in this city, its contents having been made known by the officers of the Government. I have received no answer. I am told Santa Anna, to whom it was sent at Jalapa, has directed it to be transmited to Congress and that it will be Sent in tomorrow. I am also advised that he is not displeased with the document as he thinks he can turn it to his advantage by forcing Congress to take the responsibility of abandoning the Texas war. Neither Santa Anna nor Congress will think of

¹ Wilson Shannon (1802-1887), who had been twice governor of Ohio, was from April, 1844, to May, 1845, minister of the United States in Mexico. He was afterwards a member of Congress, and was governor of Kansas during a part of the period of civil strife in that territory.

² See Shannon's letter to Rejon, October 14, 1844, in Niles's Register, LXVII, 234. It follows closely the text of Calhoun's dispatch to Shannon, September 10, 1844, *ibid.*, 232, and Works, V, 364.

renewing the war against Texas so long as it is believed that the U. S. will have to be encountered as well as Texas. Congress will now be compelled to act and provide the means to carry on the war or abandon it. The former they will not do for various reasons. In the first place they are determined to give Santa Anna no more money, and in the second place they have no source from which to raise the money without producing a revolution. The five millions appropriation will not produce more than two and a half and that is already exhausted and more than anticipated by drafts on the treasury. The people are now taxed beyond endurance and while I am writing the Government is sending troops to the South to enforce the payment of this tax. Their retched prohibitory system has nearly cut off all revenue from importations and the internal resources are gone. I see it is predicted in some of the papers in the U. S. that Mexico will declare war against the U. S.; there is as much probability that the Emperor of China will do so. Gen^l Green will give you the details of the political rumors and speculations here. I did not think it prudent to put them in my official Dispatch. His views and opinions of things here may, I think, be relied on. The U. S. Brig Laurence (Capt Jarvis) is now at Vera Cruz waiting my orders. As my Dispatch and Accompanying documents are highly important and should be in Washington City before the meeting of Congress I have transmitted them to Capt Jarvis and directed him to go direct to Pensacola and to deliver my dispatches at that place to Lieutenant Pennock who is instructed to convey them to Washington by the nearest and quickest route. Considering the uncertainty of the mails this season of the year, and the possibility of the packages being miscarried or not reaching you in time I have thought it would best meet with your approbation to pursue the course I have above stated.

There has been a new minister of finance appointed in the place of Mr. Trigueros who has been permitted to retire. The new minister is about issuing a general order suspending the payment of all drafts on the Treasury for the want of money. It is said and, I believe truly, that there is not a dollar in the Treasury. The next instalment due our Citizens will be payable in a day or two but I do not think it will be possible for the Government to raise the means to make the payment. It

is said that exersions are making to raise the money but the belief here is so strong among the monied men that a revolution is inevitable that they Cannot be induced upon any consideration to advance the government money.

Yours with great respect

WILSON SHANNON.

*From Ambrose Dudley Mann.*¹

C. C.

Bremen Oct. 31, 1844

Unofficial—Private

DEAR SIR; It is contended, and I doubt not honestly believed, by no inconsiderable number of the citizens of the United States, that Great Britain has no designs—either immediate or ulterior—upon Texas. In this is to be found the only justification for the rejection by the Senate of the Annexation Treaty. Mr. Clay in one of his letters says: “If any European nations entertains *any ambitious designs* upon Texas, such as that of *colonizing her, or in any way subjecting her, I should consider it as the imperative duty of the government of the United States to oppose such designs by the most firm and determined resistance, to the extent if necessary by appealing to arms.*” This I am disposed to regard as being a sentiment which prevails generally amongst the party of which he is the acknowledged leader. Of course it cannot be in favor with the *nether end* of it—the Abolitionists and Old Hartford conventionists.

Now it is imperative, on every lover of his country, who is under the impression “that any European nation” “entertains any ambitious designs upon Texas,” to contribute all in his power to the establishment of the fact, and I, therefore, under a solemn sense of duty, transmit to you *my* testimony. About eight months ago a Treaty was concluded at Paris between the Hanse-towns and Texas by their respective representatives, Baron von Rumpf² resident Minister there, and Col. Daingerfield, accredited to the Hague and the Hanse-towns. It was forwarded soon afterwards to Bremen and Hamburg

¹ Ambrose Dudley Mann, afterward noted as a Confederate commissioner in England, was at this time United States consul at Bremen.

² Rumpf.

for ratification. The "Burgher's Convent" of the former City, before which it was laid for approval, accepted it and authorized the Senate to transmit it to the capitol of Texas for the action of Congress, which assembles in December, which, as I learn from a high source, was accordingly done. An Exequatur was then granted to the Consul for Texas. At Hamburg the Treaty met with slight opposition, some of its stipulations not being altogether satisfactory, and it was postponed for further consideration. But no question, as I understand, was raised relative to the independence of Texas. Her *right to negotiate Treaties had been recognized by the Hanseatic Minister in his negotiations with the Texas Chargé at Paris.* It is proper for me to remark, that during the early stage of the pendency of this matter at Hamburg, tidings reached Europe that an annexation Treaty had been concluded at Washington. British influence now commenced its wily operations, successfully but unseen, and final action was procrastinated and avoided on the Treaty, so long, that about three weeks since Col. Dangerfield who was staying at the Hague, suspecting that something was wrong, repaired to Hamburg. Immediately after his arrival there the Mexican Consul General addressed a note to the Senate of Hamburg, protesting against the ratification of the Treaty with Texas; and, as I am assured, subsequently refused to certify the papers of the ship "Najade," bound to Vera Cruz with merchandize, until he received from that body a satisfactory decision. The Treaty of "Navigation and commerce" between Mexico and the Hanse-towns expired by limitation in August and as the 12 months notice, required before it can expire, has not been given by either of the contracting parties, *Mexico now threatens if Texas is acknowledged by Hamburg to make reprisals upon Hanseatic vessels.* I have no *positive* evidence of the truth of this latter statement, but for the last day or two, it has been currently rumored. The Senate of Bremen received a note, also, from the Mexican Consul at this place, making a similar protestation to that at Hamburg. A question arose whether Bremen should recede from the position which it had taken and notify the government of Texas of this determination, previous to the meeting of Congress, or disregard the Protest utterly, with the risk of alienating itself from Ham-

burgh the last of its confederates (Lubeck excepted) of the once powerful Hanseatic League? It was a most momentous one, and public opinion as far as it expressed itself, preponderated in favor of the former policy. Such a trial Bremen never experienced. While the excitement was at its height, I was, unofficially, asked for a frank expression of my sentiments on the subject. As an American citizen (not as U. S. Consul)—as one who felt as if the unalterable principles of justice had been grossly, wantonly outraged by the vile conduct of Mexico, urged on by England—I gave them fully, unreservedly. It is revolting to the feelings of humanity, to the philanthropy which characterizes the age in which we live, that the civilized world should permit Mexico to raise a question touching the right of Texas to enter into treaties at this late period. The battle of San Jacinto terminated the struggle between the two countries and the war waged since by Mexico, is merely a *quasi* one. I am now *confidentially* advised, from a high quarter, that come what may Bremen will adhere rigidly to her original purpose. At her head is the great *Burghermeister* Smidt, not only the master spirit of the Hanseatic Republics, but one of the most distinguished personages in Germany, renowned all over Europe as one of the most talented members of the Congress of Vienna of 1815. And here allow me to ask a question, what stand would the United States assume, if in consequence of the policy adopted by Bremen, one of her ships should be captured by a Mexican man-of-war while on a voyage to Galveston? It is known that Bremen has no Navy whatever, to protect her commerce.

Hamburgh is an English city,—almost as much under the control of the British Ministry, as Washington is under the control of the Federal Government. Its merchants derive their chief benefits, in Trade, from England. They are in reality English factors and the nation does everything that it can to sustain and encourage them. The postage on Letters from London to Hamburgh, by the Royal mail, is only about one-third of that charged to Altona, when the distance to the two places is the same! If Great Britain had said to Hamburgh, I have recognized Texas long since; it is your duty to do so, it is idle to suppose that the matter would have been unnecessarily delayed for one moment. But unfortunately in her

diplomacy and in her general relation to the world—savage or civilized—she is actuated by no higher principle than *interest*. If she can cut off Texas from the German markets, she embarrasses in a pecuniary point of view its citizens, and puts them in a condition to accept such overtures as she may hereafter make. If she can prevent its recognition by other powers she creates additional objections in Europe against its annexation to the U. States. I have watched her stealthy movements so closely for the last two years that I can see through all her artifices. Hanover, whose king is one of her *subjects*, is ready to act any part which may be assigned it. Through him she has control of the Elbe, and uses it when necessary to tame any refractory spirit that may be evinced at Hamburgh.

The Mexican Consul General is said to be on terms of the closest intimacy with the British Consul General, a functionary who receives a salary four times as large as that given to you, in payment of the weighty duties discharged by you, and who no doubt uses it freely, in the accomplishment of important measures. Moreover I have been kindly permitted to read letters from English Merchants in Hamburgh to their correspondents, expressing the greatest delight at the “bold stand,” as they termed it, taken by the Mexican Consuls.

The “Protests” of certain powers in Europe and the manifest opposition of others against the annexation of Texas, should be regarded by our government in the light they are intended, as *mere scare-crows*. No nation dare go to war with us. Rothschild holds the purse-strings, and he will never untie them for the purposes of war anywhere. His own safety forbids such a belief, for let any state become involved in war with America and revolution would succeed revolution in Europe. But the time may come when Great Britain will be immensely formidable to us. In the unsettled condition of Spain she may secure a foothold on Cuba, and through her machinations Texas, rather than come under the galling yoke of Mexico, may throw itself into her arms. Then, then indeed, she would no longer feel that dependence on us for our Cotton, which now exists, and surrounding us by her armies and her fleets, she would humble us to the very dust of the earth. Would to Heaven that my countrymen could stand where I stand, and see what I have seen for the last two years, of

British duplicity. With one voice they would exclaim to their riders "*give us Texas if possible without a War, but give us Texas whatever the consequences*".

In a few weeks I shall forward to you a Report of the political condition of the "Deutsche Zollverein"—the production and consumption therein—(as well as in the other states of Germany &c)—of tobacco.

I enclose you in a slip from the "Richmond Enquirer" of the 25th June a Letter which I wrote to the Editors over the signature of "Agricola". The opinions expressed in relation to *France*, from an intercourse with many people of that country during the summer I am sure are not without the best foundation. You will perceive the necessity of regarding this note as *altogether private*; and believe me

Your Friend Faithfully

A. D. MANN.

*From William R. King.*¹

C. C.

(Private)

[Oct. or Nov. 1844]

MY DEAR SIR M^r. Otis, our Consul at Basle, has recently been in Paris, to confer with me relative to the affair of Koster. I found him to be an intelligent Gentleman, and judging from his conduct and efforts to procure Koster's arrest, I should say he is a zealous and active agent of the Government. The compensation his consulate affords is insufficient for his support. M^r. Otis could, without any inconvenience to persons engaged in commerce with Switzerland, discharge all the duties of Consul for the whole Confederation; this would afford to him the means of living as an American Consul should. The Consul at Zurich is a Swiss permanently settled there, and extensively engaged in commerce; and the Merchants are generally opposed to submitting their Invoices to a Consul whose commercial operations conflict with their own. The objection seems to be reasonable, and wherever our Government can command the services of native citizens

¹ William R. King (1786-1858), who had been senator from Alabama from 1818 to 1844, was Minister to France from April 1844 to September, 1846, after which he served again in the Senate from 1848 to 1853, and was Vice-President under Pierce, dying early in the latter's administration.

who are not engaged in commerce, it would certainly be desirable to do so. Would it not also be advantageous to reduce the number of our consular agents and extend the sphere of the duties of those employed? I make this suggestion from a conviction that the character of our Country not unfrequently suffers by the improper conduct of its consuls at points where the fees of office are insufficient to afford them a support. Their official station gives to them a credit which unfortunately they but too often abuse. Would it not be well to present to the next Congress a plan for the revision of our entire Consular system? The subject of emancipation in the French Colonies engages much attention here, and will probably be brought before the Chambers this Winter. The Abolitionists of England, commanding immense pecuniary resources, are operating, I fear but too successfully, through the medium of the French press: which is altogether venal. It is well understood that many of the prominent Journals in Paris are in the pay of the society of Exeter Hall; and they abound in publications containing the most false and exaggerated statements on the subject of slavery. If France influenced by the efforts now making, should abolish slavery in her Colonies, Spain and Brazil will be compelled to yield to the pressure which will be brought to bear upon them; and the United States will be left to stand alone, with the whole civilized world against her. 'Tis here then, that this great question, so vitally affecting our interests, should be met. The selfish objects of the British Government should be clearly and fully presented to the people of France. They should be made to understand that under the pretext of humanity towards the Slave, the real object is to ingross to herself the entire production of Sugar and in a great degree, that of cotton and Rice and through the medium of her East India possessions. To effect this the Press must be employed, which can only be effected with money. The Delegates of the French Colonies are doing all they can to enlighten the public mind, and to counteract the efforts of England; but as I know their means are limited, I have thought that a small portion of the secret or contingent fund at your disposal could not be more usefully employed, than by procuring the insertion in the Paris papers (now closed against us) of well written articles, calculated to

disabuse the public mind here, as to the actual condition of the Slaves of our Country. Indeed I have long thought that our Representatives abroad could greatly subserve the public interest, could they be allowed access to the press in the countries to which they are accredited,—as it is, they see our Institutions stigmatized and our people calumniated without the means of counteracting the false impressions thus made to our prejudice. Should you think my suggestions worthy of your attention, and that you can with propriety apply a part of the fund to the object designated, I would recommend M^r. Walsh our present Consul,¹ as admirably qualified to prepare the proper articles for publication, as his long residence in France has enabled him to form correct opinions, not only of its Government and people; but as to the best mode of operating either on their Judgement or feelings. He would engage in it with the utmost zeal; for his heart is truly American.

I had the pleasure of seeing M^r. and M^{rs}. Clemson often during their short stay in Paris; and of presenting M^r. Clemson to the King and Royal Family, by whom he was most cordially received. I have no doubt they will be pleased with Brussels, which I consider a much more agreeable residence than Paris. The climate here is execrable, cold and damp. I have suffered much from rheumatism, and my hand is so disabled that it is with difficulty I can hold my pen. I fear the Winter will knock me up entirely. The accounts I receive of the Presidential Contest are cheering. Polk and Dallas have united our distracted Party, and with the aid of the Texas question, are carrying all before them. God grant them success; for I should view the election of Clay as a death blow to our national prosperity, if not to the Government itself. Two children have been born to the Royal Family since my arrival here, and the King informed me, that he had with his own hand, written two letters to the President informing him of the interesting events. No answer to them has as yet been received by me. In matters of that kind there should be as little delay as possible, as much importance is attached to them here. Neither have I received your letter to Governor

¹ Robert Walsh, author of *An Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States*, and of other works.

Shannon, although those addressed to Mr. Irving and Mr. Wheaton¹ arrived safely and were delivered to them. If there is any place where it is of importance that the American Minister should be constantly advised of all that relates to the movements connected with the Texas question, it certainly is here. At present all looks well and I have no reason to apprehend any action on the part of this Government to which we could reasonably object, still it is of the utmost importance that I should be kept advised of all that takes place on our side of the Water. The King of the French has returned from his visit to Queen Victoria. He is much elated with the reception he met with, which was no doubt flattering. But all this billing and cooing of the Sovereigns cannot change the character of their people, nor eradicate the deep rooted hostility which the[y] entertain towards each other. Louis Phillippe manifests, I fear, too anxious a desire to maintain peace with his haughty Neighbours. 'Tis certainly his true policy, but may be pressed too far. The French are a proud and sensitive people; and any manifestation on his part of truckling to England, would arouse a spirit in the nation, which would probably prove fatal to his dynasty. I regret that he is not as popular as he desires to be, for France was never more prosperous than under his wise and pacific policy, and I sincerely wish that his reign may be long. He is emphatically a man suited to the times; for having been taught in the school of adversity he has a just appreciation of men and things which peculiarly fits him for the high destiny to which he has been called. I converse with him often, and freely; and my intercourse with him has been all that I could desire. Mr. Guizot is able and adroit. He has a strong leaning towards England, whose Government is his beau ideal. He is also represented by those who profess to know him well, to be deceptive and false. Had this character of the prime Minister been furnished me on my arrival, I should have reduced his conversation relative to Texas to writing, and submitted to him for correction; so as to bind him to his declarations, beyond the possibility of cavil or denial. His enemies say he will not hesitate to lie, whenever he thinks he

¹ Washington Irving, minister to Spain; Henry Wheaton, minister to Prussia.

can gain by so doing. He is probably at this very time one of the most unpopular men in France, yet sustained by the King, he will command a decided majority of the Chambers, and for the present is secure in his position. Present me respectfully to the President and Lady. Also to my Friends Wilkins, Mason, Bibb, and Nelson and Krawley [Crallé]. With the highest respect

I am faithfully your Ob^t. Serv^t.

WILLIAM R. KING

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Senate Chamber [Columbia]. 6 Nov. 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I enclose back the letter and have only to say that I have enquired from all quarters to ascertain as near as possible what was the popular vote in this State in favour of Polk &c.

The result is that all agree that the aggregate vote of the state is fully 58,000 and that in no calculation can they give Clay more than 6000. So that would leave Polk a majority of 52,000. I think this is about right.

I have not heard a word from you. M^cDuffie has written a letter to the Speaker Colcock denouncing my resolutions, and urging immediate and decided steps. What is his precise idea as to the mode of action I am not aware as he does not state it in his letter to Colcock. But judging from what these very few violent men, who seem to feel with him and are shewing his letters, say and do I should infer that secession is the remedy.

I have no idea that such a course will meet with any approbation. My resolutions will pass the House, I am now informed by a large majority. Some of the Union men desired me and begged me to agree to withdraw the last resolution, but I would not consent to the slightest modification, and told them if they were to split, they must take the *Responsibility*, and the consequence is that they will now vote it. Some extreme men make the House a very combustible body. You have no idea how exciteable they are, and how little knowledge they have of general politics. . . .

In haste but Truly

F. W. PICKENS.

*From Duff Green.*¹

C. C.

Private.

Mexico 12th. Nov^r 1844

MY DEAR SIR I have been detained here much longer than I anticipated and refer you to Governor Shannon's dispatches for the causes. Benjamin's² letters to you will have prepared you in some measure, for events here. They are now hastening to a crisis. There is great dissatisfaction with Santa Anna, persons speak against him openly and without restraint, but the press is afraid to speak and hence, as the country is large and rumor always magnifies or misrepresents events it is difficult for any one to ascertain the truth, and such is the want of Confidence and Tendency to change that if we could ascertain the truth to-day, no one could tell what may come up tomorrow.

This much I believe to be true, that a large majority of Congress are opposed to Santa Anna, that the opposition is organized, that it extends through all the northern provinces, that five or more of the principal northern Commanders are pledged to take part, that Parades³ and the Governor of Jalisco have already pronounced against Santa Anna demanding that he shall be deposed, that another President shall be installed, and that Santa Anna and his ministers shall be held to account for the monies they have received, that in the south the Indians have cut off the right hands of the tax collectors, and many persons refuse to pay the tax for the war ag^t Texas.

Canaliso has issued a proclamation saying that the tax was levied to enable the Gov^t to reconquer Texas and calling on the people to pay it, the Government have requested Santa Anna to march against Parades and suppress the revolt in Jalisco, and he is now on the way with his Jalappa troops amounting to 7.500 infantry and 1500 horse with 20 Cannon. In the mean time there is not a Dollar in the treasury, and the resources of the country being dried up there is no means of obtaining but by forced loans and siezing the church revenues. There are two ways of doing this, one is the confis-

¹ Since passing the proof-sheets of General Green's letters of January 24, 1842, and September 29, 1843, the editor has discovered that the former, and an extract from the latter, were printed in Green's *Facts and Suggestions*, pp. 153, 65.

² Benjamin E. Green, the writer's son; see his letters of April 11 and May 30, 1844, *supra*.

³ Parades,

cation and sale of the property, the other is by forced loans. Santa Anna, it is said, argues that if the property is confiscated and sold, it will command but little, that the better way is to permit the church to hold the property and tax it, this he calls "milking" the church.

As far as I can learn there is no confidence in those who are opposed to Santa Anna. I have asked many, Who is to lead the opposition? No one can answer. I have asked, what is the purpose of the opposition? No one can say, further than that it is opposition to Santa Anna. When I ask, will you better your condition? The answer is—"I dont know." When I ask, will those whom you are to put in office be more capable, or more honest,? the answer is—more Capable? No. More honest? No. When I ask, what are you to gain by the overthrow of Santa Anna.? the answer is—I dont know.

Therefore when you remember that Santa Anna is a man of decided talent, that he knows his own people well, that he has command of the Government and is at the head of the army, that altho Congress refuse to give him money and the resources of the treasury are dried up,—You must remember that he has a body of dependant partisans, that his opponents altho organised as to the wish to oust him from office and to put themselves in his place,—they are not organised on any plan which will give them greater resources of men or money than he has, or to [the] Country a better Government than he gives them, and taking into account the character of the people, it is obvious that the movement may enable him to overthrow the Congress and establish himself as Dictator, but I see no prospect of his overthrow.

I take it for granted that you will therefore have to deal with Santa Anna, and You may assume that such is the state of public Opinion that any party coming into power on his down fall will be compelled to take as strong or stronger ground against the United States than he has done. What he has done and is prepared to do if he had the power you will see in the public dispatches of our minister.

Indeed I am convinced that Santa Anna's object is to isolate Mexico from the rest of the world. His policy is to flatter the vanity and national pride of Mexico, and to make his people believe that he is indispensable to their protection

against the encroachments of foreign powers and especially against the United States; that he does not wish for war with the United States, may be; but he wishes that our relations shall always be such as to furnish him with a pretence for keeping up an army which he finds indispensable to keep himself in power.

You therefore cannot adjust the question of Texas by the Consent of Mexico. He would not have that question adjusted if he could. If Texas were annexed—it might not lead to war—I doubt much if it would, because Santa Anna Knows that he cannot sustain himself in a war with us, and therefore he would much prefer angry negotiations which would serve his purpose as a pretext for keeping up his army, and levying contributions, and for driving all Americans out of Mexico. He fears contact with intelligence, as the bigoted Catholic fears the bible and from the same instinct.

You cannot have peace with Mexico without a war. They have so long bullied, insulted and plundered us with impunity that they have lost all respect for us as a nation, altho they fear us as a people.

Their policy towards France and England has been of much the same character, and altho England has done much to aid in driving Americans out of the country that the trade may be left in the hands of Englishmen, Such has been the war on all foreigners that the Englishmen themselves would be glad to see them whipped into a proper sense of what is due to other nations.

But upon all these matters I refer you to my Son, who has many facts in confirmation of what I now say, and to Gov^r. Shannon's correspondence. It seems to me that the Government of the United States have no alternative, that they cannot be content with the annexation of Texas. They must demand a withdrawal of the insolent charges and imputations contained in M^r. Rejon's notes,¹ and an immediate adjustment of all our Claims against Mexico. This will not be done and a war must be the consequence.

Gov^r. Shannon was at first resolved to demand his passports, indeed he had written his letter demanding them, and he was

¹ See Notes, LXVII, 280-288.

only prevented from sending it by a belief that the course which he adopted would relieve the Government from the charge of wishing to place the United States in a position which would necessarily lead to war.

By suspending his official relations until he can receive instructions from you, he enables the President to throw upon Congress its just responsibility, and I cannot permit myself to believe that Congress will hesitate to sustain what Gov. Shannon has done. Indeed the time has come when we have no alternative but to punish Mexico and other nations into a proper respect for national character.

I have been told by two of the best informed men in Mexico that party spirit ran so high and that we are so much divided among ourselves that we cannot go to war, and you will see in Rejon's letters that he relies on the opposition to President Tyler to take part with Mexico in any question growing out of the measures of President Tyler's administration. Such is the impression which the British Legation here have endeavored to make, and I have it from a source that I cannot doubt that the British minister has advised and approves the course which Mexico has taken in this matter. The policy of England is to bring Mexico and the United [States] into collision, because they think that the effect will be to leave the trade of Mexico in English hands. The foreign trade of Mexico is now almost entirely cut off. It is of little value and that little is chiefly monopolised by British Subjects. As it is, the trade is lost to us. The treaty is a dead letter and serves as a snare to entrap our citizens. We have no means of regaining the trade of Mexico but by chastising them into decent behavior and the advantage of a war with Mexico will be that we can indemnify ourselves while by chastising Mexico, we will show other nations what we can and will do and command their respect also. If you could go abroad as I have done you would feel that we have lost caste and that nothing but a war can regain the position we have lost. A war with Mexico will cost us nothing, and reinstate us in the estimation of other nations. I need not dilate on this subject to you. You know that I am for peace and that I would be one of the last to advise a war, because I know the influence which it will have on the question of duties, but we have gone so far that I see

no means of avoiding a conflict with Mexico, and I do not hesitate to give you my opinion. I do not express this opinion to others. I leave you to act as your own better judgment may direct.

Your friend

DUFF GREEN

*From Wilson Shannon.*¹

C. C.

Private

Legation of the U. S of A. Mexico, Nov. 12, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: The dispatch which I forward to you by M^r. Green will inform you of the State of things here. M^r. Green will give you a full history of all that has transpired and of the present State and condition of the Country. The insolence of this Government is beyond indurance and if it is submitted to in one case it will only give encouragement to its repetition. I think we should take high ground with Mexico and let her distinctly understand that She must retract her insults and do us justice in all matters of complaint which we have against her. I am fully convinced we can do nothing with Mexico as to the settlement of any of the difficulties we have with her until we either whip her, or make her believe we will do so. So long as She thinks we will confine our complaints to diplomatic notes She will treat them with an indifference amounting to insult. I think we ought to present to Mexico an *ultimatum*. My last note to M^r. Rejon² may appear rather severe but I think it was called for and that a more mild note would [have] produced no effect, on this people. I will wait with some solicitude your further instructions.

Yours with great respect

WILSON SHANNON.

¹ See also his dispatch of this date, in Niles, LXVII, 265.

² November 8, 1844. Niles, LXVII, 262-264.

*From Andrew J. Donelson.*¹

C. C.

Houston Texas Nov^r 18 1844

Private

D^r SIR, I refer you to the enclosed letter to the President, having nothing yet official to communicate to the Department. Since writing the enclosed I learn that there is some possibility that the Secretary of state may have gone to Galveston by the coast route. But there is no doubt of President Houston's being now on his way to Washington and that he will reach there about the time I will.

Gen^l Duff Green was looked for at Galveston when I left. The prisoners who have been liberated from the castle of Perote report that they saw no preparation for the threatened invasion: and they are of opinion that none is seriously contemplated by Gen^l Santa Anna.

The further I advance into this country the stronger is the evidence of the anxiety of the people for incorporation into our union. Much is said about the activity of the British and French parties to defeat our policy. But I shall not trouble you with the probabilities in relation to such overtures until I present my credentials, and have an interview with the President who will doubtless disclose to me all that has passed between this and other Governments.

My attention is directed to the topographical and geographical features of the country, and the effect they will have upon the population. My object will be to be prepared to anticipate the action of the people in the alternative of Co^l Polk's defeat, and to judge as correctly as I can of the policy which is best for us in that event. Whether it is worth the effort to make another trial for annexation in case of M^r Clay's election will be a grave question. So strong is the attachment of the great body of the Texans to our Union, that I am not sure they might not be induced, to stand the hazard of another war with Mexico, rather than take independence with a condition imposed by Great Britain against annexation at any future day.

President Houston has been on the frontier this fall and has concluded Treaties I learn with several of the Indian

¹ Now charged in Texas. See Calhoun's letter to him, of September 16, 1844, in Part I, *supra*.

tribes. No one has spoken of difficulties growing out of the acts of the Indians within our limits: and I therefore take it for granted that the occasion for the requisition authorized conditionally by my instructions will not arise, or rather, has not arisen.

You shall hear from me fully and constantly as soon as I have an interview with the President.

y^rs truly and respectfully

A. J. DONELSON.

From John S. Barbour.

C. C.

Caltapa Nov 21st 1844

MY DEAR SIR. The election is over and whether for weal or woe is yet not entirely certain.

Should Colo: Polk close up his ears to all evil counsellors, reduce the expenditures,—bring down the Tariff to those expenditures,—keep the patronage for principles, and not for partizans; hold the appointing power as a Trustee for wise and virtuous ends; divorce the Treasury and the Banks, divorce the patronage from party, and throw reform chiefly on retrenchment,—Then his election will be a blessing. If however this great effort of patriotic ardour shall end only in like results with that of 1829, the publick heart will grow sick under disappointment, and will languish into stagnant and putrid quiescence, which will render it wholly incapable of any future effort of disinterested patriotism. It will have spasm and convulsion; but its healthy action is gone forever. That you will be in the Administration is the expectation of every Manly Spirit of every party. The Whigs as well as the Republicans, throw their expiring and their kindling hopes on you. I dread the influence of Gen^l Jackson in this particular. Were it a private matter exclusively with you and he, the old man w^d follow the better impulses of his wiser thoughts.

But he is impressed with the belief, that persevering injustice to you is necessary to preserve his place in the page of history. Without recollecting that the Historic Muse knows

neither love nor fear, he cannot be disencumbered of the thought, that he is to be as puissant when in his grave, as when wielding his vast power through his vast popularity.

Mr Polk should know, first—that his election is the effect of Moral Causes. That personally he has not a feather's weight of power in the deliberations of the publick. That to his principles mainly is he indebted for his election—and to that Moral power which S^o. Carolina and Virginia alone carried to his aid.

Of South Carolina I need not say a word. Without your friends in Virginia, the election w^d. have gone for Clay almost without a struggle. The party was a *Cuput Mortuum*, until the Spirit of life was breathed into it by the Calhoun party. They fought the battle from the blue ridge to the Capes of Virginia; and from the Kentucky and Ohio borders through and over the Alleghanies. If the President elect offer you a seat in his Cabinet, I am justified in saying that your friends wish you to accept it, clearly understanding in advance the principles on which the Government is henceforth to be conducted. Without this preliminary understanding, they think you would prefer private life, and with it, they believe that your sense of public duty will prevail over private inclinations. As these are the Views of your sincere and disinterested friends in every quarter of Virginia that I have heard from, I feel myself at leave to write them to you. The fact that you have taken lodgings at one of the public Taverns (for so the papers announce) leaves a painful suspense just now on the minds of many as to the part you will act in the new administration.

With profound Respect and true Regard Yours Sincerely,
J. S. BARBOUR

N. B. The only unknown vote of any State, is that of Tennessee. A patriot might find cogent reasons for the wish that it had fallen into the urn of the enemy—as we are safe without it.

J. S. B.

*From Robert Walsh.*¹

C. C.

Private.

Paris 29' Nov. 1844

DEAR SIR You must not think me too much of a scribbler if I offer you something like gossip, in addition to mere official communication. As the election of M^r Polk is deemed certain, it is presumed that you will continue in the Department of State. You may not, therefore, be loth to receive such matter as my various journal-reading and social intercourse enable me to furnish.

The day before yesterday, I was one of a large party at dinner, at the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I went early supposing that M^r Guizot would wish to converse with me about the result of your elections. This proved to be the case. He took me aside and asked several questions relating to the characters of men, the probable Composition of the Cabinet, and the construction of which the new American events were susceptible. I gave him such explanations and opinions as would naturally be entertained and expressed by one who has confidence in the patriotism and capacity of the elect of the American people, and who would imbue, if he could, all the foreign world with the same sentiment. It occurred to M^r. Guizot that your external policy would consist chiefly in resistance to foreign Abolition schemes, and to British aggrandizement in the Western hemisphere so far as this is resistible without war. He expected changes in the Tariff more extensive and radical than seem to me practicable or advisable. On the subject of *Texas* he expressed roundly his wish and aim that the Republic should remain independent. On this head, the *entente cordiale* between M^r. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen is, I believe, perfect, and I fear that a like understanding exists between them with regard to American Negro-slavery. The governments, or at least the present cabinets of Great Britain and France, require a complete fraternity, for their very existence. They know each other's dangers, and the necessity of mutual aid: they will not separate, or practically disagree,

¹ Robert Walsh (1784-1859) was an editor of several magazines, and writer of several books, of which the most noted was his *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States*, published in 1819. From 1846 to 1851, he was U. S. Consul in Paris.

about views and measures that affect only foreign countries. The dinner was given in honor of Marshal Bugeaud whose commanding person, energetic eye, and general carriage correspond to the scene and nature of his exploits. Mind, body and bearing give assurance of his fitness for future various public service abroad and at home. He relished my remark to him, that I regarded as one of his best achievements, the masterly repulse which he gave to the French Abolition Society who called on him to abolish the slave trade and slavery in the new French African empire. The company at the dinner-table consisted of eminent Conservatives, with all of whom, as well as with the Minister, he manifested strong political sympathies. Mr. de Bourqueney, the French Ambassador for Constantinople, with leave of absence, was among the guests. This government ranks him with the ablest of the diplomatic corps. He chatted with me, apart, for a half hour; mentioned the entire accord between him and the British envoy near the Porte, on all points, and his belief in the *vitality* of the Ottoman power; and signified some regret at the comparative backwardness and inaction of the United States, at Constantinople, considering the magnitude of American Commercial interests in the East, and American pretensions with regard to Christianity and the propagation of the Gospel. I observed that you could not associate or meddle with the politics and proceedings of the Five Powers whose concerns and plans are exclusively their own, while, however, you might certainly cooperate with them when objects common to the great Christian and mercantile nations were to be defended or promoted. . . .

I am, Dear Sir with perfect respect Your faithful Serv^t
ROBERT WALSH

From Duff Green.

C. C.

Galveston, 29th Nov. 1844

MY DEAR SIR. I wrote to You from Mexico. There are a few additional facts worthy of your consideration. The contest in Mexico is a struggle on the part of Santa Anna to place himself at the head of an absolute despotism. He has labored to create a state of things in which the friend[s] of order would

give him absolute power as the only means of escaping the consequences of Anarchy. The opposition consist of all the elements of disaffection and as far as I can learn are without concert or plan. Some want power as the means of enriching themselves. Others have a vague notion that if Santa Anna is overthrown, things may be better but cannot be worse. Some are for a confederation, but all agree that the United States are dangerous neighbors and that which ever party comes into power must reconquer Texas.

The British Minister is openly supporting Santa Anna. Parades [Paredes] has offered to reduce the duties one half, and will no doubt Command the Ports on the Gulf of California. M^r Bankhead¹ told me that he had notified the Consul Gen^l. that the British Govt would not recognise any payments made to Parades, and offered no protection in case Santa Anna enforces a repayment.

I understood from a M^r West, formerly British Consul at Vera Cruz and now a large manufacturer at Jalappa that M^r. Packenham² was authorised by his Gov^t. to guarantee a loan of twelve millions at 5 per cent, on a pledge of one half the *additional* revenue in case three millions was applied to indemnify the Mexican Manufactures and the protective tariff was repealed. He showed me a copy of a letter addressed to Santa Anna by certain influential manufacturers [which] renews the proposition and I saw a letter from M^r. Bankhead to him, saying that he had no instructions, but pledging himself to cooperate all in his power to accomplish it. And the British Frigate Spartan left on the same day that I left Vera Cruz with despatches which I have no doubt had reference to this, and the present Crisis in Mexico.

Santa Anna can do nothing until he overthrows Congress and gets absolute power, because such is the state of parties that Congress will agree to no proposition coming from him and he will agree to nothing which Congress proposes. In this category it is the interest of those who wish a reduction of the tariff (and this proposition comes from the manufacturers and is sustained by the commercial interest,) to favor

¹ Charles Bankhead, British minister in Mexico.

² Richard Pakenham, British minister in Mexico from 1835 to 1843, afterward, 1848 to 1847, in the United States.

Santa Anna's projects, as when he has overthrown Congress and clothed himself with power he will be the Gov^t., and the parties have an interest in securing the guarantee of the British Gov^t: because they rely on that guarantee to secure the fulfilment of the arrangement in case of a counter revolution. I was told by a M^r Young, an Englishman, a partner and the business man of the House of Hargous and Co. of Vera Cruz that Santa Anna had been consulted in the arrangement and that he had pledged himself to carry it into effect in case he came into absolute power. This confirms what M^r West told me at Jalappa.

I believe that this is Santa Anna's only hope of maintaining himself in power. That he will prevail in the present struggle with Parades I entertain scarce a doubt. (Nothing but accident, I think can prevent it) M^r Bankhead told me that the trade with England was reduced to 600,000 £ per An. The whole customs duties I learn, from an authentic source are less than \$4,000,000, the current expences including the army and usury exceed \$30,000,000. The experiment of the contribution of 4,000,000\$ for the Texas war will admonish Santa Anna that he cannot rely on direct taxes to pay the army and he knows that he cannot retain power without the means of paying his troops. This measure will enlist England more in *his* support and as his war upon foreigners has been the pretence upon which he has made his way to power, he will modify his measures thus far as a means of getting money and conciliating England.

He relies on Vera Cruz: as his Point d' appui. He always falls back there, and makes his movements from thence. He has erected two powerful batteries in aid of the Castle, and manned them with Paixhan Guns, carrying 96^{lb} balls, and has furnished them with a large supply of ball &c.

I can give you but little news about Texas. I refer you to my son for many additional details in relation to Mexico.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN.

From Druff Green.

C. C.

Galveston 29th Nov. 1844

Private.

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you a memo., which contains what seems to me important facts. It is not for me to advise, but I do not believe that you can accomplish any thing with Mexico unless you seeze upon Vera Cruz, and my opinion is that the best way of taking the fort is to take the town, and that this may be done with a very small force if it is done promptly. Santa Anna is an able man, and he has resolved to fall back on Vera Cruz, and this fort, but he is compelled to call off his whole force to meet Parades and cannot supply new troops for some two or three months. If we take the town and fort they should not be given up, as they are the keys to the commerce of Mexico. . . .

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.

C. C.

New York Dec^r 2^d 1844

DEAR SIR, I am highly gratified at the result of the presidential election, and my gratification would be without alloy if we had gained Tennessee or Maryland, for then James K. Polk would be president without the Vote, or over and above the Vote of New York. I do not like any president to be indebted to any one State for his election, and besides the game that has been played in this State ought not to give her politicians that influence with the coming administration which the fact of her Vote being absolutely necessary to our success would seem to deserve; for our success was not *their* work.

It was proclaimed at an early day by the partizans of Mr. Van Buren that "justice to the Cause and to the man" demanded his nomination, "that a Victory with any other chief would be no Victory at all." This was significant to the knowing ones, but not so, thank God, to the Democratic people. A secret circular was got up professedly in opposition to the annexation of Texas, but what was this but a mode of collecting and combining the adherents of Mr Van Buren

and his letter on the Texas question? The result of this move is the fact that Mr. Wright's majority in the State is about double the majority of Mr. Polk. Upon this point the great personal popularity of Mr. Wright is set forth as the cause of the difference, together with the State policy as to the public debt. But how comes it that the canal commissioners have also nearly doubled the majority of Mr. Polk? What has Mr. Wright or the canal commissioners to do with the state policy more than Mr. Polk? Not a whit—the honor belongs to Michael Hoffman and the legislature of a former year.

Whatever claims the democratic people of the state of New York have on the regard and consideration of Mr. Polk—her politicians of the Regency regime have none. The enthusiasm of the Young Democracy carried the Democratic people along. The exertions of Mr. Collector Van Ness effected that Union here which carried the city and saved the State. The great Union meeting was got up by him; all the Calhoun men—Tyler men—Cass men—Johnson men—Stewart men—cordially united on James K. Polk and not a man of them but rallied to his support. Not so all the friends of Mr. Van Buren. The Democrats who voted for Wright and the canal commissioners, but not for Mr. Polk, who were they?

And yet there is now scarcely a prominent office that friends of Mr. Van Buren are not candidates for. It is becoming evident every day that they are going for a restoration of the old set as far as they can get at it. They want the removal of Van Ness or his transfer to the bench in order to get the controul of the custom house as a lever for 1848. There are secret organizations at work for this and the other great offices under the general Government in this city. The only, and in point of fact, just policy for the appointing power to pursue, is to bestow its best considerations on the young democracy, in other words the States Rights Democracy. By the bye it is rumoured here that Ogden Hoffman will be soon an ex. U. S. Attorney. If you have any influence with the President, let James T. Brady be his successor. He is respectable every way—talented capable—honest and is more than any other Lawyer in this City, the favorite of the Young Democracy. I could say much as to what he deserves from you but I refrain because I believe you are governed by

higher considerations than those of a personal nature. A better appointment could not be made for the office in this city.

I confess that I am politically interested and that too in the highest degree as to the collectorship—Surveyorship—Naval office, U. S. District attorney, Marshall and some others of lesser note in this city because I know their important bearing upon the contest of 1848. The one of 1844 is only the beginning of what 1848 must finish.

I can always give you correct information of our politicians here and you may depend upon it that I shall never suffer my private friendships here to induce me to attempt to mislead you. Very improper appointments are often made for want of that knowledge which should be previously obtained. In Jefferson's time, "is he honest—is he capable?" might have been sufficient, but nowadays—will he bring strength to the administration and its policy, is equally a necessary question.

And now my dear Sir you will permit me to express my Views in relation to yourself. You will I hope remain in Washington the ensuing four years, if not as Secretary of State, at least as Senator from your own State. In my opinion Mr. Polk should call you to the office you now hold, and you should accept it. Throwing even proper personal considerations as regards your future life out of the question, the true constitutional policy of this government requires your presence in Washington for such a policy is absolutely necessary to the Stability of the Government itself. We want Statesmen—constitutional Democrats at Washington and not truckling politicians.

I return you thanks for the Rhode Island Report. I should be much pleased to know your views with regard to the course the liberal democracy should pursue in this city. When, and under what form we should rally ourselves I am at a loss to determine. Will you drop me a few lines upon the future Course and policy of the friends of Constitutional principles?

Yours with the highest regard

F. BYRDSALL

From Duff Green.

C. C.

Washington—[Texas] 8th Dec^b. 1844

MY DEAR SIR I have now been here several days and have conversed with many of the most influential members of Congress. I find that upon the simple question of Annexation there is little or no difference of opinion. On the details there are many opposed to the late treaty—they insist that the payment of the debt was not properly or sufficiently provided for,—that the boundary was not secured as it should have been, that their land titles were not sufficiently protected and that proper provision for Education was not made, they say that having conquered the country they surrender every thing and gain nothing but an equivocal protection. These points they believe can be provided for and they believe that on the part of Texas there will be no unreasonable demand. Gen^l Houston has had other views. If he were left to himself he would put on foot an offensive war. All his arguments go to show that his mind is occupied with the Conquest of Mexico and the establishment of a new Republic. He goes freely into the comparison of the two propositions, Annexation and Conquest. All his remarks are appeals to the passions and interests which he desires to enlist in the Conquest of Mexico, and when replied to, or when he finds that he has made the desired impression he says that nothing shall tempt him from his retirement. He is enthusiastic, poetical in the description of his domestic happiness and says that notwithstanding all that has been said he is for Annexation. It is easy to read all this—and I can see where it will end if the Congress of the United States delay the question beyond the *next* session. To press the question now and to fail would do injury. If the press and our public men discuss the question properly and the Government keeps the question open, no injury will, in my opinion result from the delay until the *next* session of Congress, because they are prepared here to await the action of public opinion upon the *new* Congress.

In the mean time as the only serious impediment to annexation is to be found in the ulterior Aspirations of Gen^l Houston, I deem it fortunate that Major Donaldson came when he

did. Armed as he was by letters from Gen^l Jackson, knowing Houston and his early history, he has used arguments and urged considerations which no one else could have done with the same effect and neutralised if he has not eradicated the purpose of Mexican Conquest. Gen^l Houston will leave here in a few days,¹ and has declared himself in favor of annexation, saying that Texas can do nothing, but await the action of the United States.

I therefore consider the question as safe so far as Texas is concerned. She will do nothing for the next year at least that will prevent Annexation.

In the mean time I am by no means sure that it will be for the interest of the United States or of Texas that the question should be closed *now*. The effort of the opposition will be to organise the north against the south. Abolition—the tariff, and native Republicanism, against South Carolina. If the new administration keeps the Texas question as one of the measures for the new organisation of parties, it will give the administration strength, and the success of the measure will be an administration triumph which will go far to establish its power. Of this you can judge better than I. I make the suggestion, subject to your better judgment.

The people of Texas will never consent to annexation on Mr Benton's terms, and his reelection will go far to defeat the measure, unless they can be induced to believe that the next Congress will favor annexation on the terms I have indicated.

I repeat that I do not wish my name sent before the Senate, until I reach home, which will be in all the month of January.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN

P. S. Gen^l Houston has taken occasion to treat me with great attention, has invited me to his house and expressed a great personal respect and a wish to be on friendly terms.

¹ He ceased to be President of Texas on December 9.

*From Beverley Tucker.*¹

C. C.

Williamsburg Dec. 12, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I beg you to accept my acknowledgements for your polite notice of my letter. It was a courtesy I had no right to expect, and which I therefore appreciate the more highly.

I am surprised to learn that there is any doubt of the authenticity of the information given to me by Mr White.² In regard to that I cannot be mistaken. The language of the Treaty of Cession by France to the U. S. strongly intimates the existence of some document defining the limits of the Louisiana as ceded by France to Spain, and by Spain back again to France. This, and other circumstances put Mr. W. on the enquiry. His large interest in Spanish Florida grants determined him to prosecute it, at the expense of spending a great part of his time in Europe. This was his chief business then. he learned that somewhere about 1760 a treaty of a secret character had been concluded between France and Spain, then governed by the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and that into that treaty an article defining the bounds of Louisiana was introduced. He applied to the Minister of foreign affairs for a copy which was refused. He

¹ Judge Beverley Tucker (1784-1857), author of the *Partisan Leader*, was professor of law in the College of William and Mary till his death, and an influential writer of political and other essays.

² The reference is to a passage in a preceding letter of Judge Tucker dated November 18, 1844. In that letter, after speaking of the arguments which he and other inhabitants of Missouri in 1819 and 1820 used with respect to the extent of the Louisiana Purchase, and of the favor with which he found his opinions regarded by the friends of Mr. Clay, he said "But it may not be enough that Mr. Clay and others of his school had said that Texas is part of Louisiana. Is there any other proof? There is, ample and precise proof in the French bureau of foreign affairs. About 1762, just before the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain the Rio del Norte was established as the boundary by treaty. The subsequent cession made that treaty of no consequence, and it was forgotten. But meantime a copy had been furnished to the vice-regal government of Mexico where Branch Archer told me, in 1838, it had been seen by many persons of his acquaintance during the connexion between Texas and Mexico. But Jos. M. White, about the same time, assured me that a copy of the article had been furnished him by the French Minister of foreign affairs."

"Now when France ceded to the U.S. 'by the same boundaries by which Spain had ceded to her' (These are the words) Spain having ceded to France 'by the same boundaries by which France had at first ceded to Spain,' France came under an obligation to furnish any evidence in her power to show what those boundaries were. She has it. It ought to have been demanded then. The very words show the existence of some known boundary, and France if properly called upon, is bound to produce and will produce the treaty of boundary."

then went to Talleyrand, then in London, to invoke his influence with the Minister, and procured from him a letter expressing the opinion that the article in question, tho' in a treaty otherwise secret, might be divulged without impropriety. Thereupon a copy was furnished, from which it appeared that the Rio Bravo and the Mississippi, including the Island of New Orleans, were the agreed boundaries. Such was his account to me

A week afterwards I repeated this conversation to Branch Archer, who said he had often heard that there was such an article among the archives of Mexico, whither it had been immediately sent, for the information of the vice-regal government. The cession taking place immediately after the document was no longer of any consequence, and was not made notorious by any action upon it.

Mr. W. died at St Louis on a visit to a brother whose habits were not such as to cause any suspicion that his papers should have fallen into confusion. Millions of ours depended on that paper, and they whose interests were to be effected by it, may have been quite ready to secure its suppression, and Mr. W's silence by a liberal compromise of *his* claims. The Government of the U. S. was interested to suppress it. Texas was gone from us, and was independent. Much land east of the Mississippi had been sold by the U. S. covered by Spanish grants made between 1803 and 1819. These are the lands White was claiming. Can we wonder if means were taken to silence him?

In this view of the matter the U. S. did not give up Texas gratuitously, for we got all the country east of the Mississippi that *we* call Louisiana. *We* therefore might be satisfied with the bargain. But it is of no consequence to the claim of Texas to be admitted into the union, in fulfilment of our engagement in that respect, whether we got anything for the country or no. We had no authority to barter away the rights of the Texans, as they themselves immediately protested in an article, an extract from which I find in the 12. No. of the Southern Review p. 486. which I have just received. That article expresses what was the universal sentiment of the far West at the time, and on that sentiment most of those who migrated to Texas acted in taking that important

step. I remember being present at a meeting of the most intelligent gentlemen of St. Louis one night in the Theatre, where the matter was discussed, and the Treaty condemned by an unanimous vote, on that ground. My memory deceives me if Col. Benton was not present.

In the Treaty of Cession there is a stipulation that France shall furnish all evidences of title and boundaries in her possession. This article inserted in one of the secret treaties of the heads of the Catholic party in Europe may have been overlooked by the new men into whose hands the government had come. Can it do any harm to instruct Mr. King to enquire if there be any such article and to demand it if there is? The disclosure might occasion some loss to the Government in the adjustment of Florida titles; but what are a few dollars in comparison with a great political measure, and the covenanted rights of the People of Texas?

I have just seen your letter to Mr. Shannon, and an abstract of his correspondence with Rejon. The aspect which this gives to the Texas question makes it of infinite importance to bring in aid of the pretensions of our government every argument and every fact which can fortify your position. I think, if you will look at the Treaty of cession, you will see in it such language as will hardly leave a doubt in your mind that before the first Cession by France to Spain the boundary of Louisiana had been definitively settled and was distinctly understood between those two powers.

From Mexican Hunt.

C. C.

Galveston 19th Dec^r. 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, I have the very great gratification to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ultimo. All your opinions and suggestions are more highly appreciated and esteemed by me than those from any other statesman in the U. S. So far as my interchanges on the great question of annexation occur in relation to our policy on the subject here, your views will be particularly recommended.

If we are annexed by a joint resolution or an act of your Congress ought there not to be a provision for submitting

such joint resolution or act to a vote of the people of Texas? Has our congress the right (it certainly has not authority under the constitution) to part with the sovereignty of the Texian Nation? There is no doubt of a ratification of a joint resolution or act of your congress, annexing us, by the people of Texas. The majority would be 4, 5, 6, or 7 to one, unless something unlooked for, tending to alienate the people transpires, and it would forever silence those who are opposed to annexation, and who, in some instances, for the want of proper information on the subject, now declare it as their belief that a majority of the citizens of Texas are opposed to the measure. . . .

I have the honor to be your devoted friend

MEMUCAN HUNT

From A. J. Donelson.

C. C.

Private

New Orleans, Dec^r. 26. 1844

MY D^R SIR, I have learned since my arrival here, that a package with your frank upon it, has passed me in a new Steamer, the McKim, that is making an experimental trip to Galvezton, I of course knew nothing when I left Galvezton. I had taken care to wait for the regular steamer, and of course felt no apprehension of there being a despatch behind me, when I left.

Now, however, I do not feel at liberty to wait here for a despatch, but shall proceed on in the packet of the 28: to Galvezton, where I shall overtake the communication alluded to, and go on immediately to the seat of Government.

If you have any thing of much importance, growing out of the question of Annexation, it had better be sent to the collector with a request to him to send a special messenger with it to me, particularly if an answer is desirable before the adjournment of Congress. Taking the fate of a letter in the mail from here to the seat of Government of Texas, a despatch from you might be two or three weeks on the way.

I discover from the papers that M^r. Benton intends to urge his plan of annexation. Anxious if possible to bring him to a point on which he may exert less force against the measure

I have written to him a private letter telling him that his course is injuring his friends and his country, and that I hoped he would be willing to modify his position, so far as to leave out of view for the present, the question of slavery, and the number of states, and take the boundary as described in my private letter to you, by M^r. Martin. If taken as a Territory with a general clause like that in the Treaty of 1803, incorporating Louisiana, and securing to the citizens equal immunities and rights with other citizens of the Union; and with the provisions suggested as coming from President Houston; I would insist on nothing more.

Let us get annexation on any terms we can, taking care not to have any thing in form or substance that would render doubtful its ratification by Texas. The battle about slavery, boundary east of the Nueces [Nueces], and the number of states, will come up on the Constitution to be hereafter formed by the people of Texas, when there will be no danger of loss of the Territory from British intrigue, or other causes.

If you are not able to carry annexation by the vote of the present Congress I shall despair of the cause, not seeing a certainty of much increase of strength in the next Congress unless it can be secured by a judicious arrangement of the Cabinet. This should be a paramount object with M^r. Polk who must of course feel himself instructed to omit nothing that can advance the cause of immediate annexation.

Referring to the recent elections in the United States I have said to Texas that the measure was destined to a speedy consummation, and she has said in reply that she would throw no impediment in the way. This gives us the benefit of a trial in Polk's administration, and is so understood by Texas, but I have endeavored to give the phraseology such a turn as to convey the idea also that I relied on the present Congress. It seemed to me that I ought to risk something to secure the measure to M^r. Tyler's administration.

I have heard nothing from M^r. Polk and have had but one letter from Gen^l Jackson, who insists upon some action by the Congress of Texas at its present session. Before its close I hope to hear from you. On existing circumstances I should fear to ask Texas for a formal renewal of her wish to come into the Union, unless our Government were prepared to

take some more energetic measure to give effect to that wish than any yet attempted. The extension of the laws over the Territory without the advice of Congress, or trusting to events to secure their sanction afterwards would be hazardous.

As I feel obliged to return without attending to my private business, in consequence of the information that a despatch from you to me has gone on to Galvezton; and have requested my family to meet me here as soon as they can, I hope you will, as soon as you think the public business will allow of my absence from Texas a few weeks, give me permission to this effect.

The Congress of Texas will adjourn about the 1st of February—then I would judge there would be nothing urgent, unless you wish me to obtain some more, or new manifestation of the feeling of the Government here on the question of Annexation.

I had a great desire to see Gen^l Jackson this winter, and talk over the old seminole matter and remove if possible the misconception which led to the interruption of the friendly relations once existing between yourself and him. His last letter was written with his usual firmness, and leads me to hope and trust that he may yet live a few years more. I therefore feel the less doubt of my being able to see him again, and renewing a conversation with him on this subject, the purport of which I have never communicated to you, because I thought further reflection on his part would induce him to place it on a footing equally satisfactory to yourself and him. This I wish to see and have so written to Gov^r Branch, whose letter to me will be answered more fully in a few weeks.

I am truly and sincerely Y^r obt svt

A J DONELSON

From Wm. R. King.

c. c.

Private

Paris Dec^r. 28th 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I was much gratified by the receipt of your most friendly letter, and I congratulate you most sincerely on the success of the Democracy. I trust and hope that M^r. Polks

election may prove a blessing to our Country, This however, as you justly remark, must entirely depend on the wisdom and policy of his administration. Should he draw around him able men, and carry out in good faith the principles for which we have contended, all will be well, and the Democratic Party will be fixed in power not to be shaken. There should be no wavering on the subject of the annexation of Texas. The growling of the British Lion should only stimulate to immediate action. To falter in our course from apprehension of her hostility, would disgrace us in the eyes of all Europe. The act accomplished, England will complain, perhaps threaten, and her news papers will be lavish in their abuse; but that will be all; for with all her power, she can but feel, that a war with us would be more prejudicial to her interest, than with any other nation. She will not risk the consequences. I am aware that she is exerting herself to induce France to make common cause with her on the subject of Texas, and that Mr. Guizot is much inclined to do so; but it will not succeed. It would shock the French nation, which detests all alliances with England; and the King is too wise, and too prudent to place himself in a position which would go far towards destroying his dynasty. It is however very desirable that we should have the means to enable us to command the service of a portion of the French Press, to enlighten the public mind; and thus to counteract the misrepresentations which appear daily, in those Journals, which are notoriously in the pay of England. I hope the suggestion I had the honor to make on this subject will meet with the approbation of the President. Mr. Walsh our Consul is an able, and efficient officer, and I trust Col. Polk will not be induced to disturb him in his position. Permit me also to ask, as a personal favor to myself, as well as an act of Justice to a long tried, and faithful public servant, that our Consul at Havre my old Friend Beaseley, may not be displaced, to gratify any one; for I know him to be one of the best of men and a capital officer. Your letter to Govr. Shannon reached me nearly two weeks after those addressed to Messrs. Irving and Wheaton had been received,—probably Sir James Graham¹ thought proper to give it a perusal. It is

¹ A jesting reference to the Home Secretary in the British government, whose statutory power to open letters in the mail had been much discussed this year.

written with your usual ability, and places the conduct of Mexico in the odious light in which it deserves to stand before the civilized world. A few days past I was presented to the King and Queen of Belgium, now on a visit to this Court. They took occasion to express themselves in the kindest terms of M^r. and M^{rs}. Clemson, and from all that I can learn they have succeeded in making a most favorable impression, as well on the Corps Diplomatic as on the King. The opening of the Chambers which took place on the 26 presented a brilliant spectacle; and the old King read his speech admirably well. I enclose it to you. You will perceive nothing in it of any importance except that he dwells with rather too much emphasis on the friendship of England to chime in with the feelings of the French People. A majority of the Papers of Paris have attacked it with great severity, and even in the Chambers itself it was received in dead silence. The President's Message is looked for with much interest, particularly in England; as Lord Cowley¹ said to me a few days past. I laughingly replied, I was gratified to find we were of sufficient importance to excite an interest on this side of the Atlantic. Tender my best respects to M^{rs}. Calhoun.

Most faithfully your Ob^t Ser^t

WILLIAM R. KING.

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Edgewood 28 Dec^r. 1844.

MY DEAR SIR I rec^d yours yesterday and was glad to hear you were all well, but regret that things look so gloomy to you. I hope yet matters may take a more favorable turn.

As to your fear about a split in this state I think there is no occasion for it at all. The state never has been as united as at present since I have been acquainted with public matters. The Mercury being in the hands of a few makes a greater shew of division than really exists. There were only 21 men in the legislature all told that were bitter and opposed to the present position of the State, and they made a great shew and claimed many more but I assure you that is the

¹ British ambassador in Paris.

amount of their strength. Take Beaufort and Colleton and you will find that combining senators and Rep. both and there is a majority of 6 ags^t the course pursued by Mr. Rhett. In fact I am assured that in those Dists. in the recent Congressional election a majority of the votes were actually Blank. I merely mention this to shew you that there is in fact no division except such as arises in every country agst selfishness arrogance, and assumption, which must allways be the case. I think I can safely say that the state is fully informed as to her true situation and responsibilities and is determined to do what is right with unanimity at the proper time, if need be.

As to my 2^d. set of resolutions on Abolition &c., the reasons why they were not passed was that immediately after my speech on them these 21 men called a caucus to defeat and smother them, and they selected Bankatt [?] from this Dist. (who was allways an uncertain man) and used him to introduce counter resolutions to produce distraction the last day and confusion, and it was on his motion they were taken from the House when the yeas and nays could operate and refered to a committee of the whole House and made with all the other previous resolutions the order of the day for 10 O'clock at night the last night of the session. I told him at the time the object of his resolutions (which were drawn by Colcock,) was to produce distraction and his Motion was to smother all in the confusion of the last moments. He would not deny it, and will be held to strict account from what I hear.

If it had not been for this the last night, and they could have been brought to a vote they were obliged to pass with the exception of the 21, and strange to say the night before I introduced them (on Sunday) these very gent. were the most violent for the most violent resolutions, and I took the Senate Monday immediately after reading the journal, without consulting a single person, and they then, after I passed them by a unanimous vote immediately turned moderate men.

As to a report &c. on the Gov. message, I thought of it, but the great difficulty was in going into details. The Legislature of So. Ca. would not have it. There are but a very few (and none from the Low country) who can understand or appreciate our relations to any general parties out of the State.

They are no more a part of the general Democratic party than if they were out of the Union: And the consequence would have been a great division on any report that would be made. Besides it was necessary to act immediately as the Gov. message with the Mercury were to have their run and produce all the unfavorable impressions that could be before a report could be made. And it was understood that Mc'Duffie was to be there the first day of the Session to urge an immediate call of a convention. He did not go and they were disappointed and I believe now have unkind feelings towards him because he did not fulfill what was supposed to be his obligations, as he signed originally the address of Mr Rhett to his constituents and they say agreed to stand by him in the State.

I shall write to Elmore immediately and put him right, but you must not mistake Col. Elmore. I think he is a devoted friend of yours and he told me that as your friend, and I told him then there was some mistake. These 21 gent. are now bitter towards him, made the unkindest insinuations about his prospects of receiving an office from Polk &c.

Elmore acted with me *most cordially* in everything at Columbia and did what he could to check and control others.

I hope sincerely every thing will yet work right. As far as I am concerned I am perfectly satisfied and am agst every thing calculated to produce the slightest division in the state. We must be united—it is due to ourselves, to our liberties, and to the country; and as God is the judge of my heart there is not an emotion in it at present separate from the honor—the rights—and the glory of So. Carolina. . . .

Very truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From Duff Green.

c. c.

Washⁿ. Texas. 29th. Dec 1844

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you the Tex. Nat. Register. You will see that the Editor is preparing the public mind here for a coalition between Benton and the whigs which will defeat Annexation this Winter, but keeping open the Door of hope for the next.

Elliot¹ is very active, offering Independence on a pledge against Annexation. He can do nothing. Nine tenths of the people are for Annexation, and the President² assures me that he is also. He cannot if he would, defeat it, if Congress pass resolutions, next winter, favorable to annexation. These people however will not consent to annexation with less than the limits they claim, and will reject it if it be clogged with either of M^r Benton's Conditions.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN

From Alexander Jones.³

C. C.

241 8th Avenue New York Jan'y 9th 1845.

DEAR SIR . . . To your immediate friends, in this city, more than to any other cause, except Annexation was owing the final abandonment of Van Buren and the nomination of Governor Polk.

We formed a Calhoun, or Congressional District Committee, composed of 52 persons, among whom were found representatives from every ward in the city. We circulated documents in favour of the District plan of appointing Delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and against the resolutions of the Syracuse convention, and also against Van Buren and the expediency of his nomination.

These documents were sent into every section of the State; aroused powerful and strong opposition, which alarmed the Albany regency with the old Hunkers. The brief existence of the Gazette, also, had its influence. His chances of receiving the nomination, became much weakened, till his Texas Letter completed the work so auspiciously commenced and prosecuted in this city. . . .

I have the Honor to Remain as Ever Yours Very

Truly and Sincerely

ALEX^R JONES.

¹ Captain Charles Elliot, British chargé in Texas

² Anson Jones, President of Texas since December 9, 1844.

³ Alexander Jones (1802-1863) was a newspaper writer in New York City, and subsequently the agent of the Associated Press. He had lately been engaged in the establishment of a Calhoun paper in New York City.

From A. J. Donelson.

C. C.

Private and Unofficial

Galvezton, Jan^y. 27, 1845

MY D^r SIR, I met at Houston your very acceptable letter of the 9th ins^t, at which place I had arrived on the 24th by slow stages from Washington, for the purpose of escaping the miasma of the latter place. I was attacked on the 4th of Jan^y with the prevailing epidemic and am among the very few cases of recovery from it.

When I reached Washington on the 4th Jan^y, Gen^l Green's¹ Exequatur had been revoked, and the worst possible feeling existed between him and the President. The Sec^y of State, M^r Allen had prepared a statement of the case to be transmitted to his agent at Washington city. I immediately sought an interview with the President, and suggested to him the course which was adopted, of stating the circumstances to me, and of permitting the explanations to pass through me to you. My first object was to remove the impression that Gen^l Green was authorized to commit his Government in any manner; and then to relieve him of the charge that he had sought to corrupt and menace the President, for you will perceive the statement of M^r Allen makes this charge distinctly, and thus created a personal issue which under the circumstances could not have failed to injure the character of the Gen^l.

I considered the Gen^l, although out of his sphere, and not defensible as a Consul, as not obnoxious to the severe imputation cast upon him. He was full of zeal in the cause of annexation, and mistaking the sense in which the members of Congress heard his project for the defence of the Western frontier and the invasion of Mexico, approached the President too familiarly, but without a doubt of his disposition, if not to concur in his views, at least to consider them in a spirit of kindness. Whereas in truth his movements were watched with suspicion from the beginning, and before he was aware of it, he was involved in the responsibility of measures, contemplating a serious change in the policy of the Republic, employing the Indians of the U. States and Texas in the inva-

¹ Duff Green, consul at Galveston. See Niles, LXVII, 386; Anson Jones's *Republic of Texas*, pp. 412-414.

sion of Mexico, and revolutionizing the country from the Rio Grande to the Pacific under the flag of Texas.

You will see that in my note to Mr Allen of the 6th inst, whilst I expressed my disapprobation of such projects, I treated the affair as not involving the United States, and reaching to no higher importance than what was due to private character and opinion. In this point of view it has been settled, and after a full disclaimer on the part of Gen^l Green of all intention to approach the President in the manner charged, the personal imputation on his character has been withdrawn to an extent that ought to be satisfactory to him.

It gives me pleasure to say to you that the best feeling continues to prevail with the Congress of Texas on the subject of Annexation. Resolutions of various mass meetings on the subject have been referred to the committee of Foreign relations in the Senate, and have been the subject of a report from Mr Kaufman, the chairman, which he informed me would be unanimously adopted, recommending annexation as the true measure of safety for the Republic. The President also in my last interview with him, told me, that he would do his duty, and hold himself in readiness to call Congress together to take whatever steps might be deemed best to submit the action of our Congress to the people of Texas for their confirmation and approval. Their Congress will probably adjourn tomorrow, having governed their legislature by the principle that, in view of annexation, the least that could be done, consistently with the administration and preservation of the Government, was the best.

The President called to see me repeatedly during my confinement, and after I became convalescent, stated to me, that he was assailed from some quarters as maintaining a position unfriendly to annexation, and that he was somewhat in doubt as to the course he ought to pursue to put himself right in the estimation of his own citizens. I suggested to him that I was satisfied with the course he had pursued in his intercourse with me; and that if he thought his position sufficiently well defined in the letter he had addressed to me on the 13th inst, that there would be no impropriety in complying with a call from Congress for that correspondence—a course frequently adopted in other Governments for similar purposes.

He seemed gratified at the suggestion, and there was a call accordingly made the next day, as I understood, for those papers. I had not considered that there might be something in my letter which would make its publication improper in the United States: if so, I shall exceedingly regret my imprudence, and must beg you to ascribe the weakness to the state of mind under which I was left by my sickness.

Determined to leave, during my absence, no influence inoperative in confirming the attachment of the people here to the measure of annexation, I left with a leading member of the House a letter of which the following is an extract, and which he will publish.

It gives me pleasure to say also in answer to your allusion to the active interest always manifested by Gen^l Jackson in behalf of Texas, that I had a letter from him a short time since in which he still expresses the same interest. He still looks upon the reannexation of Texas to the United States as a measure of vital importance to the security and happiness of both Republics, and one that the people ought not to allow to be defeated. He considers that the inhabitants of Texas are entitled to the benefits guaranteed to Louisiana by the Treaty with France of 1803, and that reannexation is but a restoration of former rights, and a fulfilment of obligations which the Treaty of 1819 with Spain ought never to have disturbed.

But independent of, and above these considerations, he regards the will of Texas, made free and national by the valor and prowess of her own citizens, and declared in favor of annexation, as constituting an appeal to the United States which cannot be resisted. This position of Texas remedies the errors of the Treaty of 1819, reopens the door for the consummation of the pledges contained in the Treaty of 1803, and restores to the valley of the Mississippi its unity in surface, in population, in Government, in defence, and in future security against foreign influence.

With these views the Gen^l is still sanguine of the success of the measure of reannexation, and awaits with confidence the fulfilment of the popular wish in the United States by those charged with the administration of the Government.

I shall write you again from New Orleans, where I hope to meet my wife, and will avail myself of the leave of absence the President has been kind enough to grant me.

There is one point of public interest, however, of which I will say a word in this letter before concluding, and that is in relation to the unsettled question growing out of the order of President Houston to the collector at the mouth of the Sabine. The Secretary of State has not answered my communication on the subject, but replied verbally that instructions had been

issued to the collector which he was sure would prevent any future difficulty—that subject being a delicate and difficult one, and requiring an examination of documents to which he had not now access, he hoped I would not press an answer immediately. I told him that all that was desired by me was the prevention of trouble, and an assertion of the rights of the U States, and if his instructions to the collector had the effect attributed to them, that the delay he desired was not material.

I am very respectfully yr. obt svt

A J DONELSON

From Wm. R. King.

C. C.

Paris January 29th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR I was much gratified by your very friendly letter of the 13 Dec^r. and I surely hope your anticipations may be reallised, and this Congress may not adjourn without passing M^r. McDuffy's resolutions for the annexation of Texas. I deeply regret the course pursued by Co^l. Benton, while I am at a loss to comprehend the motives which influence it. His position it seems to me is every way extraordinary; for while he professes to be desirous to promote the annexation of Texas, he cannot fail with his sagacity to see, that even should his Bill pass, it will in all human probability defeat the measure. All that England requires to perfect her plan of operations; and to operate successfully on Texas herself, is delay on our part to act definitively on the question. I am fully convinced of this from the change of . . . [torn out] produced on Ashbel Smith¹ . . . affairs for France and England; He was the warm and decided advocate of annexation; but after making a visit to England and having an interview with Lord Abberdeen, he avowed himself decidedly hostile to the measure. I entertain little doubt that he returned to Texas authorised to make proposals, or to use his influence to induce his Government to accept propositions which will be well calculated to produce their effect in Texas. Smith is a cautious man; yet in the

¹ Texan agent in Europe. See his communication of July 31, 1843, *supra*.

conversations I have held with him he has thrown out remarks which convinced me that he will in this matter be a willing instrument in the hands of England. On more than one occasion he spoke of the time and *circumstances* being propitious for Texas to obtain the acknowledgement of her independence by Mexico. To procure the payment of her debt by granting certain commercial facilities to England; while at the same time the arrangement could be rendered greatly beneficial to Texas by a stipulation for the admission of her Cotton into British Ports free of duty. He did not say that these suggestions came from Lord Abberdeen, yet from the whole tenor of his conversations, he left that impression on my mind. Smith is the bosom Friend of the President elect Jones, and it is said will be his Secretary of State. I have thought it was but proper that you should understand his feelings and probable course. Would to God our Congress could but understand the importance of prompt action to put an end to European intrigue, and the ultimate loss of that fine country, unless we resort to force to obtain it. The act done, we should hear no more of opposition on this side of the Atlantic. I shall use prudently the power you have given me to expend for certain object \$500. It is probable that nothing like that sum will be required, particularly if the contribution you mentioned should be made by the southern States. You do not direct on whom I shall draw, either do so or transmit me a Bill for the amount. Tender my best respects to M^{rs}. Calhoun.

Truly and faithfully I am your Ob^t. Sv^t.

WILLIAM R. KING

From A. J. Donelson.

c. c.

Private

New Orleans. Jan 30th 1845

D^r SIR I reached this place last night and deposited with the post master my letters to the Department relating to my public business. They will be a day in advance of this letter.

The British and French Ministers at Galvezton are very active in their exertions against annexation, but have been deterred by the great fatality among the inhabitants at the

seat of Government, from visiting that place. They report that no measure consummating annexation can get more than Twenty votes in our Senate; and that this information is from *high and responsible sources*. I hope they will be disappointed, even [if] the measure be limited to the mere extension to Texas of the provision contained in the 3^d. article of the Treaty in regard to L^a. The main point is to get the country, leaving for the future as they will be presented by Texas in her Constitution, the difficulties, respecting slavery, the number of states &c &c

I endeavored to sound Elliott in regard to his views about California and the occupation of the country between the Nueces [Nueces] and the Rio Grande. My object was to get a clue to the mortgage, said by Gen^l Green to be held by Great Britain on a large portion of that country to secure the debts of British subjects. If there be any reality in that Mortgage, as understood by Gen^l Green, Elliott knew how to keep it to himself.

My belief is that Elliott is sick of his position, and feels that interference with the annexation question was a false move for his Gov^t. He is saying boldly that the country is over-rated; but affects great concern about the extension of slavery, insinuating that it will dissolve our Union, and, if Texas is annexed, bring upon her our troubles. He is a shrewd and cunning man, and of course is to be understood more by his actions than his words.

Not finding my wife here as I expected I shall proceed directly from this place to Nashville. I can go up and back again in about three weeks, and be ready to execute your instructions, should there be any for me on my return. In addition to a necessity for attention to my private business, I wish to see Gen^l Jackson whose life hangs on a thread. I desire to converse with him particularly on the subject of his personal relations to you, which were brought to my notice by Governor Branch, and which I hope can be placed on such a footing as to take from them all impeachment of the character or motives of either of you.

I am very respectfully y^r. obt svt

A J DONELSON

From James Hamilton.

C. C.

New Orleans Feby 18th 1845.

MY DEAR SIR. I was greatly rejoiced on my arrival here to find from the Papers that your convalescence was so far established as to relieve your friends of all anxiety in relation to your speedy recovery.

In the meantime let me beg of you not to regard anything that has passed between us as the value of a tobacco stopper in regard to the Mission to England if it becomes half as desirable to you that you should occupy this Post as it is important perhaps to the public interest that you should do so. But I am probably making generous concessions at a very small price as I very much question even if you do not take the appointment whether Polk would authorize its being tendered to me. It is an old saying in the Kennel, that the greedy Dogs are always served first and I have no doubt some Mouth is ready to receive this *Dotation* (as the King of France says) more rapacious than my own and I am content. I leave the matter in your hands to be managed as you deem most conformable to my character and your own sense of delicacy. If you do not take the appointment yourself I shall be satisfied whether I obtain it or not, if you will only say to Polk what you have said to me, that you consider me the best qualified for the duties of this office than any other Man you know South of the Potomac and that no other individual but one on the South Side of this *fearful line* should occupy it at this crisis of anxiety and peril. I confess if I were to go it would be without the motive of a single personal gratification of pleasure novelty or ostentatious honor, but for the single purpose of accomplishing *a great object in the smallest possible time*,—and when that object is accomplished to come home.

If Texas is annexed I shall be relieved of every embarrassment I have in the world and if I go to England on my return I hope to go into Congress *immediately* and be felt again before I die in the cause of the South. I trust in God I may yet contribute to placing you where your Country can alone reap the full fruition of your vertues and Genius. With this view whether you elect to go abroad or stay at home, if your health permits do not withdraw from the public eye, for I

cannot but think in the next four Years a Crisis will arise which will demand you[r] services in the highest Post known to the Constitution to save both it and the Country from destruction. Everything but your health must be sacrificed to this consideration. As you will have vast power in controlling the movement of the Gov^t thro the treaty-making power you[r] present Post I think would be far more influential than any other you could occupy. I shall be delighted if Polk has the sensibility to what is due to your character and an apprehensiveness as to what is due to your ability and his own interests to invite you cordially into his Cabinet.

On my arrival here I met Bentons *project* for annexation which I think if it is made *definitive* as far as fact of annexation is concerned is far more likely to obtain the concurrence of the people of Texas than the joint Resolutions of the House. These Resolutions really treat Texas as a conquered Territory. They appropriate her revenues for Customs altho these are *solemnly pledged* long since to a certain class of her Creditors and remit the whole of them of all classes to the (*at present*) utter unavailing and unavailable resource of her public Lands. This is not only countenancing but profiting by a most disgraceful repudiation. I am satisfied that the most influential Men in Texas connected with the Gov^t would use the unceremonious arrogance and manifest bad faith of these Resolutions to defeat annexation forever. And let it be understood if Congress adjourns without consummating this measure I have *strong reasons* for believing that the British Gov^t will submit to the people of Texas propositions providing for a recognition of the Independance of Texas by Mexico and a Peace between the two Countries without requiring any concessions on the Slave Question or any discrimination in favor of her Commerce but simply on the condition of *Non Annexation* and that Texas shall reduce her Tariff to 10 per cent *ad valorem*. If I did not believe from the immense number of European Emigrants coming into the Country under the Empresarios of the Prince¹ St. Johns Fisher and Castro that in 5 years Texas would abolish Slavery by a popular Vote I would come out at once against annexation under a belief that

¹Presumably the Prince of Solms-Braunfels.

a free port at Galveston would be a powerful Engine for free Trade in the U. S. but as it is I go for a Union between the two Countries.

Ever My Dear Sir Yours faithfully

J. HAMILTON.

P. S. It has occurred to me that Benton's Bill if it were modified and divided into two sections the first to affirm that Texas was *ipso facto* from the passing of the Act a Member of the Union and his conditions made matters of detail to be arranged afterwards by Commissioners appointed by the Governments it would be far preferable for both and be much more likely to obtain the assent of Texas than the Resolutions of the House. Could not a compromise so as to insure the passing of an Act of Union be passed this Session. . . .

Direct to me at the Oswichiee at your earliest convenience. I shall drop Mr. Polk a Letter tomorrow on the State of things at Texas more in detail than this communication.

From Daniel E. Huger.¹

C. C.

Charlestown March 24th 1845.

MY DEAR SIR The Senate adjourned on Thursday the 20th and I reached this city yesterday the 23^d.

Nothing occurred at Washington but what was in due course. The nominations of the President were confirmed generally. He refused to communicate to the Senate anything which had been done by Mr. Tyler or himself, under the resolutions for admitting Texas. The Zoll-Verrein treaty was postponed until the next session of Cong^s. Mr. Webster appeared to understand perfectly the object of this treaty and its policy. Other gentlemen of his Party appeared to regard it as simply an attempt to reduce the Tariff, which they said ought not to be done but with the concurrence of the House of Representatives.

¹ Judge Daniel E. Huger (1779-1854), one of the principal Union men of 1862, was for nearly fifty years identified with the public service of South Carolina. He served in Calhoun's place in the Senate from 1843 to 1845, and then resigned, shortly after the writing of this letter, in order to give an opportunity for Calhoun to return to the Senate. (See O'Neill's Bench and Bar of South Carolina, I. 180-184.)

I was informed by the Secretary of State that the wish of the Presid^t was to send a minister to England from the Southern States and if possible from South Carolina. I have no doubt your indication of one would be attended to. Hopes are yet entertained that *you* might yet be induced to go. I said your friends had pressed you on this subject but that you appeared inflexible.

Mr. President and myself had some conversation as to Proscriptions in S. C^a. The result was a declaration on his part, that no removals should take place here except *for cause*.

The death of Senator Bates¹ afforded me an opportunity of taking ground which I was happy enough to perceive, was regarded as indicative of S. Carolina feeling.

The course pursued by Gen^l McDuffie and myself on the Oregon question excited at first, unpleasant feelings, but before we parted, I think, even the gentlemen of our Party had ceased to indulge even disapprobation of our course.

Mr. Buchⁿ spoke to me of the course the Mercury had pursued with respect to him. He declared to me he had done nothing and even had not a wish, to have you supplanted in the State Department. He said you had been generously kind to him once for which he felt grateful. He did not appear entirely satisfied with his position—a post in the Senate he thought preferable. Should you ever concur in this opinion, I beg you will, without hesitation signify the same to me. We want you in the Senate. The Whigs there are much stronger than we are and I mistake much if the contest between the two parties does not in a very short time shew the necessity of some change, particularly in the Cabinet. If the Secretary of the Treasury does not turn out much more than is expected of him and far superior to his brother Ministers a change in the Cabinet must take place. Mr. Buchⁿ may fall on the Bench. No one has been nominated to fill Mr. Justice Baldwin's place. The President said to me he was determined to have a *first rate man* there and that this was the cause of his delay. He moreover said that in his opinion sufficient attention had not been given to this subject even by General Jackson himself.

¹ Isaac C. Bates, Senator from Massachusetts, died March 16.

We have a rumour in circulation that Mr. Woodbury is to go to England. I attach no consequence to it for the reason above given.

Should you at any time feel disposed to communicate to me your wishes or views, a letter addressed to me here will be attended to.

Yours &c.

DANIEL E. HUGER.

From Francis W. Pickens.

C. C.

Charleston 17 April 1845.

MY DEAR SIR . . . Elmore shewed me Polk's letter offering him the Mission to England and his reply. He refuses it solely on account of his embarrassments and the time allowed him being too short to prepare for leaving. Polk urged an immediate departure at the urgent request of Everett. I see from Elmore's letter that he has expected it from the "correspondence of friends at Washington." I take it for granted that time will be allowed Elmore and that he will yet go. It will be an excellent appointment—the best that can be made considering the issues. I understand that there will be a change in the Cabinet and Buchanan will go on the bench &c. Walker is the ruling spirit. Ritchie will certainly go to Washington as "the organ," so Elmore informs me. It is said here that if Elmore does not accept that he has urged Gen. Hammond to go in his place. It is thought he will go. I think next to Elmore he will be the ablest man for us. . . .

In haste but truly

F. W. PICKENS.

From A. J. Donelson.

C. C.

Private

Washington Texas April 24: 1845

MY D^r SIR, It gives me pleasure to inform you that upon the basis of the first and second section[s] of the Joint Resolution for the annexation of Texas, which you instructed me

to present to this Government, there is now a probability amounting to almost *certainty* that the measure will be consummated before the next session of our Congress.

Upon my arrival here there was excitement in the public mind, growing out of an impression that the President of this Republic would not accept the proposals, or refer the subject to either Congress or the people. And there was unfortunately some ground for such an apprehension in the delay of the President to issue his Proclamation, yet he never for a moment in any interview with me intimated a wish to interpose an obstacle to the judgement of the people.

You will be surprised, however, when I inform you that Gen^l Houston brought all his influence to bear against our proposals, and in favor of resorting to the negotiation contemplated by the Senate amendment to the House bill. Upon the latter basis there is no doubt, aided by his influence, this Government expected to throw me back for new instructions; but my communication was prepared with a full knowledge of the temper of the Cabinet, and I presented it the morning after my arrival as containing the *ultimatum* of President Polk in which he had the concurrence also of President Tyler.

Great hesitation and indecision were manifested throughout the corps of officeholders, and it was not until Gen^l Houston could be seen, and until there were returns from other points in the State, that the President announced the issue of his Proclamation to call Congress.

It is useless, however, to trouble you with the details of the various incidents which marked a settled purpose here to change the basis selected by my Government,—nor will it be interesting to you to know the particular steps taken by me to defeat such a purpose. It is proper for me, however, to say to you that in a long correspondence into which I have been drawn by Gen^l Houston I have been obliged to refer to certain statements from him representing the willingness of Texas to retain her public domain and pay her own debts. In a letter directed to you from New Orleans I urged upon you to let go that feature of the Treaty, stating to you that Houston thought Texas would be better off *retaining* than *ceding* her public lands. At the time he made this declara-

tion our attention was confined to Mr McDuffies bill, and it is obvious that when you took out of that bill the provisions concerning the public debt and lands of Texas, there was nothing left but the general provision admitting Texas as a Territory, and securing to her citizens a community of rights and privileges as citizens of the United States. In rebutting the objections made by Gen^l Houston to the House bill—objections drawn out with care and intended to influence President Jones—I have maintained that he was committed substantially to that bill, and could not oppose it without a change of the position occupied by him in December last, when I communicated to you *confidentially* the extent to which the provisions of the Treaty might be modified without danger to the measure, so far as it depended upon the approbation of Texas. As that letter may be important to me I wish you to preserve it.

Without further reference to the progress of the measure since my last arrival at this place, I may say to you that President Jones in convoking Congress has removed the only possible obstacle to its consummation, which was the necessity of obtaining "*the consent of the existing Government*," to the proposals contained in the House bill. Congress will give this consent most cheerfully, and authorise a convention of the people at an early day, when a new constitution and a Government adapted to the changes made necessary by the admission into our Union, will follow in time for the next meeting of our Congress.

The people of Texas are holding public meetings throughout the Territory, and are expressing their approbation of the terms offered to them by the United States with a unanimity which no other debated question has ever received.

This great measure is therefore consummated unless the spirit of faction, appearing again in our Congress, may refuse to pass the law redeeming our pledge to Texas when she brings forward her Republican form of Government.

I congratulate you on the possession of an additional guarantee for our safety from internal as well as external foes—a guarantee which you have sacrificed much to obtain, and for which the country can never thank you and President Tyler too much.

With my thanks for your personal kindness on all occasions to me; and my great respect for your exalted public and private character,

I have the honor to be very sincerely and truly y^r obt svt
A J DONELSON

P. S. Consider the reference I have made to Gen^l Houston as private and confidential. I still have a hope that he will withdraw his opposition.

A. J. D.

From Robert G. Scott.

c. c.

Richmond April 27th 1845

MY DEAR SIR I have postponed writing to you as I promised until I could speak with certainty of the result of the Virginia elections that result is now known and a glorious one it is. We shall have a majority on joint ballot ranging from 15 to 25 and it may go up to 30. I think this majority will be of the right stamp. But more than this—Hunter and Seddon are elected. The former by nearly 200 majority; and the latter by 262, In this heretofore strong Whig population never have I seen such a triumph. Old Hanover has come back to us by a majority of 32. Hunters own county Essex, returns to the Democratic family. Bailey is elected in the accompanying district by at least 120 majority. Atkinson, Dromgoole, Treadway, Hubbard, *Leake* (from the Albermarle District) Bedinger, Taylor, Hopkins or Grange, Chapman, Johnson, Brown and Taylor, are all elected, leaving the Loudon District alone to the Federalists, and that has elected a Texas Whig. Thus you will see My Dear Sir that our old State has been waked up, and that she may now be counted on to lead this House in the coming struggle. Could we have done more? Your best and strongest friends go to Washington. They will with your own State delegation present an array of talent, firmness, sound judgment, fidelity, to our principles and elevation of character above vastly above their adversaries. But a new enquiry at once arises. Hunters election removes him from the list of those from whom a selection of Senator will be

made. Our present Governor goes out next Winter and we have to elect another. Who are to fill these high stations? The West will expect to have one of these. For years our Governors have come from beyond the mountains. Archer our Senator lives in Amelia. The West will then probably claim the Senator and the East the Governor. But who are they to be. Our present Governor¹ will not do for the Senate. But he is young comparatively and talented. Many of the Western members will prefer him, but I have no idea he can be elected. Judge Pennypacker is the next choice with that branch of the party. But he can hardly be elected for reasons as strong if not stronger, than those applicable to our Governor. In looking about D^r Brockenbrough, who is quasi a resident of the West has occurred to some of us. But is he sufficiently separated from the old leaven? If not he would be worse than either for his controlling influence over the new organ at Washington would be fatal. Yet I have strong reasons for believing that the Doctor is at heart with us. Do *you* know anything on this subject? If you do, fail not at once to let some friend here be informed of what you do know. If he will go with us, to place him in the Senate would be a measure of inestimable value. Your own observation will at once picture out the great advantages. I have taken measures to procure information on this head, but it will be some weeks before I can procure it in a reliable form. The selection of our Governor is hardly of less importance than the Senator. A sound, able, practical man at the head of the State, would give a direction at home to our movements, such as would rapidly give power, efficiency and cohesion to our party. We shall have less difficulty as to this selection than the other. For in the East we can present several names upon which our friends can rally. William O. Goode, Richard Kidder Meade &c would give us all we could desire. Already are our friends quietly yet decidedly looking to these matters. The last evening brought me several letters. Dromgoole might have been in our way, but his intemperate habits place him I think out of the chance of further elevation. Such is a brief outline of our position as to men. But my Dear Sir, old Virginia is now sounder than for 20

¹James McDowell.

years on the great principles which you hold dear. Texas and the Tariff have this spring done the work. Texas, because that is truly a question connecting itself with the South and the Slavery of the South. The tariff because Virginia has firmly resolved to abide not by the plundering bill of 1842, but resolutely *at all hazards* to demand its modification. In this, the tide water country of Virginia are nearly unanimous. And especially, that long populous and rich peninsula between the waters of the York and the Rappahannock extending from New Point Comfort to the foot of the blue Ridge, and embracing the counties of Matthews, Middlesex, Gloucester King and Queen, King William, Essex, Hanover, Carolina Spotsylvania, Orange, Madison, and Green, from which *not a single Whig* has been elected to our Legislature. Accomac too, sends us both Democrats and Warwick and Elizabeth City elects a Democrat, and turns out a Whig. Indeed looked upon in every aspect, I do from my very soul, most heartily congratulate you upon this victory, as the [presage] of what is to follow. Our people look *now* to your State to give us in due season the successor of the President. In regard to Mr. Ritchie, and his taking charge of the Government organ¹ at Washington, I cannot undertake at this moment to foreshadow what may become of it. But I have but slight fears as to the consequences. We here stand *now* in a position to restrain any offensive action. We are too strong to be trifled with, much less deceived, even was there a disposition to do either, which I by no means suspect. But the possession of strength and its wise use is the position of safety. The former we have, and the latter I have no doubt will be practiced. I am deceived in our men, if this be not proved. Already the supporters of the Enquirer in Virginia, are appealing to us, to keep up its vigor, and to take measures for preserving its future influence and efficiency. As to Mr. Polks dispensation of office, we took him for but little. Indeed in my judgment the less we get the better. None certainly ought to be sought or taken, by begging for it, as the medicant seeks his daily bread. I have little question the office of Secretary of State is already too hot for the present incumbent. What with our Texan negotiations, Mexican troubles, Brazilian

¹ The Washington Union.

squabbles and the growling of John Bull, I rather suspect the Pennsylvanian would be glad to be back in the Senate. Or has a longing eye to a quiet seat on the bench of the Supreme court. And then among the on dits of the day we hear Mr. Stevenson is to become premier, and Mason to retire, or go abroad. About all this I know but little, and care less. If Mr. Polk and his Cabinet do right, I will approve, if wrong I will not spare them the less, but on the contrary condemn them the more because I gave my aid to bring them into power. But I have wandered from the main purpose of this letter, which was to let you know how stood things in Virginia, that accomplished I design to stop. With my best and sincerest wishes for your health and happiness,

I am with high regard and respect yours truly

ROBERT G. SCOTT

From Duff Green.

C. C.

Washington. 2nd May 1845

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you a copy of a letter to M^r Pickens.¹ It explains itself. I do not see how he can hesitate to adopt the course I recommend, and I hope that it will meet your approbation. By going to England, on a special mission, charged with these important negotiations you will, I verily believe be able to conclude a favorable treaty. You will find a powerful and influential party who believe that it is the interest of England that all her colonies should, as soon as they [are] capable of self government, become independent Governments with friendly commercial treaties with England, and these will be glad to surrender Oregon, as part of a commercial arrangement with this country

If you fail you will have discharged your duty, and identified your name with the honor and interest of the United States so that you can do more than any other man to guide future events. A new crisis has arisen since the coming in of the new administration, and your acceptance of the Office under these circumstances will give you new claims on the

¹ See note on p. 658, *supra*.

confidence of the Country, and be considered every where as an acknowledgment of your merits and superior qualifications.

If you refuse, it will be charged that you are soured and disappointed, and you will be held responsible for any failure in the negotiations which may occur.

Some of your friends say that if you make a treaty it will be assailed, because it is made by you. I admit that the history of the Texas negotiation would seem to justify such an opinion, but I think it will be otherwise because the new negotiation will be sustained by Mr Polk. Ritchie will be here and will be committed in advance. Benton's power to do you injury no longer exists and all parties will fear to assail a good treaty if it makes an end of the controversy, and if you fail, You will have the American feeling to fall back on, which will be stronger as the pretensions and objects of England will be exposed by you.

I hope You will place what I have done to the proper motives.
Believe me as ever your sincere friend

DUFF GREEN

From John S. Barbour.

C. C.

Catalpa, May 21st 1845

MY DEAR SIR I was in Washington a few days past. I saw Mason, Marcy, Buchanan and Bancroft.¹ These people are the vilest of hypocrites if they are not your friends. I am old enough to distrust all politicians, for they are the pests of every community in which they are members. The loss of personal hopes and the consequent lapse of selfishness into patriotism make them your friends, as far as they can be friends of anybody, in spite of antient predelections. Several little anecdotes were told me to satisfy me of Bancrofts admiration of your ability in the despatches to the British Minister. And one of these occurring in Cabinet Council. Men like animals of every other Class have their instinct, and you cannot mistake the instinct that is "North of the Tweed." Victory said Bonaparte is never called to an account for her actions. And the "flesh pots of Egypt" are scented in the

¹ Attorney-general and secretaries of war, state, and navy, respectively.

distant gales. These people doubtless think that having exhausted both their powers and their hopes in wrangles for other uses than those of the Country; they may now fall back in commendation of you, as the offering which "Vice gives to Virtue". The agent I believe is according to the Masters in Ethicks, vicious or virtuous according to his intention, but the act good or ill according to its tendency. Be this as it may these people are professedly at least your friends very laudatory of you. And I may add that which was my chief purpose in picking up my pen to write you—the President (Colo Polk) is so likewise.

Mr. Polk is by nature a good man, plain in understanding,—raised into aspiration by the advent of peculiar combinations of powers, parties, and persons; and successful to the highest limit in the altitude of aspiration. He may naturally and I believe patriotically wish first that he may be succeeded by the most worthy for his own gratification and secondly for the Countrys weal. I have the best reason to think that his present hopes and wishes lean to you. It was he who recounted to me M^r Bancrofts eulogy on reading (or hearing) your letter to the British Ambassador. I know that Ritchie is decidedly your friend. And I know he is a friend to be valued. The young Ritchies I know nothing of; but the old man is far more sincere and honest than We might expect from a hack-nied politician.

The President asked me why it was that the South Carolina Statesmen declined the Mission to England? I replied that it was a matter of which I was wholly uninformed. I thought his views correct In this—1st That the Mission ought to go to a Slave State, 2^d, particularly to South Carolina. I was alone with Mr. Polk for near two hours and I am greatly deceived if he is not sincerely your friend. He spoke of Wright as being powerless and in a tone of the feud of Dallas and Buchanan which left me with the belief that he regarded them both as feeble for ill or injury to others or profit to themselves. I may have been deceived in all that I heard. Yet I do not think so. When kindness is felt and is sincere in its tendency and object, it cannot always be repulsed with justice or policy. Unsolicited support for political trust, by those towards whom we have acted in opposition, and who are

without personal regard to us, is perhaps high commendation to the object of support, and moreover commendation to the patriotism which offers its aid under such circumstances. To repulse it is I think neither wise nor dutiful. The substance of my thoughts is this: Those people at Washington wish to be your friends—whether the motive be good or bad is it wise to discard their favour?

With great Respect and Sincere Regard

Yr friend

J. S. BARBOUR

From W. A. Harris.¹

C. C.

Washington 11. July 1845.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been postponing for three months past, the purpose of writing to you; hoping each day, that I might have some striking fact to communicate, worthy of your special notice. I shall, in as few words as possible, endeavor to put you in possession of such facts and inferences, as I may think will be of some interest to you.

In the first place then, I have seen nothing in the course or conduct of M^r. Polk, public or private, that changes in the least my opinion of him, somewhat warmly expressed to you, before you left; but, on the contrary, much to confirm it. In a single word, he is not equal to the station; and, it will operate forever hereafter, as a caution to us, to compromise on no second or third rate man for the presidency. A second rate man might indeed do, if he were thoroughly honest and disinterested, free from prejudice and that little ambition which attaches itself to small minds in such a situation, of desiring to be thought above the reach of even Cabinet influence. Such persons most probably at once pass under some other influence less worthy to be trusted. These remarks find a practical application in the present head of our national affairs.

The policy of the President seems to be to forget his friends and buy up his enemies. Hence Benton, Blair, and the New York regency can command any thing. I say so, because they

¹ William A. Harris (1805-1864), M. C. from Virginia from 1841 to 1843, was editor of the *Spectator*, and subsequently of the *Constitution*, Calhoun newspapers, published at Washington.

have done it. The Van Buren-Wright men got every thing in New York that they wanted, till they came to the Custom House. In that case, M^r. Van Ness seemed to be in all respects so unexceptionable, so fitted for the office by every necessary and proper qualification, that every body said let him be retained. M^r. Polk seemed for a while to appreciate this feeling, and to be fully influenced by the common sentiment. But, the spoils-men were not to be put off so. They commenced agitating and moving upon the President with the most energetic pertinacity. Though their ward meetings failed them, still they continued to agitate. The President for a time seemed unmoved by their efforts and importunity, and less persevering men would have desisted; but they persisted in their purposes, till they ascertained the assailable point—they touched it—and the work was accomplished. They ascertained that the great object of M^r. Polk was to give the Union the public printing. They at once got the members elect from New York, through the commanding influence of a few distinguished names, to say, that unless M^r. Van Ness was removed, they could not vote for Ritchie and Heiss as public printers. That hint was enough. M^r Van Ness was an avowed Calhoun and free trade man, and had to share the fate of all others of that way of thinking.

They recently offered M^r. Blair¹ the mission to Spain. He growled his refusal, by telling them he “wanted none of their Missions.” They then beseechingly asked him if his son Montgomery Blair of Missouri would not accept a chargéship, which was also refused; but, leave was given him to fill all the offices in Missouri, which he has availed himself of to the fullest extent.

The Benton-Blair-Van Buren party intend to make war upon the Administration and upon the free trade party—or in other words, upon Polk, yourself and friends. They will have a press, it is said, established here in a month from this time. It is also asserted, that [at] a recent meeting of Van Buren, Wright, and other dignitaries at Coddington’s in New York, these arrangements, and God know what else, were decided upon. The story goes, that M^r. Cambreling alone subscribed ten thousand dollars to establish the press. They can certainly

¹ Francis P. Blair, of the Globe.

make it a formidable engine every way. But, can they get the public printing? They are certainly going for it. Preliminary to this open outbreak, John C. Rives,¹ who had just been elected president of the Democratic association, read a sort of inaugural address upon taking the chair, in which he exhibited to the fullest extent, his hostility to the Administration and to yourself. It was sent, with the Proceedings of the meeting, to the Union to be published, and was actually set up, but the proof reader called the attention of Mr. Ritchie to it, and he in consternation ran to the President, and it was actually the subject of a Cabinet meeting. They determined to suppress it; and thereby showed great shortsightedness and bad policy. Heiss showed me a copy of it in confidence, and its bitterness may be considered as a fair illustration of the general feeling of the Van Buren party. Rives invited the President and Cabinet, and the editors of the Democratic press here, to be present on the 4th of July, at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of "Jackson Hall." This is to be a very large building put up by Blair and Rives for a printing office, and to contain a Hall for the meetings of the Democratic associations and other democrats of the District. Well, the Cabinet and the editors were present, and, with many other things, Mr. Rives announced that he deposited a copy of that speech in the corner stone. I laughingly told them, that I thought we had all been made to play a very silly part, in coming to see Mr. Rives lay the corner stone of opposition to the present or any future administration, that did not exactly please his clique. Chagrin was upon the face of the whole party, and they could not conceal it.

The signs of dissatisfaction with the administration, are showing themselves on all sides. It was but the other day, that they were about to hold a public meeting in Cincinnati to express their dissatisfaction with the administration, and it was only by the efforts of Col. Medill, 2^d assistant Postmaster General, that it was suppressed. He told me himself, that he had made promises on behalf of the administration, which, if they did not fulfill, would only make the dissatisfaction the greater, and the outbreak when it did come, the stronger. The democratic papers in Mississippi are fiercely assailing Mr.

¹ Blair's partner.

Walker.¹ They make his improperly withholding the Governor's Commission appointing Thompson² a senator, the ground of the attack upon him; but, it is palpable that they have lost confidence in him. They believed him to be concerned with Dr. Gwin and Col. McLeMORE in extensive Indian speculations of some sort, now in progress, and over which the Treasury Department may perhaps exercise some peculiar control. They fear that he is unsound upon the Tariff and the Independent Treasury; and, I am sorry to say, not without reason. I understand that he and Ritchie are cooking up some sort of a league of State Banks, which is to be offered instead of the Sub Treasury. And the bill of Gen^l McKAY,³ is to be offered as a compromise upon the tariff. I have taken, on the part of the friends of free trade, the strongest grounds against all compromises upon the subject of the Tariff; consenting to nothing but rigid and exact justice in the premises. And, at the same time going for the Subtreasury and a total separation of the government from the Banks, as declared at the Baltimore Convention, before we entered upon the Canvass. I know that the people, and especially the great west, are entirely and fully with us on these questions. At the same time, I have treated the subject as if I did not for a moment doubt the intention of Mr. Polk and his Cabinet to go for these measures. For, whatever may be my private opinion upon the subject, I consider it the best policy to exhibit the greatest show of confidence now—to hold them to the conditions of the Baltimore resolutions and the natural expectations of the party—so that, if they should falter or fail in the hour of trial, we may have the fullest justification to denounce the treachery and the injury. Hunter, Seddon, and Bedinger, who have just been here, fully concur in the propriety of this course.

In regard to the prospects of the Constitution press, it is hard to tell whether we shall be able to keep it going till the meeting of Congress or not. I have completely exhausted my pecuniary means to keep it up, and it has placed me in a very unpleasant situation. Unless our friends come to our

¹ Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury.

² Jacob Thompson.

³ Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

aid, in the only way which can be really useful—for money is the sinew of the press as well as of war—we must in the end be crushed by the efforts of the administration, who are using all the patronage and all the influence which they can command, to give the Union, not only the public printing, but the control of everything. This is the object and the interest, both of Mr. Polk and Mr. Ritchie. For let me say emphatically, that notwithstanding the disclaimers of Mr. Ritchie, in his own peculiar way, *Mr. Polk will be a candidate for re-election, if by any means he can procure a renomination.* I have seen enough and heard enough to convince me of that. No one doubts it here. A communication in the Richmond Enquirer (from Selden the Treasurer I think—Ritchie's sense keeper, as the Indians have it) will convince anyone who may doubt. If, then, our free trade friends will stand by and see us thrust aside by Mr. Polk, and the whole patronage of the legislative departments given to a press in which his own family is interested, why so be it. We must submit with the best grace we can—though we should be satisfied with the printing of the Senate.

You probably do not know the partners in the Union. Ritchie owns half, Heiss a fourth, J. Knox Walker the President's nephew and private secretary a fourth, and Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania did hold the other fourth, but for some reason or other they made him sell out, and it now stands in the name of L. S. Coryell of Pennsylvania, who has from the first been a very active agent in the business; though he assures me that he really has no pecuniary interest in it.

An idea prevails here, and I think it took its rise in the latitude of the Union office, that from your interview with Mr. Ritchie when passing through Richmond on your way home, that you had such assurances of his friendly dispositions towards you, that you are really desirous that he should succeed in his purposes here. I do not even ask to know of you whether he made you any of his diplomatic promises; but, this I know, that the whole course of his policy now, is against your interests and the interests and hopes of your friends. And furthermore, in a letter from him to his son-in-law Thomas Green, written soon after you had passed through Richmond, and which was shown to me for a different object, he there

took credit to himself, for having in no way committed himself to you; and no little credit for his firmness in suppressing some manifestations of enthusiasm in your favor. His whole mind and energies are bent on uniting the interests of New York with the interests of the West. He goes for Davis of Indiana as Speaker of the House. The south and southwest, they seem to think, as Hunter remarked the other day, "already bagged," and of course no further effort is necessary in that respect.

Thus I have, at greater length than I intended, jotted down just as they have occurred to me, various facts and circumstances as they appear here. You will draw your own conclusions from them. If it would not be taxing you too much, I should be most happy to hear from you. You might afford me important suggestions for my government, in this, I must believe, very important crisis in our affairs. I need scarcely say, that whatever you may communicate, will be with me, under the seal of inviolable confidence.

Most sincerely and truly, Y^r ob. Servt.

W. A. HARRIS.

Bancroft is the soundest and best man in the Cabinet. The general impression is that the cabinet must dissolve before long. Mr. Buchanan told me himself, not long since, that he was sorry that he ever left the Senate. They have Cabinet meetings nearly every day.

W. A. H.

*From J. M. Caminero.*¹

c. c.

Port Plate July 16th 1845

SIR On addressing you these few lines not only I feel very happy by paying you this attention, as a proof of my gratitude for all your kindness, but still I think to be an agreeable complience of duty on my part to inform you of the return of the U. S. Commissioner John Hogan Esq^{re}. after having visited our towns, places and principal counties, and examined our organisation, our political and moral Situation, the means

¹Dr. J. M. Caminero was diplomatic agent of the new (white) Dominican Republic at Washington. (See Curtis's Life of James Buchanan, I, 576.)

we actually possess, those to be soon expected by encrease of commerce and agriculture, and our capacity of maintaining our Independence.

It will be of no use for me to enter into any particulars about the prolixes investigations entered to by said Commissioner in fulfilment of his mission; his report and the documents he carries shall speak more than what I could say to you; but allow me, Sir, to submit to your consideration some ideas, which, in my opinion, may strongly contribute to examine the question of recognition of the Dominican Republic in a proper light, and to prompt the U. S. cabinet to give their decision with the Shortness of time that such a question requires, leaving the making of a Treaty for an Speed period of time, say for the month of October.

I say First: That the two villages on the line of boundaries, *Caobas* and *Hincha*, which were occupied by the haytians troops, at the time of the landing of the U. S. Commissioner in the City of S^{to} Domingo, have been taken in the month of June last by the Dominicans after fighting, and compelling the haytians forces to enter their territory, and by these victories the Dominican Republic is in full possession of her boundaries, and has augmented her forces on the line to secure the same.

Second: That the general feelings and sympathies of the whole Dominican people are in favour of the Government and Citizens of the U. S. in preference to all foreing European Powers, for whom they entertain the greatest repugnancy, and dislike to be united, being monarchical governments.

Third: That with respect to Spain, the ancient holder of Hispaniola, by the civil dissensions, by the sectional partis, by the exhausted political and financial State under which that Nation has been and is still labouring, by her silence about the Dominican Republic since the declaration of her independance on the night of 27th february 1844. and by the recognition lately made by Spain of the Republic of Venezuela after being aware of the Dominican revolution, it is to be expected that She will be disposed to acknowledge the independance of Hispaniola obtained by the Dominicans, whose courageous determination has put end to haytian usurpations, from which event a real benefit shall arise in

favour of the tranquillity of the Islands of Porto Rico and Cuba, having nothing to fear from the Dominican Government, and enjoying such good results without any expences on the part of Spain.

Fourth: That in said Two Islands it exist great dispositions and desire to become Independants, particularly in Porto Rico, where the best informed inhabitants are exalted and cry up against the system of Spain and the heavy taxes they are obliged to pay for the payment of European officers and army; and by the U. S. acknowledging the independance of the Dominican Republic They will haste their political change, being by that assured That they will obtain the Same without any hesitation, and so all the Colonies will consider the U. S. as the only Nation to protect them.

I hope these ideas will meet your approbation and please to communicate them to the Hon. Ex President John Tyler as you were the authors of M^r. Hogan's mission to this country prepossessed of Those feelings that humanity and Cristendom commands in favour of oppressed people. And although neither of you are now to decide on the question I avail myself to believe That you both will contribute to bring the question of the Dominican Republic to a favourable conclusion, for which the Dominicans shall be gratefully indebted to the most high gratitude.

Expecting the honour of hearing soon from you

I remain Sir with respect and true affection your most ob^t. Serv^t.

D^r. J. M. CAMINERO.

*From James H. Hammond.*¹

C. C.

Silver Bluff 18 Aug 1845

MY DEAR SIR. It always affords me so much satisfaction to concur with you in opinion and it is so unpleasant to differ, that in deference to your judgment I chalked out an article for the Mercury after receiving your last letter and began to take quite an interest in it. But when I came to fill it up I became so convinced that it would do far more harm than

¹See Calhoun's letters of August 2 and 30, 1845, in Part I, *supra*.

good that I desisted. If I could have written merely a complimentary notice of D^r Bascom[’s] book it might have passed, and if there had been little or no point in it, would have been thought of no more. But everything from S^o C^a in relation to the Slave question attracts attention and must have some weight. To compliment D^r Bascom for this book, without noticing its unsound and dangerous doctrines in *strong terms* would have had a bad effect in more ways than one, and to notice it in such a manner would have been I think imprudent just now. Judging by the difficulty I had in reading his confused and long spun essay, which I did solely with a view to meet your wishes, I am pretty certain you have only looked at it here and there and cannot have seen many passages in it. Besides saying that the Bible does not sustain Slavery and that it is an evil, he declares that it is “on all hands admitted to be an evil”, that if any way of getting clear of it was pointed out and shown to be safe it “would find few opponents here”, that to say the Southern methodists are in favour of Slavery is a “libel and an outrage”, that they have been doing and will continue to do all they can to get rid of it &c &c. Now if his book is noticed in *South Cu*: such sentiments as these must be peremptorily denied and strongly rebuked, or the whole body of sound methodists who are neither abolitionists nor *colonizationists*, will have a damper thrown over them, and may be inclined to yield to the powerful influences at work to make Bascom a Bishop, to retain the very gross and offensive Chapter on Slavery in the Discipline book, to locate the Book concern as well as Missionary Treasury in Kentucky and in Short to give these *pseudo* friends of the Slaveholders an overwhelming domination over S^o Methodism, which would soon become as dangerous to us as that of the North. I do not mean to say that so insignificant an article as I might write would materially aid in bringing about these results, but it would tend in that way and coming from S^o C^a might have far more influence than it might otherwise have. At this moment such an article in *the Mercury* would probably be caught up in Kentucky. There is growing up a powerful abolition excitement there. Cassius Clay—differing no way in principle from D^r Bascom and Henry Clay and doubtless looking to them for support in an emergency and likely to

receive it, is making the most powerful appeal in his new paper "The True American" to the nonslaveholders of Kentucky, and preaching insurrection to both black and white. He could not be tolerated a moment, if Kentucky was sound or his friends less powerful. The people however are waking up. Abolition entered largely into the canvass between Davis and Marshall and will become a leading question in elections very soon. I hope and believe in a short time the Clays Bascoms and all of that stamp will be put down completely and Kentucky redeemed. It is not then a time for S^c C^a to give Bascom a wing. I think also that the true Southern Methodists are displeased with his Review. They praised it in advance, but have received it very coldly. There are reasons for this besides his unsound views of Slavery. He has placed D^r Capers rather in the light of an officious meddler in his early attempts in the General Conference to reunite the North and South, and has without necessity dwelt upon the fact that Bishop Andrew was elected by the North—"imposed upon the South against her wishes". These flings show no good feeling and the D^r evidently aims to absorb for himself all the glory of the action of the South. Our Methodists see what this leads to and have their eyes on the consequences I have mentioned above. To elevate D^r Bascom would be at their expense. I think therefore every thing considered that a mere complimentary review of his work, slurring over his dangerous opinions would in every point of view be impolitic, as well as a dereliction of our own duty considering the position South Ca occupies.

On the other hand to rebuke him severely is not perhaps called for now and would be equally impolitic. The Methodist controversy has by no means ended. The separation of the Church is inevitable, but the great question remains whether it will be a Division or a Secession, and that involves a very large amount of property. The share of the Southern Conference in the various Methodist funds is not short of \$300,000. The North will undoubtedly endeavour to cheat them out of it. Their Editors and writers have already taken the ground that the South has *Seceded*. I have little doubt that a great Lawsuit will be carried on. Pending that and the whole controversy, it would be better to let the Southern Church get

on with what harmony it can and sow no seeds of dissension. I do not doubt, the Methodists would prefer to be allowed to manage the whole matter for themselves. Their S^c. papers have carefully abstained from responding to or noticing any expressions of opinion by the politicians. You saw how ready and anxious the North was to catch them in this trap by charging a correspondence between you and D^r Capers.

On the whole I trust that you will believe that if I have not good reasons for declining to comply with your request, I have not done it without looking all around the matter with what circumspection and judgement I possess, and that my convictions are sincere that it better not be done.

The Northern papers are making a handle of the political portion of my Clarkson Letters.¹ In New Hampshire they are pushed directly at Woodbury and for effect a much more conspicuous position in the Democratic ranks has been assigned me than I ever occupied. I am not sure it would not be good policy to have me read out of them. I propose to have so little to do with politics hereafter—have always so disliked the *name* of Democrat—and really have so little feeling in common with the great body of Democrats out of S^c Ca, that such a black balling would cost me very little. If it would do any body any good I would cheerfully submit to it. If I were in public life I would of course adhere as far as I could to the party whose principles and purposes were nearest my own. Being out of it—and probably forever, I dont see why I should belong to any party and should certainly be sorry to embarrass any in the least. Lewis Tappan and I are corresponding and have been for some time. I never thought of such a thing as a publication of the correspondence until he suggested it in his last. I declined, but I fear that I may be served as Birney served Elmore.² To prevent it if possible I have taken the matter up in earnest and with a view to drive the notion out of his mind. There are many views of the matter not yet fully treated. Among them is to deprive the Abolitionists of the Clap-trap of the “Golden Rule of Christ”, “the laws of nature and natural rights” and to make them

¹Two Letters on Slavery in the United States, addressed to Thomas Clarkson, Esq., Charleston, 1845

²See the Anti-Slavery Examiner, No. 8, Correspondence between the Hon. F. H. Elmore and James G. Birney, published by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1838

enure to our cause—to show that the “Compact” between master and Slave is just and to the advantage of the Latter and to trace “Southern decay” to other causes than Slavery which in fact is all that saves us. I don’t want to publish any more on the subject however and shall not do it voluntarily.

Very truly and sincerely yours

J. H. HAMMOND

P. S. To prove how sincerely I approve the Division of the M. Church and the course of the *body* of S^o. methodists thus far, I will state, that soon after the Gen^l. Conference broke up last year, I got the Circuit preachers to make a Station here, which I support entirely myself. They preach in my School House (and at my plantation also) but I am now completing a handsome Church for them which will cost me \$1200. Nor will I fail to contribute my mite to make up any pecuniary losses that may accrue to them from this *Secession* if it be so decided. In fact my advice will be not to sue, but give up the money if the North refuses to divide the funds, and to throw themselves on Southern generosity.

From R. B. Rhett.

C. C.

Sept. 18, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR I passed through Washington on my way home; and took the occasion to see M^r. Walker M^r. Buchanan and the President on the subject of the Tariff. My purpose was to ascertain what the administration really proposed to do, and informed them casually of my object. The President was prepared with no details. He went for a reduction of the Tariff, but on no principles that I could understand, unless a mere reduction might be supposed to be a relinquishment of any reformation of principle in the existing Tariff. M^r. Buchanan talked fairer. He said he was indifferent to the principle, believing that a revenue Tariff would afford all the protection required. But still I got from him no details, excepting that he thought the Tariff might be reduced to 25 per Cent. To this however he distinctly declared that Gen^l. M^cKay’s Bill of the last Congress ought to be the standard of

reduction and reformation. Mr. Walker was more explicit. He went into details and all his details with one or two exceptions, were precisely Gen^l. McKay's Bill. After hearing all, I am satisfied that that Bill substantially is all the administration will propose, and that is all we will get, from the Democratic Party, if we get that. I do not think we will obtain however even that.

Under these circumstances, connected with the course of the administration towards our Wing of the Party, it is necessary to determine before Congress meets, what course we shall pursue. Shall we act out the conviction we expressed in the Presidential election, and take it for granted that the administration is about to be true to us? With this line of policy we ought to vote for Mr. Ritchie as Printer, go into Caucus as to who shall be Speaker &c. The Constitution must stop without the printing of the Senate; and we have no organ, in case the Government proves false. Or shall we take the contrary course, take it for granted that the administration and the Democratic Party are about to be false to us, refuse to go into Caucus on the Speakership &c., and run in the Senate for the Printing for the Constitution. The two Carolina Senators and Colquitt and Lewis¹ are [*illegible*] it. For my part, I shall not be found again as at the opening of the last Congress, attempting what our friends have not courage to execute. I must be sure of my game before I attempt it. You know my opinions of the Democratic Party. Circumstances since Mr. Polk's election has not at all altered them, on the contrary every movement at Washington I think has tended to prove my estimation true. Mr. Reverdy Johnson informed me in London that a Senator told him that Walker the Secy of the Treasury had boasted to him, that he was the real author of the Kane Letter;² and his questions sent on here, have occasioned great surprise and dissatisfaction. I have no faith in them, in carrying out correct principles. All we can expect on this Tariff, is a modified Protective Tariff Act. And if this proves to be true, what course then shall the Delegation pursue in Congress? Shall they support it and vote for it? or shall they act towards it, as the

¹ Walter T Colquitt, senator from Georgia, Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama.

² Polk's letter of June 19, 1844, to John K. Kane of Philadelphia, on the tariff.

S^o. C^a. Delegation did towards the Act of 1832—vote against it, denounce it, and come [home!] to resist it? These are questions that we ought to be prepared to meet at the opening of Congress, for they must shape our line of policy at the beginning.

Write to me at your earliest leisure and believe me Dear Sir

Yours Truly

R B RHETT

From R. K. Crallé.¹

C. C.

Blue Sulphur Springs Sept^r. 23rd 1845

MY DEAR SIR: When I received your letter of the 7th of June I was just on the eve of starting to the Salt works in Kanawha, and had not time to acknowledge its receipt. Indeed I was unwilling to do so before I had seen our friends in person and ascertained their opinions on the views contained in it. I saw Judge M^cComas and Thompson, (with some others) in the Western part of the State during my stay in Kanawha; and, fortunately, on my return to Lynchburg, six weeks since, met with Goode who was then on his way to Richmond. We had a full conversation on all the topics suggested, and it was agreed that he should see our friends in Richmond, and after obtaining their views communicate with me here. A few days since he passed by this place, (having in the meantime been westward as far as Kentucky) and gave me a pretty full account of all he had been able to ascertain.

There is much diversity of opinion in regard to the main question as well as to the *time*. Seddon and Scott, (and Goode *after* he had conversed with them) incline to the opinion it would be hazardous to venture a rupture with the old clique at this time; believing it better to wait the meeting of the Legislature in order more fully to ascertain the views and wishes of your friends generally. To move now, and more especially in opposition to the cherished system of the Party might, they think, give them the vantage ground, and place formidable weapons in their hands for future use. The course

¹ Richard K. Crallé, originally a journalist, had been confidential clerk to Mr. Calhoun, during the period of the latter's service as Secretary of State. Subsequently, he edited the Works of John C. Calhoun, in six volumes, published in 1851.

they recommend is, (for the present) to wait the progress of events,—to rally the Party during the next Legislature, and organize for the Spring Campaign in the State. To affect this it is proposed to start a State Rights man in every County *avowedly* to test the strength of the Party, and bring out its full force. Goode thinks we can carry the State openly under the "*Calhoun Flag*"—and tells me to say to you that he shall insist upon the open avowal of our determination to sustain it at all hazards. Seddon believes that you are gaining strength every day, and fears to hazard the prospects before us by any decisive movement at present; while he is fixed as steel to run our ticket at all events when the proper time arrives. On this point there is no hesitancy, no diversity of opinion whatever. McComas and Thompson are inclined to the views I expressed to you in my last, and are willing to go into the contest at once. Such also are the wishes of Judge Wilson, who openly declares he will support no other ticket, and I believe Talliaferro, though I have had no communication with him. I have remained here six weeks, and been able to sound the feelings of a large number, not only from the State but from abroad. On the whole I see nothing to discourage,—much to stimulate us. Your friends are firmer than I have yet known them to be; and the miserable conduct and weak fetches at reform of the Administration have greatly tended to disgust the Country and turn the eyes of thinking men towards you. The Whig Party, too, is destined to add to our strength, partly from ultraism of its Leaders at the North, and partly from having lost its most cherished head. It must disband. The change of leaders always tends to division, and more especially when a favourite is to be supplanted. Clay has been on here no doubt for the purpose of rallying his friends and saving himself from being thrown over board. His confidence was strong when he went on to the White Sulphur; but he was, (as I was fully assured) miserably disappointed. Tired of fighting under a leader so often defeated, the managers of the Party had resolved to raise the banner of another. His travelling companion, Maj. Tilford, gave me to understand so much; and, indeed, Clay's fallen countenance and sad forebodings of the future, told, in very intelligible language, that his hopes were gone. He conversed with me in quite a friendly way,

and spoke kindly of you, as did also Maj. Tilford, who publicly declared, as I understand, that he went for you after Mr. Clay. This *feeling* will not be confined to him. Many disappointed in their first choice, will follow in the same course. McLean, who is to be the Candidate, will be unable to rally the Party. I hear that Stevenson at the White Sulphur, as well as two or three others of the old clique, have been speaking quite favourably of you. This, however, may be but hollow *seeming*. On the whole I think, without some untoward circumstance, we shall carry the State Rights Flag triumphantly in the State. The Tariff question, I fear, may be used to prejudice us. Some such arrangement as that of McLane's bill in 1832, may probably be resorted to more for the purpose of acting on your State than of settling the question. Walker will probably push it at you, in order to further the views of Dallas, or even Wright or himself. If they can drive S. Carolina into Nullification, they will give you, as they expect the *coup de grace*. Such I fear is the scheme. *Entre nous*, I am told that Mr. Rhett declared at the Salt Sulphur that if the Tariff was not brought down to the Revenue standard at once, the State would nullify, and that if you did not go to the full with them they would throw you over board. Such I was told by some gentleman here was the purport of his remarks.

I am disposed, on a full view of the whole matter, to accede to the views of Seddon, and to wait the events of the next session; though not clear that the present time is the most unfavourable. We shall not lose, however, by the delay, as there will be time enough to organize after the Spring. All that I desired to guard against was the falling of our friends into the [word missing] snare. This I believe may not now be apprehended and *en passant*, allow me to caution you against writing on the subject but in the most confidential way, and to friends not only *true* but *discreet*. Your letter to Elmore was forwarded to Seddon and Scott, and seen by both. Now Scott is as true and warm a friend as any in the Union, but he is not *discreet*. Ritchie, I am told, can *worm* anything out of him. For this reason I did not allow him to know the contents of your letter to me. Seddon is quite the reverse, and you can communicate with him freely. I suppose Mr.

Elmore is not well acquainted with our friend S. This, of course, is *between us*.

I shall leave this the day after tomorrow for Lynchburg; having been detained by surveying a tract of land which I have purchased in the neighborhood, and will settle this winter. I am sorry to hear that Miss Cornelia was so little improved by her Physicians in Philadelphia, tho' I was by no means sanguine. To her and to M^{rs}. Calhoun, Bettie joins me in offering the kindest regards, as well as to yourself. She is *somewhat* improved tho' still delicate. The next summer will be passed at our farm here; and she *will* flatter herself that she will have the company of yourself and family. I cannot but unite with her in the hope.

With high regard and affection I am truly yours

R. K. CRAILLÉ

From Duff Green.

C. C.

Washington. Sep^r. 24th. 1845

MY DEAR SIR I am met at every corner with the enquiry of whether you will come to the senate. I do not know that my opinion will have any influence and I may be deemed impertinent but I venture to give you a few suggestions.

I believe that M^r Polk really feels pledged to exert his influence to reduce the tariff to the revenue standard, and to establish the Subtreasury and that he intends to fulfil his pledges in good faith. But this is more than I can say for all those who are about him.

I believe that Ritchie would sell the democratic party and Virginia too for the public printing and I have no doubt that he is laboring to get up a coalition with Benton for that purpose, and that Benton's object is to bring M^cDower into the senate, when with Bagby, Allen, Fairfield, and Dix, and the chances for the senators from N Hampshire Indiana and Tennessee he will be disposed to set up for himself and by throwing himself between you and the administration assume the control of the Government.

My belief is that if you come to the senate you will find the President sincerely your friend, and that the fact of your coming, especially if you are here at the commencement of

the session, will enable your friends to control the elections in Virginia and to give the printing of the Senate to the Constitution and the House to Ritchie, that the publication of M^cKensie's book¹ in which he gives the Confidential Correspondence of the Albany Regency will create a crisis that will induce the party to rally on you as the only means of saving the party. but to do this you must be here.

I saw Hannegan of Indiana yesterday. He says that the West will be united and will demand funds for the improvements of their harbours, rivers and the Cumberland road, and the graduation of the price of the public land, and that if the South will give these to the West the West will go with the South on the tariff. This is Benton's card. I write that you may understand it.

M^cKensie's book discloses a mass of corrupt intrigues the equal to which has not been before disclosed in this country, and the contrast with your public life will endear you to the country.

The foolish declaration in the "Union" that the President wishes to use your friends to elect his end upon, will react on Ritchie and force him into an early declaration that he prefers you to all others, if you are here to control your friends.

I have seen the correspondent of the Charleston Mercury and he has promised me that he will be on his guard and always bear in mind that Benton's object is to throw himself between you and the administration. I have been a looker on and gratified to see this controversy, take a turn that will, as I hope, defeat the purposes which Benton has in View. and can see that if treated with judgment by the Mercury, it will prevent the mischief which the coalition with Benton would otherwise have done. The coalition with Benton is so infamous that Ritchie will be compelled to deny it in terms that will do Benton injury and the public mind being aroused will see and condemn any attempt to execute the purposes which Benton had in View.

We are anxious to hear from M^{rs} Calhoun, as the last accounts said she was very ill. M^{rs} Green and Eliza wish to be affectionately remembered to M^{rs} Calhoun and Cornelia.

Your sincere friend

DUFF GREEN

¹ W. L. Mackenzie, *The Lives and Opinions of B. F. Butler and Jesse Hoyt*, Boston, 1845

From H. W. Conner.

C. C.

Charleston Sept^r 28—1845

MY DEAR SIR I have just returned from New York where I have spent the last month

The people there, without exception as to party are extremely desirous of seeing and communicating with you personally and it does seem to me that there are reasons more numerous and powerful at the present time to induce you to do so than at any former period and with all possible deference to your better knowledge and experience I now venture to recommend your visiting the city of New York and Boston and stopping at Richmond in Virginia on your return you will understand my motive better when I state my reasons.

There is at this time a complete breaking up and disorganization of old combinations and machinery of party. There is no principle of cohesion amongst them except the common love of plunder and so corrupt have the politicians of both parties become that they dare not confide long enough in each other even to commit an act of party pillage. The truth is both parties are tired of their own leaders and party practices and are ripe for a reorganization upon better principles and upon better men—if they had them. Towards yourself there is a feeling of confidence both as regards your personal character and political principles that surpasses that of all other men—and it is not confined to our party alone. It is common to both—in fact it is nearly universal. your putting yourself into easy and familiar personal intercourse with the people generally at this particular time would in my opinion lead to a reorganization of the democratic party in New York upon sounder principles and with more elevated views than has heretofore been the case, and which would result in maintaining and preserving the the ascendancy of the party, without which defeat would be the consequence. you would serve as a nucleus around which would rally the better and greater part of the democratic party—with a considerable body of the whig party—many of whom have been forced into the whig ranks from a dread of the disorganizing and levelling tendencies of some of the ultra doctrines of the ultras of the party. This is one reason requiring you, as I conceive, to

visit New York and it has for its object the general good of the Country and the party.

In addition to this I perceived I think a decided change coming over the minds of the people upon the subject of the Tarriff and abolition questions. The free trade principles have evidently gained ground from the late movements in England as well as from a better understanding of the subject and the minds of very many—heretofore decidedly Tarriff—are a good deal unsettled latterly, particularly amongst the manufacturers themselves—while as regards abolition, the opinion is becoming settled that the two races cannot exist together except in subjection, one to the other, and that it is philanthropy misapplied to attempt to interfere with the subject of Slavery. The public mind to the North is in a condition now to be shaped and directed by your personal intercourse with the people there, in such a way I think as to ensure the modification of the Tarriff and peace upon the subject of abolition, except from the Fanatics alone. The deep and abiding interest which the South has in these two questions furnishes abundant reason to recommend your visit to New York, for these objects alone.

There is another reason—personal to yourself and on that account held by you as very secondary in comparison to the other public considerations—yet should surely not be without its weight. I allude to your position before the public in reference to the Next Presidency. It appears to me you are the only man upon whom all that portion of the party who look to the good of the Country can unite. If this be so it appears to me it is a duty you owe the people to give them an opportunity of seeing and knowing you personally. In New York the desire to see and hold communion with you is so great that your withholding yourself from them has been viewed almost with resentment. They begin to think you have no feelings or sympathy in common with the people—altho all your acts and speeches go to prove the contrary. The present condition of things in New York renders it peculiarly desirable that you should go amongst them—talk with them—hear them talk and explain yourself in your usual free happy way to them. The feeling already is strong and powerful in your favour—particularly amongst the young democ-

racy but a personal intercourse with them would ripen the feeling into a confidence and enthusiasm that no selfish or designing combination of corrupt partizans could ever remove.

I have spoken of the present time as favourable for the visit. I mean before the meeting of Congress—after that time circumstances may have been changed and the occasion in a great measure lost.

If you preferd to go by invitation the slightest intimation from any quarter that you could be induced to go would bring instantly the warmest kind of an invitation. My impression is that an informal visit is preferable. I should be glad to know your views.

I sent you by fridays mail "The life and correspondence of B F Butler and Jesse Hoyt late Collector of New York". It is in fact the private history of the politics of N York for the last 10 or 20 years. It contains details of a system that you have known to be in operation amongst that class of politicians for many years

with greatest respect yrs truly

H. W. CONNER

From John Tyler.

C. C.

Sherwood Forest Charles City County V* October 7. 1845

MY DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of the 30. August in consequence from my absence from home did not reach me until last Saturday. I have read D^r Caminero's letter¹ which is herewith returned, and fully concur with you in the policy of recognizing the independence of the Dominican Republic should M^r Hogan's report satisfactorily establish the fact of its perfect ability to maintain itself against the Haytien gov^t. and people. The experiment which the blacks have made of governing themselves has resulted in bloodshed and anarchy, and the most fertile Island in the world is almost converted into a waste. Apart from the considerations adverted to by D^r Caminero, this would constitute with me a sufficient reason for desiring to see the Dominican Republic free and inde-

¹ Letter of July 16, 1845, *supra*.

pendent. But My D^r Sir I do not feel myself warranted as the Doctor would seem to desire, in urging upon M^r Polk the adoption of any particular policy. I must content myself with the reflection that we have through the labors of M^r Hogan placed him in possession of all necessary information on the subject. To volunteer to him an opinion might be considered as going too far. The Settlement of the Texas question fills me, I declare to you, with a pleasure greater than I can express—not so much from the fact that the finishing hand was put to it by my administration, as from the consequences, incalculably great, which are to flow from it. Nor can I ever forget the important aid which you afforded me in all that related to it after your accession to my Cabinet. I called you from a retirement which it pained you to leave to assist me properly to adjust the important matters which then occupied me, and in the spirit of a true and lofty patriotism you answered the call satisfactorily, and to say nothing of other matters the Country will long have cause to rejoice in the great measure which our conjoint labours assisted by those of able and patriotic associates enabled us to consummate. I never doubted the wisdom of the prompt decision in favour of the House-resolution. A mere feeling of courtesy to my successor could alone cause a moments hesitation and that was easily gotten over. The doubt arising from a new organization of the Cabinet and a knowledge of the extreme solicitude of the British gov^t., plainly indicated the policy of leaving nothing undone that could be done.

I left the gov^t. with but one wish remaining unfulfilled, and that related to the Oregon Question. I wished you to terminate that negociation. I entered upon it with reluctance believing that under the convention of joint occupation we stood on the most favourable footing. Our population was already finding its way to the shores of the Pacific, and a few years would see an American Settlement on the Columbia sufficiently strong to defend itself and to protect the rights of the U. States to the territory.

Aberdeen however expressed in some despatch a regret that that matter remained open, and the Treaty of Washington was assailed by Mr Benton and others upon that ground and finally a clamour was raised in relation to the Subject through-

out the country, which was loudest in the west, and nothing seemed to remain but that negotiation should be attempted. With Prudence and fortitude on the part of the administration my hope is that it may result in an amicable termination—but it requires firmness to do what is right on the part of those in power. What their views may be concerning it, I have no means of ascertaining. With England a mere point of honor is involved which she will go to war upon if urged to that extremity, but peace with us is so important to her, that she will be ready to make concessions in order to secure it. If however it be the intention of Mr Polk to make no concessions, he should without delay demand of Mexico an explanation of her ultimate intentions, while he procrastinates the negotiation with Great Britain. But my hope is that wise councils will prevail, and that an actual collision with Great Britain will be avoided.

I give my attention but little to public affairs and am devoting myself to the cultivation of my farm. The turmoil through which I have passed serves only the more to render acceptable my present repose. Should you ever pass near my residence it would give me the truest pleasure to receive you within my doors.

M^{rs}. Tyler desires to be remembered to Mrs Calhoun to whom present my best respects, and for yourself accept sincere assurances of my regard.

JOHN TYLER.

From James Gadsden.

C. C.

Charleston S C Octr 9- 45

MY DEAR SIR I cannot sufficiently express my regret at any misconception I may have placed on your letter of the 23^d Sept. Your language was—"I expect to be on a visit to my sons in Alabama at the time, and if I could with propriety, I would make it a point to attend." Now any scruples, which you may have had of going to such a convention¹ as a Volunteer, it seems to me are removed and with "*great propriety*" by the invitation sent direct by those who made the Call; and

¹The railroad convention at Memphis in November.

by the particular request of this State that you should attend to represent her interest on the leading questions which will form the Subjects of action at Memphis. Your presence would be very important to your Native State, and to all those projects in which she has so deep a stake. We are on the eve of realizing all the fond hopes and expectations of 1836: and this is not the time for our strong and leading men to falter. I have toiled: as much if not more so on these matters. I have very nearly sacrificed myself in the Cause, and to be left alone at the time I need most encouragement: and the strongest backer is cruel. I do not know of more than 6 or 8 of our Delegation that will go from this City. We made our appointments from the Class that we thought would attend and most of them are begging off. If I go it will be at great sacrifice and I certainly will not go if you, Elmore and King Back out. King is lukewarm cold—pretends he has not been invited &c and so it is. the laboring oar is to [be] left on the hands of one who has not the power to use it.

But I come now to the subject which seems to have given you some very false scruples on the matter. Whatever may be the designs of Friends of Reform and Free Trade Your Name is not at present before the American People, and as much as I appreciate the motives of those who abstain from seeking high Elevation, yet those who are the Exponents of the Great Political *Truths* we wish to propagate, and the Reform we desire to effect, must go and be heard by those on whom it is absolutely necessary to operate. So long as the People are not reached directly; so long as an intermediate power by *Organization* and *false pretences* can deceive these People, so long will we, the Advocates of *Truth* and *honesty*, fail. The People must be reached directly. Caucus and Conventions, the packed juries of Van Burenism must be exposed and put down. I am not afraid of our Cause if the People can hear us. It is the Cause of equal rights, and of unrestricted American industry, and if we could only be heard, Van Burenism with all its selfishness, and duplicity would be swept into nought. But to do so—to have this triumph[h] You as well as all who have been true to the Cause must put your Shoulder to the Wheel. The Time was never

more propitious for a happy Revolution—For the formation of new Parties—or rather the bringing back of Democracy to its simplicity and honesty. To free it from the sneers into which it has been deluded by Conventions and to make it stand erect as speaking the *honest* and voice of the People—I have for years yielded to the views of my friends and have for years been cooperating with them: with the perfect conviction of defeat. My letters to you have spoken unreservedly my views. I know I am right I have not seen a *true Democrat* North, who has not [felt] what I have long preached: that there is no coalescing with the Northern Democracy. You must shake them off unless you are disposed again and again to be reached and to be placed in a false position. Now is the time to do it. Now is the time to meet our Western friends at Memphis—to set the ball in motion which must bring the Valley to the South: and make them feel as allies of the Great Commercial and Agricultural interests—instead of the Tax gathering and Monopolizing interests of the North. I shall expect to see You at Memphis.

Your friend

GADSDEN

From Franklin H. Elmore.

C. C.

Lemishire Springs Oct 10, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR The last mail brings me a letter from Gov. Aikin appointing me one of the Delegates for the State at Large to a Rail Road Convention at Memphis to assemble the 12th nov. next. A letter from a friend also informs me that you are the other. I am not a little rejoiced at this movement in all its aspects except as to myself, for it is out of my power to go. My affairs here will engross me intirely until I am compelled to go to Charleston to prepare for the Session. It would be disastrous to me to leave them as they now are. But you I most ardently hope can and will go. In all respects it will be most important that you do. You have been too much secluded from the people. They have an inexpressible anxiety to see and know you and on such an occasion as this, where so much may be done to advance Southern interests, to

form and consolidate a right sentiment, to unite our Section upon the right policy and principles on which to place their destinies, it would be a sad oversight I think to decline, if you can possibly go. The work in hand, is itself, aside from these considerations, one of the greatest moment. I think more of good would result to South Carolina from its accomplishment than from any ever yet projected. A Rail Road Communication based at Memphis in a slave region and extended direct to Charleston, passing through the most Martial portion of our people and who have, as at present situated, the least interest of all the South in Slavery, would render their relations with us at Charleston and Memphis so intimate and advantageous, that their interests and ours would be indissolubly united. They would be to us a source of strength power and safety and render the South invulnerable. The influence of free intercourse could not be otherwise than happy and useful. The value of the trade I do not believe could be now estimated, and it would make the stocks of our Rail Road like the Shares in the Bank of England, almost without price as the means of computing values in an enterprize to whose gains every moment is adding.

The call upon you from the public to go and attend to their welfare is one too which takes from the occasion all ground of imputation. It is a public duty and to be done at the instance and for the benefit of your State and the Country at large. It is fitting that when a scheme of such grandeur and importance to the South is to be perfected and brought before the Country, that one who has served it so long, so faithfully and so ably should participate in the measure which, if guided aright, will be the most useful of any ever projected for us. . . .

Very truly

F. H. ELMORE

*From Henry Wheaton.*¹

C. C.

Berlin, 24 Dec. 1845

MY DEAR SIR, As it has been stated in the newspapers that you would probably resume your seat in the Senate, I beg

¹ Henry Wheaton (1785-1848), the distinguished jurist and writer upon international law, had represented the United States in Denmark and Prussia since 1827.

leave to call your attention to a subject in which the public interests, as well as what is due to yourself and me as public servants, are deeply concerned. I have always considered that great injustice was done me in taking off the injunction of secrecy from the proceedings of the Senate, so far as respected the *Report* of the Committee of Foreign Affairs upon the Zollverein treaty, whilst the injunction was continued as to my Despatches of the 10 and 25 March, 1844, accompanying the Treaty, and which would have anticipated and met, with more or less conclusiveness, the arguments urged by the Committee against the ratification. So long as there were any reasons connected with the public good for withholding the documents from the People, I should have been perfectly willing to have submitted to any personal inconvenience that might have followed. But now that the Zollverein States have declared that they are not willing to wait any longer the deliberations of the Senate upon the Treaty, I see no possible inconvenience in publishing the correspondence relating to it. I have therefore to request that you will have the goodness to call for it in the Senate, and have it printed and published.

In order to have a complete view of the subject, it is necessary to go back to the origin of the negotiation in the Conferences at Stuttgard in 1842, the Despatches relating to which, you will perceive are intimately connected with *our* Tariff question. I have therefore prepared the enclosed list of the Papers which I conceive to be indispensably necessary—not *extracts* merely, but the *entire* despatches with all their *Enclosures*. I have not omitted even my Despatch of the 25 March, 1844, although it has already been communicated confidentially to the Senate; as it ought to be printed in connection with the other Documents especially as I presume few copies will be found of the former impression. I have carefully read over all the Papers, and can answer for it that there is nothing in them, the publication of which can prejudice the public interests. The unanswerable argument contained in your Despatch of the 28 June 1844 will amply supply any defects in the views I have taken by anticipation of the constitutional difficulty raised by the Committee of the Senate. The Zollverein States are not disposed, at present, to revive

the negotiation on the basis of the former Treaty, as they expect to obtain, in the revision of our Tariff by Congress, reductions in favour of their manufactures, without conceding any equivalent reductions in favour of our agricultural staples; and should this be the result of the deliberations of Congress, it will be seen that a golden opportunity has been lost, in not obtaining such equivalents for reduction, which we shall have been compelled to make gratuitously in order to get rid of an exaggerated Tariff.

We have not yet received the President's message at the opening of Congress, but I shall look with intense interest for the result of your deliberations, on the present state of our relations with G. Britain, respecting which I have no other information than what is contained in the newspapers. But so far as I am able to judge from the means of information which are equally open to the whole world, I still continue to think that "the wise and masterly delay" referred to in your Speech on the Ashburton treaty, continues still to be our true policy in respect to the Oregon question. But as I do not know how far the position of that question may have been changed by what has passed between the two Governments during the negotiations of the two last years, this opinion is, of course, subject to such qualifications as may result from the Paper, which will doubtless be communicated to Congress.

I am, my dear Sir, ever truly your obliged friend

H WHEATON

*From Fernando Wood.*¹

C. C.

New York Dec^r 26 1845

DEAR SIR Enclosed I send a slip from the Journal of Commerce of this city. The two articles marked contain the sentiments of a very large majority of our business men. We feel much alarmed by the illtimed and imprudent course of

¹ Fernando Wood (1812-1881) had lately represented New York in Congress, 1841-1842. Subsequently he was several times mayor of New York and representative in Congress. He was preeminently distinguished as a political manipulator.

Cass and Allen.¹ We can see no necessity for forcing the country into a position from which there is no retreat and which makes *war* inevitable. We say do us justice on the Tariff question and Englands ministry cannot be sustained by her people in hostilities on account of Oregon. Her people will think that the interests of the Hudson Bay Company are not paramount to those of her starving populace.

I need not add, all eyes are turned on you! Twenty times a day I am asked "What course will the great Calhoun take on the Oregon question?"

Politicians of all parties look for your sagacity—experience and far seeing wisdom to stand between the great interests of the country, and the Hotspurs who in a spirit of demagogism would destroy us as they have themselves.

We know that even popular sentiment cannot drive you from a position which in your heart you deem to be correct—and we also know that in your estimation the loud declamation of adventurers is not to be heeded when the calm, silent opinions of the industrious and producing classes is antagonistic to them.

My dear Sir as a friend allow me to recommend that in your course on this great and at present excitable question that you let the impetuous patriots who are bidding for the war party have "their say" for be assured "they have their day" *now!*

Moderation—*silence* and caution on your part will in a few months, when peaceful relations are restored and public sentiment sees its present folly; place you on higher ground than any living man can attain in this country. Excuse me when I add that J. C. Calhoun needs but to stand still and as sure as the day comes, so sure will '49 see him where his deserts long since should have placed him—*viz* the chief magistrate of the Confederacy. Your course in 1812 established fully your reputation as an advocate for war, when good cause called for it. No man can or does doubt your patriotism. It needs therefore no endorsement, or reiteration.

The great speech on this Oregon question in which "masterly inactivity" was recommended lives in our hearts and is our position.

¹ Respecting notice to England on Oregon.

Hoping you will excuse the liberty which an old and sincere friend thus takes, and believing it a duty to express my views freely and frankly on this important subject I remain

As ever Truly Yours &c

FERNANDO WOOD

From Joel R. Poinsett.

C. C.

White House Peedee Georgetown S^c C^a Dec 27th 1845

MY DEAR SIR As it appears to me, that in the present aspect of our affairs with Great Britain, the only alternatives that remain are to maintain our rights by arms or to submit them to the decision of some friendly power; and perceiving that the latter is repudiated by our friends on the ground that the monarchs of Europe are prejudiced against us and will not deal fairly with us I have thought it might be in the interest of peace to intimate my belief, that the court of Russia might be safely trusted with the settlement of this question. The Emperor Alexander frequently spoke to me on this subject. He advocated our claim to the 54^o and proposed to enter into a treaty of mutual guarantee of the possessions of Russia and the United States to that limit. These proposals I submitted to M^r Madison and M^r Munroe but our possessions on the north west coast did not excite much interest at that period. It is true they were made prior to the treaties concluded with Russia by the United States and Great Britain which secured those possessions to the former; but the policy of that power is unvarying and no doubt the views entertained by that government at that time are recorded in their college of foreign affairs and would govern its' decision.

I have the honor to remain very respectfully

Your ob^d Serv^t

J. R. POINSETT

From Stephen Smith.¹

C. C.

Bodega, Upper California Dec^r. 30th 1845.

DEAR SIR, In Compliance with my promise I embrace this opportunity to lay before you in brief the results of the few

¹ See Bancroft's History of California. VI. 20.

observations which I have been able to make since my return here, respecting the natural resources and elements of prosperity of this Country. After all my detention and troubles in Mexico I arrived here on the 7th of August and found all things in my Establishment to my perfect satisfaction; and after making such arrangements as were necessary at this place, I proceeded to the Pueblo de los Angeles for the purpose of instituting an examination respecting the richness of the Gold Placer existing near that place. This examination occupied me something more than two months, and resulted in showing the Gold washing not to be so good and profitable as I anticipated. There is gold dust to be found over a large tract of country in the vicinity of the Angeles, and also as I am informed, in many other parts of the Coast; and in some spots of small extent, it has been found *very rich*; so that some of the operatives made great wages for a short time in washing and fanning out the gold dust, and the statements of these few have made a great noise in the Country; while many others have worked equally hard for months together and found nothing; or, in some cases, barely made a living. There can be no doubt however, that there is a immense quantity of gold and other rich metals in the country; for, in searching after some spots that might be rich enough in gold to pay well for *washing*; I have found various silver, gold and copper *mines*, which appear to be *very rich*, and are so situated as to be easily worked. As I have no means of assaying them here, I have sent samples of the ores to the City of Mexico to ascertain their value, and am now waiting the results. I have found in several places an abundant supply of rich iron Ore, which, so far as I can judge appears to contain a large percentage of silver, and some of the veins are near the Sea Shore. I have also discovered a rich antimonial ore, which probably also contains plenty of silver; and the best indications of extensive bituminous coal mines exist here in all directions. Lead and quicksilver also, undoubtedly exist in the Country in abundance. They have already commenced working a rich copper mine within a mile of a good ship harbor on this Coast, and I have no doubt that many others could be found in that vicinity. We only want the Flag of the U. S. and a good lot of Yankees, and you would soon see the im-

mense natural riches of the Country developed and her commerce in a flourishing condition. To see that Flag planted here would be most Acceptable to the Sons of Uncle Sam, and by no means repugnant to the native population. This, like the general government of Mexico is *very unstable* and the property of foreigners cannot by any means be considered secure. We hope and trust that on this Account as also to protect the trade and the interests of our Citizens residing here with their property, at least one American Ship of War will be kept Cruising on the Coast.

The soil of the Coast is rich and fertile, and with this Climate of almost perpetual summer, it affords *immense advantages* for *grazing* and agriculture. The Cultivation of the grape is fast increasing and the this years crop is uncommonly fine. The licor and wine manufactured from the grape grown here will Soon Compete in quality with the best European, and may become an Article of export. A few have Commenced the Cotton planting, which has been found to yield uncommonly well.

From the Accounts from Mexico we have been expecting a war between the U. S. and that republic, but from So long delay, we now begin to think it will blow over with a paper war.

Since my return to this Country my Steam Mills have gone on well and are now in full operation. The emigrants who left the U. S. last Spring have arrived on this frontier to the number, as is reported of nearly one thousand.

For the best of reasons, as we are here within the power of the Mexican Government, you will please to Consider this letter Strictly private and Confidential.

I have Dear Sir the distinguished honor to remain

Yours most truly and respectfully.

STEPHEN SMITH.

From Henry Wheaton.

c. c.

Berlin, 26 Jan. 1846

MY DEAR SIR, I had the pleasure to write you on the 24 Dec. suggesting the expediency of your calling for the correspondence respecting the Zollverein treaty in order that it

may be *published*, and justice may be done us respecting the motives and grounds on which that negotiation proceeded.

I have seen with the greatest satisfaction the manly stand taken by you in the Senate in favour of an honorable arrangement of our disputes with G Britain respecting the Oregon territory. If we escape as I trust we shall, the calamities of an unnecessary war, the most enlightened and virtuous portion of your countrymen will certainly attribute it mainly to your patriotic exertions. No official station to which you could be raised by the suffrages of your fellow citizens would give you a higher place in their affections, or enable you to render a greater service to the Country.

I think it due to the friendship with which you have so long honored me to state *confidentially* that having received some time since an intimation from M^r Buchanan that the President had determined to send a new Minister to Berlin in the course of the present Session of the Senate, which determination was communicated to me in such a way as left me no other alternative but to ask for my recall, I have accordingly done so, and expect to receive it in the month of April. I cannot help thinking that if I had been supported *in the proper quarter*, the President would not have taken this step. But whether it is now too late for him to retrace it, I do not know; or whether he would be disposed to do so, if he knew that I was a *friend of yours*. But I thought it right to let you know that although I have nothing to complain of as to the *manner* in which this measure was adopted and intimated to me, yet it will be attended with very great personal inconvenience, with-[out] any adequate correspondent advantage, that I can perceive, to the public or the party. M^r Buchanan states to me that it has been taken in pursuance of a supposed rule limiting all foreign missions to the term of four years. The best proof that no such rule exists, or at least that cases of peculiar aptitude for the diplomatic service have been considered as exceptions to it, will be found in the fact of my having been employed in this mission more than twice that length of time, during which it is admitted that I have performed my duties "with distinguished zeal and ability" to make use of M^r B's own words. But what I have to complain of is, that I had not sooner been informed that it was meant to apply this

asserted rule to my case. Had this been done, as it might have been immediately on the formation of the present Administration I should have received the appointment of Professor of Law in the University of Cambridge vacant by the death of Judge Story. But as my friends could not learn on enquiry at Washington that there was any intention of recalling me, they were not able to answer for my accepting the vacant chair at Cambridge, and as there was a necessity for filling it almost immediately it was impossible to wait until my determination could be known.

Under these circumstances I should be very glad to learn whether the President may not perhaps still be disposed to avail the public of my diplomatic services in some other mission. I understand that both the missions to Paris and London will be vacated in the course of the present year, in which case an opportunity would be afforded for that purpose. I write to no other person but you on the subject, because I know that it is only through your powerful interposition that I can hope still to continue in my present line of employment.

Apologizing for troubling you so often on my personal concerns, I remain ever, my dear Sir, truly your obliged friend,

H. WHEATON

From Henry Wheaton.

C. C.

London, Feb. 10, 1846

DEAR SIR, When I last wrote you I did not expect to have an occasion to address you from here. But having no business on hand, I left Berlin a few days since to make a visit to my family at Paris, intending to return to my post very soon, *there* to await the arrival of my successor who is expected in the latter part of April.

Since I have been here I have availed myself of frequent opportunities of intercourse with leading personages, of all parties and in various positions, to ascertain the prevailing impressions with regard to our differences with this Country, and I have been very happy to find even a more conciliatory and pacific spirit prevailing than I expected to perceive. I believe the subject is beginning to be understood in all its

bearings, and that neither the Govt nor the People are disposed to push matters to extremities unless it should be made necessary by some provocation on our part, and I do not believe that the passage of a joint resolution authorizing the President to notify the expiration of the Oregon Convention would be considered as a measure of hostility. Indeed it appears to be very important to the success of the negotiation that we should not appear to be a *divided* Nation, and in my conversations I have always let it be distinctly understood that we shall *all* stand upon the parallel of 49 as the boundary most just, equitable, and convenient for the partition of the country,—without admitting to them the possibility even of some *modification* of this basis of adjustment although some such appears to be desired here. Still it is universally regretted that Mr P—m¹ should have so peremptorily rejected that proposition, and the difficulty now seems to be how to correct this error. Our rejection of their counter-proposition for a reference will not, I fear, help us in public opinion here, but it will do no harm if the two Governments will set about in earnest to treat the question as one of *boundary* to be settled between them, so as to divide the territory fairly with a view to all the circumstances of forts, navigation, &c and to the maintainance of peace on the frontier thus established.

Much mischief has been produced here by the intemperate language used in Congress respecting this Country, which even our friends do not consider as warranted by the occasion. I believe the Govt may be induced to yield the 49th parallel, as the basis of boundary with some modifications, but I think they will require the *temporary* navigation of the Columbia river. The interests existing north of the river are not considered here as important, but it is deemed a point of honour to maintain them, and that the navigation of the river for a term of years is necessary for that purpose until the fur trade ceases to exist. In short this is one of the modifications of the President's propositions which I think would be desirable in order to render the concession more palatable to the Nation. I repeat that there is a sincere desire for peace with us, and no exaggerated notion of the value of the Country to them; but

¹ Pakenham.

a strong determination not to yield to threats, and a strong feeling of their tremendous power of annoying us. Indeed *they* would also be a united nation, if war should be the result of a rejection on our part of what the civilized world would consider as fair terms of compromise. The great movement which is going on here in favour of the principles of free trade, it is hoped will have a favorable effect in encouraging a pacific feeling with us. It opens the prospect of our being hereafter more useful to each other than we have ever yet been, and I hope will induce both Nations to reflect how much more good they can do each other in peace, than they can inflict of evil in war—if indeed there were any comparison in the choice of these so far as the true interest of nations are concerned. I have great pleasure in assuring you that your efforts as a *mediator* are duly appreciated here whilst it is well known that you are the last man who would yield anything in which the rights and honour of our Country were concerned.

It is not doubted that Sir R. Peel's propositions will be carried in the Commons by such a majority as will render their rejection by the Lords utterly impossible.

Truly yours,

H. W.

From Duff Green.

C. C.

Trenton. 22nd. feby. 1846

MY DEAR SIR Excuse me for making a few suggestions on points personal to yourself and which it is important for you to treat of in the debate on the resolutions for notice.

The partisans of Clay and Cass are laboring to Create an impression that you are sectional—not national; and that your support of the annexation of Texas is inconsistent with your present Course as to Oregon and attribute it to a desire to keep up a “balance of power” between the slave holding and non slaveholding states.

It is important to show that the idea of such a balance of power is preposterous, that the slave holding states are now and ever must be in a minority, that the South stands on the defensive and that the attacks come from both parties at the

north, who, knowing that the south are and ever must be in a minority agitate the question because the tendency of that agitation is to create a sectional northern party organised on the basis of placing the Government in the hands of *northern* men.

Your course in relation to Oregon is the same now as it has been heretofore. It is the only course that can secure to us the whole of Oregon.

You were *then* for immediate annexation of Texas because that was the only course to obtain the whole or any part of Texas and because the acquisition of Texas was an important step in securing our rights in Oregon.

You are *now* for "masterly inactivity" in relation to Oregon, because that is the only means of obtaining the whole of Oregon, and in this connection I would meet and denounce in the most solemn and decided manner the imputation that you have been influenced by any jealousy of the growth or political preponderance of the north as such.

So far from restricting the territory out of which free states are to be made your policy would enlarge that Territory. This is now the most important part of the whole subject.

If notice is given now that notice will find the English in undisputed possession of all the country north of the Columbia. How are they to be dispossessed? By force? If so it is war. By negotiation? If so will notice strengthen our claim or place the question in a shape more favorable to us? It cannot be denied that so far the negotiation and the discussion have been so conducted on the part of England as to throw upon us the *Onus* in case of war, and at the same time to place England in a position that she cannot well be the first to resort to hostile measures.

If we give notice England will take measures to prevent settlement north of the Columbia and thus limit our possession to the south, whereas if we do not give the notice we can take measures to Colonise as far north as 54° if we desire it, and in a few years possess the whole country without giving cause for war.

If we give notice we must abandon all north of 49°, if not all north of the Columbia unless we enforce our claim by

War. Whereas without notice we can acquire the whole country up-to 54th.

This aspect of the question enables you to meet the imputation of "punic faith" which much as you may despise the charge is now the hope of your political enemies. Silence that *Charge* for *Charge* it is, and you obtain a triumph for yourself and for the country which will have a permanent influence for good. You have never occupied a more enviable position. The eyes of the world are upon you, the hopes of the Country rest on you. Millions are prepared to speak your praise—meet this slander and you give an argument to the friends of the Constitution every where that will for a long time silence or overwhelm the Abolition movement—for this Charge is but the political aspect which that question has assumed and should be so treated.

Again the slave holding influence cannot be increased by bringing in new slaveholding states—that influence depends upon the numerical increase of the slaves themselves and not upon the acquisition of new territory.

Again, If there were but 9 instead of 14 slave holding states the Jealousy of the majority would Cease. Now political agitators assert that the[re] is a *minority* holding *equal* political influence and they make war on a system which gives an equality of power to a minority—get rid of this idea of a "balance of power" by showing that no such balance exists and you take from these agitators the foundation on which their agitation rests.

Not having mingled with the masses as I have done you cannot understand or appreciate the effect which the studied misrepresentation of your views and position in relation to this subject has on the public opinion of the North.

At this moment the great body of the people sympathise with you on the Oregon question and the most important results will follow the proper use of the present occasion, for your speech will find its way into every news paper and be read by almost every man in the country capable of reading it. What is more to the point they will be in a state of mind to be favorably impressed by what you say. All that has been said by others prepares the way for you to take this view of the subject and upon your doing so, in my opinion

very much depends your standing and influence with the country.

I would call your attention to the remarks of the London Times which you will find in the Herald of the 21st (yesterday), in which they say that war with the United States will be popular in England, and there is much force and truth in the statement of the reasons for it.

It is said that the notice¹ will not be considered by England as a cause of war or offence. It is even said that England is willing that the notice should be given.

The notice if given strengthens the position of England. It leaves her in possession of all north of the Columbia and compels us to become the aggressor. If we do become the aggressor, after what has transpired in Parliament and the offer of arbitration, we will be divided and England united. The consequence will be that we must lose the Country north of the Columbia.

Excuse these suggestions. They may have no merit but it is the part of friendship to make them.

yours truly

DUFF GREEN

*From Louis McLane.*²

C. C.

London 3 March 1846

MY DEAR SIR, Although I am too enfeebled from a severe illness to go into much detail, I continue my correspondence in the same confidence as heretofore.

I am afraid the state of the Oregon question is more critical. It is unfortunate I think that so much opposition should have been made to the notice recommended by the President, or that [a] move should have been attempted now while authorizing the notice, to recommend an adjustment upon an honorable basis. If the notice as recommended had been promptly authorized, it could have done no harm. The manner in which it has been treated on both sides in Congress only could make

¹ Of termination of the agreement with Great Britain respecting the joint occupation of Oregon.

² Louis McLane, of Maryland (1786-1857), who had been Secretary of the Treasury and of State under Jackson, was (for the second time) minister to Great Britain from June, 1845, to August, 1846.

its effect doubtful. Here it would not have been regarded as a hostile measure; and while at home it would have deprived those who appear to be bent on an ultra course of much alimment they will now have to get up an excitement in and out of Congress, it would have enabled our Government to have presented united Councils and an undivided front abroad. A year would remain, after notice, for negotiation, and even a longer period might be calculated upon; since if, at the end of the year, negotiations should be pending, unless one Government should commit some violent or offensive act, we would have been in no worse situation than in 1818. I think there is reason to apprehend that divided councils at home if they do not encourage more extravagant demands from this government will at least encourage delay, and lead to a waste of time which must be ultimately fatal. I yet hope that these consequences may be avoided.

I am afraid too that this Government has been encouraged by advices from the U. S. to believe that although the President has twice rejected proposals to arbitrate, yet, rather than lead to war, that mode of settlement will be ultimately adopted by our Government, in some form or other. The immediate effect of all this has been to suspend, for the present, any further proposition of compromise; and believing as I do that arbitration under any circumstances is utterly hopeless, I deeply lament that attempts should have been made to mislead this Gov. upon so vital a point.

I am sure that there is the best ground to apprehend now, that this Government will not be brought to propose or assent to a better partition than by a line on the 49th parallel to the strait of Fuca, thence down the middle of the Strait to the Pacific, with the right of her navigation of the Columbia, and some protection of the present agricultural settlements of British subjects north of the Columbia and south of the 49th parallel. It is probable that the navigation of the Columbia for 10 or 15 years might be acceptable, and I am quite sure that if it turn out that the river is not navigable at the intersection of the 49th parallel, the right of using it for any period would not be insisted upon.

If the article in the Times of the 3rd. Jan. (which I sent you) ever meant anything, there is certainly at present no intention

to renew or assent to Mr. Gallatin's proposition of 1826-7, and I have reason to know that this Government will, under no circumstances consent to negotiate for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence in connection with the Columbia. I have apprehensions that the President is absolutely committed in his message against the concession of the navigation of the Columbia; and if so and he extends his commitment to exclude the privilege even for a few years, the case may be regarded as well nigh hopeless.

I am ardently desirous of peace, if it can be honorably preserved, and am not unwilling to make the concessions indicated in my former letters; but it is not to be disputed that our cause has been weakened abroad by our divisions at home, by the public writers, especially in the *North American Review* and some of the newspapers, and by private letter writers depreciating and attempting to refute our claims, and holding out encouragements to believe that the Executive will be deserted, and what is called the War Party will ultimately find no countenance.

If there be a determination not to authorize the notice according to the President's recommendation, would it not be advisable to declare immediately that the Senate would not advise arbitration; and that unless within a year, or a brief period, partition upon a reasonable basis (defining it) should be agreed to, then notice should be given?

It is only to be expected that as long as there is a hope here (and I assure you discouraged from very respectable quarters) that arbitration will be ultimately assented to, or that there will be a division between the Executive and a majority of the Senate, there will be no real desire to do any thing, and it may encourage demands which it is impossible we could agree to. I offer these suggestions to your own reflection; being very sure however, that having made up our minds for the sake of preserving peace to assent to a reasonable basis of partition, we will be most apt to effect even that by union and spirit. If ground be afforded to calculate upon our divisions we shall not only lose what we ought justly to have, but instead of preserving peace we will too surely lead to war.

I send you some newspapers containing Sir Robert Peel's

last peace speech; and you will see how the journal views the triumph which, upon the recent division of the house, has crowned his exertions. The success of the Measure in the Lords was very confidently anticipated, without a dissolution. There are to be sure many speculations as to the continuance of "a Ministry without a party" after it is all over; and many think the day is not distant when by a union between the "Protectionists" and the Whigs now supporting the present measure, it will be overthrown. I do not fully concur in this anticipation. Sir R. Peel is a statesman of too much ability and has too broad a foundation in public confidence to be easily overthrown. He has honors, the cordial support of the Crown, and will ever increase his strength by the advance of the popular principle. He may be temporarily embarrassed, but his ultimate triumph, like that of "free trade" I regard as certain. I am afraid I have already wearied you, especially as I am compelled by the condition of my health to write so carelessly, and in so desultory a manner.

I bring my letter to a close, therefore, with the assurance of my sincere esteem and regard.

LOUIS M^CLANE.

*From Abbott Lawrence.*¹

C. C.

Mar. 30, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR; I have two special friends who leave us this afternoon for Washington where they intend to pass a few days—M^r. William H. Prescott the historian and M^r. Charles Sumner of the legal profession. These gentlemen are both well known in the literary world, and as such I have felt that they should make your acquaintance. Whatever may be the differences between you and myself upon political questions, I trust we are both too liberal, to allow mere opinions upon National questions to sunder the ties of comity due to each other, on those with whom we are associated. I begin however, to think that we are coming nearer together upon the great questions that now agitate the Country, and I assure you with entire frankness that I know not the man in the

¹ The famous Boston capitalist and manufacturer.

United States, with whom I desire to have social converse more than with yourself. I have to ask the favor of you to call on Messrs Prescott and Sumner, with whose simplicity of manner and high intelligence, you cannot but be pleased. These gentlemen I beg to say have the highest opinion of your personal character and eminent abilities.

I pray you dear Sir to believe I remain Very
faithfully Your Obt Serv.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

P. S. I have almost threatened a visit to Washington for the purpose of conversing with you, upon topics of interest in the future.

*From Edward Everett.*¹

Cambridge (Mass) 6 April 1846.

DEAR SIR, I received this morning a copy of your speech on the Oregon question,² which you were good enough to send me. I had already read it in the *Intelligencer* with extreme satisfaction. It is of itself nearly decisive of the great question of peace or war; certainly it is so, when taken in connection with more recent demonstrations. I assume, of course, that England will be willing to compromise on the basis of the 49 degree, which I have no doubt she will, if no insuperable difficulty arises in reference to the Navigation of the Columbia River. As this river is certainly not navigable to the Sea from any place north of the forty ninth degree, I am in hopes no serious difficulty will arise on this point; because if I recollect aright M^r. Gallatin in 1826, only offered the navigation of the Columbia, in case it was navigable from above that degree.—As the great objection alleged by England of late years to accepting the 49th degree has been that they could not now accept what they had three times before declined, they may possibly,—to save the point of honor,—insist on reserving the navigation of the Columbia “if navigable”; and the President has so committed himself on this

¹ Edward Everett, who had been minister to Great Britain from 1841 to 1845, became president of Harvard College in 1846.

² Works, IV, 258-290.

point, that he may not be able to make this hypothetical concession, although certain that the river is not navigable. But as this on both sides is mere punctilio, it may be hoped there will be common sense enough on the part of the two governments to get over it.

Believing that you have really rendered an inestimable service to the Country by your course on this question, I wish you could see your way clear, to some equitable compromise between the tariff and the anti-tariff parties. If it is possible to be effected, it can only be done by you. Next to peace abroad, the Country wants quiet on this subject; and the person who should give us that blessing would be a public benefactor of the highest order.

I hope you will excuse the freedom of these remarks. I am wholly withdrawn from politics, especially party politics; and look only to the public interest: In reference to which,—if I know myself,—I desire the prosperity of the South, as much as of the North.

I remain, Dear Sir, with great regard, faithfully Yours,
EDWARD EVERETT.

From Louis McLane.

C. C.

London May 18, 1846

MY DEAR SIR, In the same confidence with which I have hitherto written, I send you a short letter by the present Steamer. I received my despatches notice and all, on the 15th inst. but as I had previously made an arrangement with Lord Aberdeen for reopening the negotiation by new instructions to M^r P.¹ by this steamer and as my instructions required me to ascertain before presenting the notice, "Her Majestys pleasure as to the mode of delivering it", it was impossible to act under the case immediately. Accordingly a new proposition for the partition for the Oregon will go to M^r. Packenham to-morrow; but it will not be exactly such, I lament to say, as to afford me any great hope that it will be accepted by the P. or the Senate. It will propose the 49th parallel to strait of Fuca and thence to the sea giving all Vancouver's

¹ Mr. Packenham.

Island to G. B. It will also confirm to British subjects occupying land between the Columbia and the 49th all the land, forts and stations of which they are in the actual occupation, leaving jurisdiction to U. S; and it will claim the perpetual right of freely navigating the Columbia by the Hudson's Bay Company. I cannot err in supposing that the belief is entertained here that the Senate will accept this proposition, and that the P. will not take the responsibility of rejecting it without consulting the Senate! It is evident that since the recent public discussion in the Senate the expectations here have risen, and that better terms could I believe have been had before. This proposition is encouraged by the reliance I have already hinted at upon the Senate; by a calculation that the "peace party" as it is called will do as much to preserve peace as the "war party" would to make war; by calculation founded upon our difficulties with Mexico and upon the sympathy and support of France and other European Nations; and last, and I fear not least, an expectation that the present ministry may very soon quit office, and a desire to appear while in to have maintained a strong ground in the negotiation with us, may not be without its influence.

I am confident, however, that the offer is not made as an *ultimatum*, and that it is not intended as such. Indeed Lord A. was as explicit as he could be upon *such a point in such a crisis*. I believe, moreover, that if he were sure that the Senate would require a modification as to the navigation of the Columbia by limiting it to a period of years, and that were the only point it would be conceded here. Their objection I rather think is to offering it with the belief that the present offer will be unobjectionable to the Senate without it. They will accept it I think if offered, i. e. if it come before a change of ministry. I have far less confidence in their disposition to assent to any modification of the reservation in favor of their subjects occupying lands North of the Columbia and South of the 49th. The protection of them they regard as the real and substantial point of honor; and yet the present proposition concedes to us substantially very little more than the British proposition in 1826-7—excepting the lands *unoccupied* north of [the] Columbia and south of 49, and the Jurisdiction of both banks of the Columbia and of the country north of the river

and south of 49°! I should not have despaired of a better offer, if it had been distinctly understood that better would have been demanded by joint and united councils at home. I have given no encouragement to the proposition as presented in any form, not even that the P will submit it to the Senate for their advice. Though I think after the publicity already given to the subject, the Senate ought, according to the early practice to be consulted at every step of the negotiation; and then if they are united and firm he may get better terms not otherwise.

Believe me to be My dear sir, Mo truly Yrs

L. McLANE

From James Gregorie.

Charleston 23^d May 1846.

MY DEAR SIR In one of the interviews I had the honour of holding with you, two years ago, and which are always rendered so delightful by you, I stated the existence of a combination of persons in the western country for the purpose of conquering Mexico, the object of which it appeared to me was plunder alone.

This information becomes of importance now as furnishing a key to the warlike measures of the party who have urged us into collision with that country. If I am correct in believing that this conspiracy is wide spread as the Southwest itself; it will be found difficult beyond measure to make peace with a country in so distracted and helpless a state, if invasion is resorted to, and western volunteers compose the army. If plunder was the object held out, to tempt the thoughtless, the rash and the abandoned to put their seals to such a bond, without knowing who was to be their leaders; what disgraceful consequences may result to our National character, now that war is actually going on and these very volunteers are selected by the government and crowding to the scene of action!

I commit the paper to your confidential keeping, knowing that it can only be used by you for the benefit of the country. A word on the way it came into my hands. Four of my

family emigrated to the state of Mississippi in 1835 and 36. Of these two died from diseases of the climate, a third returned to yield up his life on a bed of languishing at home; at his side I attended thirty days. Towards the close of this scene he stated to me that I should find with his papers, the inclosed agreement. He assured me it had been extensively signed by many of his acquaintance and all through the West—none of them knew who were at the head of the band, or with whom it had commenced. The solemnity of the occasion precluded the suspicion of exaggeration, and the confidence placed in me arose from painful misgivings of the correctness of his conduct.

I am about to publish a few papers on a subject deeply interesting to Carolina and the South. I have long been of opinion, that with due precaution health may be kept *on our low Country plantations* equal to that of the Negroes, for all useful purposes. Of course equally well throughout the middle country also. When they appear I beg your candid opinion of them in a few lines; if you can spare a moment of your precious time—time not only precious to Carolina and the Union, but to the world.

Your decided conduct on the war vote, has met the approbation of every one, more un[an]imously here, than anything I ever knew. Go on My Dear Sir acting on your own ripe judgement and be assured that your example will influence every correct mind, high and low, at home and abroad, but especially among the Ministry and influential men in England. But I cease, being most faithfully

Your devoted Constituent

JAMES GREGORIE.

[*Enclosure.*] I A. B. being apprised of the project (now on foot) of certain individuals to make the conquest of Mexico, and approving the same, do solemnly enlist myself a soldier in said project or cause; and I do solemnly swear that I will not disclose the existence of said project or cause to any human being; nor will I disclose the name of the individual who now administers to me the oath I am taking upon myself; and I do further swear that I will use all proper exertions to enlist in said cause every man of my acquaintance, who I may think will make a good soldier, and none other; and that when I

succeed in procuring a man, I will report him to any agent of the originators of said project, that I may know of, to be qualified, unless I myself should be an agent; and that in that case I will administer this oath to him myself and report his name, residence, and Post office to the Agent, who now administers this oath to me: and I do further swear that I will ever hold myself in readiness, and will promptly obey the summons of the originators, or their agents, to repair to any place, at the time appointed in said summons, unless my views of life should undergo a change before receiving a summons as aforesaid; and I do further swear that I will immediately, upon my rendevouzing at the place that shall be appointed, place myself under the command of him who may have been chosen commander in chief by those who have originated said project; and I do further swear that I will never abandon him, without his permission, until the said project is carried into full effect, and consummated.

So help me God.

From James Gadsden.

C. C.

Charleston S C July 9 1846

MY DEAR SIR I was in hopes of receiving a copy of your Report¹ in advance—but the Mercury has it and has commenced this morning the publication. I am compelled to leave the City tomorrow and fear I shall be denied the pleasure of perusing the document before I return. If I had one to carry with me I could review its grounds in the Cars.

The passage of the Tariff has pleased, but not satisfied us. Perhaps it was the best terms which could at this crisis be got—and the doing away with the minimums, and the ad valorem duty is a point gained. The Valuation is ambiguous. Whether on the *foreign* or *home* we cannot understand. The Bill may be construed either way. The Pennsylvanians really seem to control you. If Iron and Coal is to enable them to tax at will the whole of the U. S. it is as well that we seerate from our Pennsylvania false democracy.

If the 30 per ct is placed on the home valuation of Iron

¹Report on the Memphis Memorial, June 26, 1846, Works, V. 246-293. The memorial of the Memphis convention (*Ibid.*, 298-311) was laid before the Senate by a committee of which Gadsden was chairman.

the duty will not vary much from the percents specific paid. There really ought to be something done for Rail Iron and I rely on your exertions to attain some modifications of the duty on these Roads commenced under the faith of Free duties. Do exert yourself on this and on our Road of Connection with North Carolina. I have written to Johnson but you can certainly remove better than I can his Constitutional Scruples. I feel very desirous of finishing the Road to *Camden* and from Charleston to Wilmington before I retire from Rail Road operations, which is certainly consuming me very fast.

What will be the fate of [the] Tariff in Senate? and what is your construction of the basis of valuation?

Yours

JAMES GADSDEN

From Abbott Lawrence.

C. C.

Private and Confidential

Boston July 14th 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, I well know your position in regard to the Tariff Bill now before the Senate, and write to you impressed with the idea that you desire to put at rest a question that has so long divided the Country. I have examined the bill as it passed the House of Rep' with care, and assure you if it should become a Law, that the people will not sit down quietly under its operation. As a financial measure it will not answer the expectations or purposes of the Government, and as a measure adapted to the present condition of our people, you may be quite certain that many, and great interests will suffer to an extent that will produce discontent and severe embarrassment and loss. Now there are several gentlemen in the Senate who have advocated *advalorem duties*, without *discrimination*, but would avoid doing anything that should produce a violent revulsion in the business of the Country, and yet desire to maintain themselves with their party. To those I would ask the favor of an examination of this bill as a financial measure, and upon that ground it may be postponed, till we are in a better condition to reduce the revenue. There are most glaring absurdities in the bill, which should be corrected. It appears to me that a bill of so much consequence to the

Country should be *considered* and *matured* by practical men, and that there should be an approach to harmony in its provisions.

I am aware of your position before the Country upon this and other great questions of National policy, and I am not unmindful of the future. In my humble judgement, the present is not the time to try an experiment on the revenues of the Country, and that two thirds of the people of the United States would be glad to see this bill defeated in the Senate. We are quite ready at a proper time to meet this question in a spirit of compromise, and settle it upon such a basis, as will insure repose for ten years. On your voice I think the fate of this bill depends. I have only to ask you to look at it in all its phases, and if you agree with me, that the Revenue will be reduced from 5 to 8 millions, and that the bill is very imperfect in its character, and that the question is to be made again a Presidential question, that you may agree in the policy at least of postponing the subject. There appears to be a particular hostility to the manufactures of Cotton. Why should Cotton goods be admitted at less duty than Woollens. Iron and Coal too, are to enjoy a duty of 30 per cent. with a heavy freight to be charged, while manufactured Cottons with less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent freight are to come in at 25 per cent.

Coarse wool is charged with a duty of 30 per cent while it is admitted free of duty in Great Britain, and their blankets brought here with a duty of 20 per cent. Pig copper 5 per cent, and sheathing copper free, and many, many other features of the bill of the same character. Such a bill cannot stand, and I have taken the freedom to write to you as I would speak to you upon the subject. If 28 millions is obtained from this bill annually, it is quite certain that the Country will be unable to pay for the importations. If yourself and others however are resolved on trying an experiment I can only say we must take our chance with you in maintaining ourselves as well as we can. I think *you* have another opportunity to ~~make~~ yourself a National man, as you have done in the settlement of Oregon.

I remain Dear Sir

Very truly your friend and Obt Ser.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

From James Hamilton.

C. C.

Savannah Geo Aug^t 12th 1846.

Last evenings mail My Dear Sir, brought me your kind favor of the 8th inst, written on the ev'e of your departure from Washington.

That our friends are in high spirits I can readily conceive, particularly those, who take as deep an interest as I do in your fame and future advancement, for you never occupied so proud a position as you do at present, whether you are destined to wear the purple or not.

But I must tell you that of the Democracy as a party, I think in the utmost peril. They have tendered so many issues during the late Session of Congress, that nothing can possibly prevent the Whigs from electing their Man, but the possible Union of the independent Men of all parties, constituting, if left to themselves, the great body of the people, *on you*, because on some of these trying Questions, you occupy middle ground.

With the tariff, two Veto Messages, Sub Treasury and the Mexican War, (with its enormous expences), wantonly provoked as *it is charged*, by the Democracy, we have too much weight to carry. The Sub Treasury alone killed Van Buren in 1840. But how vastly has Polk complicated the difficulties of his party?

I begin to think such are the follies and perverseness of Men that hereafter no party will remain in power, more than four Years. Ignorance under our Government is gradually gaining on knowledge, and profligacy on moral worth, until I believe we shall settle down into one of the most corrupt and disgusting Anarchies that ever disgraced the civilized World, of which Felix Connell and Sam Houston, may be regarded as the personal Exponents. These are gloomy portents, but I believe they will prove true, for the influence of virtue and Genius, in our Democracy, seems daily to be losing its authority.

I should have some hope, indeed of the Country if it had the intelligence and discrimination to place you at the head of Affairs. And in spite of these omens, I believe our prospect of consummating this blessing, is far more auspicious than

ever, if we avail ourselves of the favorable conjunction which the difficulties of the Country, in the next two years are likely to present. But in the long run I fear we must inscribe on the White House this *libel* not *libel*, (except on the ground the greater the truth the great the libel) *The Temple of Demagogism inscribed to the Genius of Mediocrity dulness Ignorance and Deceit.*

I shall stop for a day or two at Washington on my way to New York next week, not to seek an office, but to convince Polk, that I am [a] *free spoken Man*, at least as far as I can be so, within the verge of civility and that due respect, which belongs to his high station. If he does not change the mode of carrying on the Mexican War which in fact is more properly speaking a War against the Treasury of the U. S., waged *by ourselves*, his administration in public confidence will not live to see the commencement of the next Session of Congress.

I need not say that in going North I shall exchange the sign and token of confraternity with your friends where ever I meet them and inculcate the Watchwords of Hope Union and energy. I now use no reserve, and I am happy to say, that I meet wherever I go with few Men at the South, of either party, who do not admit, when pushed home, that in Genius experience and virtue you are better qualified than any Man in the United States for the Helm. God grant us, I say a victory—out of which, a new Lease for the Government may be constructed.

If you should have any suggestions to make, pray drop me a line directed to Washington, where I shall be there probably on the 22^d and remain until the 25th inst^s.

With my best respects to your Lady I remain My Dear Sir

Ever with esteem Most faithfully and resply

You friend and ob^t. Sev^t.

J. HAMILTON.

P. S. I owe Mr. Clemson a long Letter on some mining operations in Coal on the Banks of the Big Warrior near Tuscaloosa, where he thinks we might spring a *principality*,—I mean to have it examined this Winter, if I can find a suitable Agent.

What a blessed conjuncture of circumstances does the modi-

fication of the respective tariffs of G. B. and this Country present occurring as they do simultaneously as the omen of Peace and a beneficent intercourse between two such great nations.

The admission of Maize duty free into England is calculated to confer I believe in the end an incalculable blessing on both Countries. It will give to the laboring poor of G. B. a cheap and nutritious food and to the South probably a source for diverting a portion of our Labor from the cultivation of Cotton. One of the objects of my visit to the North is to make myself thoroughly acquainted with the process of kiln drying corn preparatory to its being ground and bolted into Meal. I think of making an experimental shipment next Winter to Liverpool from the Chattahoochee—where I shall harvest an excess of Corn over and above my consumption of at least 10,000 Bushels altho I run 70 Ploughs and have 80 Mules and horses. If I can nett 60 cents pr bushel for Meal in Liverpool I can make \$2 by Corn where I make \$1. by Cotton at 9 Cents pr. H.—

From James Hamilton.

C. C.

Savannah Geo. Oct. 12th 1846.

MY DEAR SIR. A few moments leisure now, enables me to fulfil my promise in writing you a line from this place.

During my stay in New York I had frequent conferences with your friends there, and the conclusion at which I arrived was, that your latent strength in the confidence and esteem of the intelligent Men of all parties, who were exempt from the taint of office holding and office seeking, and from the faction of party was far greater than that of any one of the other Candidates for the Presidency.

With the regular hacks of Party, and those who are the Creatures and Agents of its organisation, you are the weakest of all of them, from considerations highly honorable to yourself. There is in the City of New York a standing Committee of your friends, called the Calhoun Committee, who are prepared to move the moment your Southern friends deem it politick to do so, either by a public Meeting or by an address to the public, which ever may be deemed most politick,

Whilst these highly intelligent and worthy persons entertain no hope of carrying the vote of the S^t of New York for you, they cherish the belief that they may influence other sections of the Union, and possibly prepare public opinion for your receiving the Vote of a majority of States in the House of Representatives, where if you hold out and refuse to go into convention, it is deemed *certain* that the election must go.

They likewise informed me that your friends had been in a state of suspense, as to their action, from the uncertainty whether you would be a Candidate or whether if you were, your Southern Supporters would not as they had done frequently before, strike your Flag,—at the last Moment.

I assured them 1st That under no circumstances would you go into Caucus or Convention with the delegated power to others of disposing of your claims or pretensions. If any body of Men calling themselves a Congressional Caucus or National Convention thought proper to support you, it was well, but it would be without a pledge, or commitment on your part, either preliminary to the election, or subsequent to it.

2^{dly} That they might be assured that your Southern friends would make you a Candidate, and that we would not lower your Flag; That it should be kept flying if but S^o Carolina rallied round it.

This assurance created great confidence and enthusiasm, and the question now is when we had better commence moving and how.

We want a great central Press in the City of New York, which we could afterwards transfer to Washington in the event of your election as the Organ of your Administration. There are many opulent Whigs who are free Traders in the City of New York, who I understand favor your support, who might be willing to subscribe liberally, to an able and enlightened Journal devoted to the Cause of free Trade, and to our views in relation to the administration of the Affairs of the Country.

For example, I understand that M^r. Dudley Selden¹ hitherto a Warm Supporter of M^r. Clay's, has now a strong tendency to sustain your claims to the Presidency. He has recently

¹ Whig candidate for mayor of New York in 1845.

inherited a large Sugar Est. in the Island of Cuba, which may have produced a sensible change in his views in regard to the tariff. He proposed a scheme for a public press to a friend of mine, on a scale of security usefulness and respectability which I considered truly admirable, and which we must endeavor to carry out.

It is to raise by a joint stock Company in shares of \$100 a hundred thousand Dollars, that after buying all the fixtures necessary to such a press, and six months material in advance, to have the residue vested in a secure and productive stock, the interests of which was to be held as a reserve fund, to meet any deficiency in the subscriptions and advertising Lists necessary to defray the expences of the paper. If the Man who should be the exponent of the principles [of] this paper should be elected to the Presidency then if deemed necessary the Press should be transferred to Washington, as the Government Journal. In fact, that we should have an independent press, that should dare on all Questions to speak out and speak the truth.

The plan in regard to the Stock is very much on the Plan of the London Times and I believe after doing an infinity of good, in the end, ought to be a six per Cent Stock to the shareholders. I think we ought to call it the North American Times, and that it should have the Banner of Free Trade at its Masthead. None but a Man of finished Talents and the highest character ought to be the Editor in Chief, whilst auxiliary Editors in the different departments of Literature and politicks ought to be associated with him. Without coming out openly in the first instance in your support this should seem subsequently as the natural result of events flowing from a conformity between your principles, and those advocated by the Press itself. I shall write Mr. Selden fully on this subject, and during the next session of Congress, we must move in good earnest to accomplish this great object.

Whilst in Washington I had a long conversation with the President, and found no difficulty in convincing him of the peril in which the Democracy was placed, from the number of issues which had been tendered by his administration, and more especially from the hazards of the Mexican War. I told him the existence of his administration depended on the most

perfect Union of the party in its support, and that we must be aware of what was obvious to every one else, that our Flank of the Democracy headed by yourself, comprised a large proportion of its Talent. That from the course of the distribution of his offices and patronages I had entertained some doubt whether he cherished friendly feelings towards yourself. That if he did not, I wished very frankly to know it. He assured me, that the reverse was precisely the case. That his feelings towards you were cordial and kind. That he cherished for your character the most unbounded respect, and for your talents the highest admiration. That if he had thrown his patronage in other Quarters, it was because he knew we looked more to the principles of his administration, than to its faculty of dispensing bounties. He then begged me to make you these assurances. And went on to remark that your course on the War Bill and Notice had produced in his mind not the slightest feeling of unkindness, that he regretted it, only, as the possible occasion of impairing your just influence with the party. The warmth of his manner induced me really to believe that he was sincere. Whatever may be your own belief, it accords with weighty considerations of policy, that you should give him, apparently credit for good faith, and where you believe his administration to be right, to give it a cordial effective support, for I think the chances are quite even that if no rupture takes place between you, that you will receive the support as against Wright of a majority of his Cabinet to wit, of Walker Mason and Marcy, together with the adhesion of the President and Vice President when cured of some delusions in reference to themselves, which time will be very apt to effect. That Buchanan will form a coalition with Wright I think certain. It doubtless constituted the main object of his recent visit to the North. The Oregon Negotiation has killed him, and if he exhibits any inconvenient symptoms of vitality McLane of Delaware (who by the way with his Talented Son is among your warmest friends,) is prepared to give him the finishing blow.

Do not therefore break with the administration, give them a liberal and cordial support, where you can, for if they break down, either by our instrumentality or without it, it can only inure to the benefit of the Whigs who, in a united Mass will

run that Candidate whom they deem the strongest whether it be Clay, Crittenden, McLean or Gen. Taylor, on whom they will rally on in the last resort rather than lose the victory. You see therefore [the] vast importance of Union and as little wavering in our ranks as possible. Even if you have the administration on the hip, let go your grasp, if it is to bring in the federal brood of abominations under the incubation of Whiggery.

I stopped in Richmond on my way on where I saw five or six of our leading friends among the most prominent of them, Messrs. Seddon and Scott, whilst they expressed the most unhesitating belief that you were the strongest among the Democratic Candidates named in Virginia yet they doubted whether in the face of the organization of party thro a convention, you could get the vote of the S^t.—that is if you ran against the regular nomination, at least this was M^r. Seddon's opinion. M^r. Scott thought that you would take the State, with or without a nomination. Whether they can break up the usages of party, by refusing to go into Caucus, with the residue of the Democracy to nominate a Senator they will test in the effort to elect Mr. Hunter, whom they have resolved to run totally irrespective of such nomination.

Your friends in Richmond are animated and zealous, and are quite willing to commence active operations the moment your friends in Charleston think it expedient to move.

I had hoped on my arrival in Charleston, to have obtained a meeting of these friends, but in consequence of the absence of Elmore and Boyce, and some more of our Leaders, I was compelled to postpone it. I shall return on the 18th with the hope but not with any confident expectation of meeting Elmore who[se] frequent absences from Charleston is much to be regretted, where he has such a just and useful influence. It is greatly to be lamented that the two Men at the South calculated to serve you most (Elmore and myself) should be fettered by comprehensive engagements and pecuniary embarrassments which palsy our movements. I shall however go on the 18th and hope to obtain an understanding with our friends even if he is absent. I would like to have your views at your earliest convenience on the following points.

1st Are public movements now to be desired in your behalf?

Would they not excite the concentrated hostility of the friends of all your opponents?

2^d Shall those movements be made before or after the Meeting or adjournment of Congress? Shall we in the mean time confine our operations to effecting private organisations, at different influential points in the Union? In reference to these last arrangements, would it be judicious for the Calhoun Committee to come out with an elaborate address, presenting as strongly as they can your claims to the favorable regards of the people? Or would you prefer their writing you a Letter and asking you to become a Candidate, which would present an auspicious occasion for your writing the address of which you spoke in one of your Letters on the public affairs of the Country? Or would it be best to postpone until the adjournment of Congress this correspondence when we shall know what is to be the issue of the Mexican War? These are grave matters which you must assist us to decide.

As I fear I shall have left Charleston before your answer can possibly reach that place, be so kind as to direct it to this City, to which I shall return and leave for the Bend on the 23 or 24 inst. I will remain at the Oswichee Bend until the 25 Nov. when I shall leave for Texas, via New Orleans. Whilst there if the Legislature of Louisiana is in session I shall endeavor to compass your nomination. Two thirds of the Legislature were in your favor at the last session, in spite of the Sugar Duty. It will be necessary to see what changes are to be effected or if any have been effected under the New Constitution.

As soon as Peace between Mexico and the U. S. is concluded I shall repair to Washington and hold on *de die and en diem*, until some thing definitive shall be concluded in reference to the Texian Debt, which will afford me constant opportunities of intimate communication and intercourse with you.

I regret I cannot take a seat in Congress, which my old friends in Charleston tendered me on my passing thro the other day. But circumstances forbid it, even if I could have surmounted an insuperable repugnance I should have felt, to unhorsing my friend Holmes,¹ to whom the representation of Charleston is an idolized hobby.

¹Isaac E. Holmes, M. C. from Charleston from 1836 to 1861.

We have now My Dear Sir however secretly, fairly opened the Campaign. The conduct of the War you must mainly leave to your friends, beyond the fact of standing firm and not permitting the weakest of them to lower your Flag. If there is any force in public principles of acknowledged authority, if there is any moral sense in the people for unimpeachable integrity of character any judgment in favor of an accurate and profound knowledge of our Government and its administration, any sympathy with a zealous and uncompromising Patriotism, any taste for Genius and its accomplishments, we must triumph. At least there is enough in all these to make your friends proud of supporting such a Man.

Ever sincerely and faithfully yours

J. HAMILTON.

*From Ellwood Fisher.*¹

C. C.

Cincinnati 12 mo 2, 1846.

MY DEAR FRIEND I received thy favor of 10th Ult. two days since on returning from a visit to Indiana and Kentucky.

The War is no longer popular in those states or in this. The Whig papers are assailing it more and more—the Democrat make a feeble and spiritless defence; whilst all intelligent men of the party regard it as a blunder which threatens the party ruin. The administration is almost unanimously deserted. The army also is perhaps still more hostile to a continuance of hostilities if we can judge from the report of returning volunteers. Maj^r Johnson who recently resigned and came home, after serving in the battle of Monterey as an aid says that the army is decidedly averse to the annexation of either Mexican territory or people to ours. All regard the attempt to conquer Mexico hopeless and all would prefer being at home. Gen^l Taylor told him at parting that he was sick of the war. Johnson who is one of our friends and a man of talent went over to P^t Isabel with Gen^l Quitman and says that the General expressed the deepest regret on the voyage thither that thee had not been heard at length before the declaration. As he thinks that the War thereby might have been averted, and

¹ Author of a lecture on the North and the South, printed in 1849.

ought to have been. Still there is a very cowardly disposition here to evade the responsibility of an effort for peace. Many of the Democrats who would delight in such a result, would be quite ready to sacrifice those by whom it was accomplished to the demigogues whose love of fighting is displayed exclusively in declamation. Even the Whigs would aim to avail themselves of any discontent that might result from the conclusion of the War, as they are claiming the benefit of all that proceeds from its prosecution. I am however of the opinion that opposition to the War must prevail, as the moment its burdens are felt they will outweigh the contingent advantages of acquiring California and New Mexico, the utmost that can be acquired, and probably much more than can be obtained or held without great incidental expense.

There is among the Democrats of the West a stronger disposition to support the proviso of Wilmot than I expected to find, although as thee is aware, I have long insisted that the principles of the Abolitionists were making more progress than was suspected and were rapidly approaching to ascendancy in the free states. I have therefore been in favor of the policy of meeting the issue at once, and developing the whole heresy, rather than of giving it time and opportunity to make its way gradually and unresisted. For I have been satisfied that if the contest of the Missouri question were again openly made, the result would be the same. If the effort is persisted in of introducing the question into the Mexican War it seems to me that it will be a blunder on the part of those who are in favour of that course. For inasmuch as the consequences must be to detach the South from the War all the advocates of the War who are sincere would resist such an interference, and thus the War party proper as well as the South would be against the proviso. If on the other hand the proviso could pass both houses, it must put an immediate end to the War, for the South being detached, there would not be strength enough left in favour of it elsewhere, the Abolitionists themselves not being ready to insist on the continuance of the war for the mere purpose of acquiring territory, even for non slaveholding states. And in either case the principle of Wilmots proviso must acquire odium, without any chance of success.

But ought not the South now to take the initiative in favour of peace? If she did Abolitionism would be utterly deprived of the pretence that this is a war of conquest waged for southern aggrandizement, a pretence which groundless as it is, makes a conspicuous figure in the papers of that party and even in those of the Whigs. And if the War could be concluded on terms at all reconcilable with public opinion, through Southern influence it would disarm the Whigs of the best weapon they wield against us, that of war expenditure. I confess however I see nothing in the condition or prospects of Mexico to warrant the expectation that she will make any concession. And that being the case I am satisfied that the most practicable and tenable ground is the one thee advised at the close of last session, viz. the mere occupation and defence of the northern unsettled provinces until Mexico is ready to treat, which would give to the Northern and Southern sections about an equal accession of territory. As for the idea recently suggested that the Administration will call for 40 millions in the message and a large number of troops it is too extravagant even for the folly of that concern, and too monstrous to be supported even by the madness of the people.

The Navigation and Land bills will be urgent and critical measures at the approaching session. Steam boat disasters have been of alarming frequency lately, the losses being almost of daily occurrence. I think that as the Presidents veto stands in the way of a Western and northern combination a union with the South on that subject is entirely practicable, and the movement cannot be made too soon. I perceive that the New York Democracy is giving way to the agrarian demand for the donations of public domain to the poor. And surprising as it may seem and derogatory to the sagacity of the west, the movement meets with great favour here. The time therefore has fully arrived for land graduation.

The defeat of Wright¹ in New York has confounded and disheartened his friends here: although it has not perhaps dispelled all their hopes of his nomination. It has however completely bewildered the spoilsmen, who now confine themselves chiefly to a defence of the caucus system through which they hope to succeed once more. There is nevertheless a pre-

¹ Silas Wright, defeated as candidate for governor.

valent misgiving among them that a caucus will not be again available.

I availed myself of the occasion to write an article of some length for the paper here, giving an account of the leading incidents of thy political life and discussing briefly the questions on which the greatest efforts have been made to create a popular prejudice. I intend to follow it with a direct attack on the Caucus system in a short time.

I expect to be in Washington in about a fortnight, and shall be happy to render any aid however little may be in my power, in giving a proper direction to opinion.

Give my regards cordially to thy family

Very devotedly thy friend

ELLWOOD FISHER.

*From Francis W. Pickens.*¹

C. C.

Edgewood 13 Decm^r 1846

MY DEAR SIR After I returned from selling some cotton in Hamburg I heard you had passed on down by Mr. Clemson's place. I am sorry you did not come by. I would have answered your last only that I was on the River and did not receive it for some time after it was written and until near the time when you would be going on to Washington.

As the time is now past when those, who thought proper to prejudice you and yours agst me, have done all they could do and have effected their purposes, I now take the opportunity to say that they gave the most extravagant, exaggerated and false account of every thing I said and did at the public meeting held Saleday in June last at Edgefield.

The truth is that at the first meeting held the Saturday week before Saleday I refused to attend upon the ground that I would not give any aid to any thing that might appear to conflict at that time with your position. And at the meeting of the committee afterwards that was then appointed I expressly said in advance that nothing must be suggested calculated to reflect on your course. I was appointed Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Wardlaw, N. L. Griffin, Mr. W. Brooks, Col.

¹ See Calhoun's letters in Part I, *supra*, pp. 696, 698, 705, 708.

P. Brooks and Wm. C. Morague were all present and will recollect this fact. We could *hear nothing* authentic as to your course and the reasons from Washington. You *did not write a word* to me or to any one that we heard of.

The public meeting for Saleday in June was called and for several days previous I had been very sick, and on that day I was very unwell, more so than I had been for ten years, and had in the morning written in to say I would not attend. Mr. Brooks and Mr. Griffin both wrote to me and insisted that I should go in if merely to be present and introduce the resolutions (which made not the slightest reflection on any human being) I did so in great pain and suffering. The whole object of the meeting was to get up a war feeling and procure volunteers to sustain the Government. And what remarks I made were made entirely with this view. Immediately after I was done I was very sick—so much so that the D^r. had to give me laudnum. Col. Banskett was speaking and I left in my carriage without dreaming there was to be any opposition. After I left Col. Wigfall introduced the resolutions in relation to yourself and they were laid on the table by an almost unanimous vote as I understood. *I was not there* and never heard of what was done or said in reference to yourself until the next day, and yet I have been *made responsible for all that was said and done*.

Mr. Wardlaw was chairman of the meeting, and he and his immediate friends were pleased with any thing that might injure me. I said the next day to those gentlemen who called to see me, that a *full and true* statement of the whole proceedings ought to be given. It was said that Mr. Wardlaw Chairman and Wigfall had come to an understanding that the rejected resolutions should not be published &c. I said then it was wrong and false impressions would be made. But after it was done, and the suppressed resolutions were *informally published in a Hamburg paper* with comments, I waited for Wardlaw to give a true account as chairman. My relations to him were such that I could say nothing to him about it. The papers in this district being only weekly, in the mean time every sort of comment and rumor got out and Wardlaw made no statement. I then saw the object and how the matter was to be used. It was at the time privately

known here to those actively engaged in it that Mr. *M^r Duffie* would *resign* his *seat*. After all these occurrences I was too proud to come out and appear to explain with a view to ward off your powerful name and influence which had been, in the mean time, extensively invoked agst. me by letters as well as newspaper comments. It was true that I had differed widely with you on the course you thought proper to pursue on the Mexican war bill &c, and had regreted that course more on your own account and proper influence than anything else, and this was all. But I was awkwardly situated. It may be a weakness, but I have ever despised to appear to court any man, and as for seeking popular favour under the wing of any man living I scorn to do it. And nothing but strict Justice and Truth induce me now to say any thing of the past. Circumstances have now *transpired and been fully developed* which enable me to do so and preserve every manly sentiment which it has been my pride to cherish.

What proves that, the whole object was to effect local purposes, is that Col. Elmore two weeks before the meeting at Edgefield in June, at a meeting in Columbia uttered precisely the same sentiments that I did, and advocated exactly the same resolutions in substance, and yet not a word of complaint has been suggested agst. him for his course. I have given you this full statement of what I did and the circumstances attending it freely and candidly, and any thing to the contrary is false and was made for political effect by *anonymous scribblers*.

I have served a portion of the people of S^c. Carolina in some capacity or other for the last fifteen years, and I have never yet approached any man or set of men to seek favour or office. In the many trying and exciting scenes through which I have passed, as God is my Judge! I have never, for one moment, felt a single emotion or aspiration separate from the honor and the interests of South Carolina.

I could have received the Mission to Austria from Van Buren; and you recollect in the Summer of 1843, at your house, when Mr. Upshur Secty. of State wrote you on the subject of presenting some friend of yours for the Mission to France, you urged me to allow you to present my name and I refused it. And when M^r. Polk offered me the Mission to England I can proudly say that I am the *only man* who ever

refused such an office expressly upon the avowed ground that "I could not accept it consistently with the feelings of allegiance I bear my own State." At that time the Tariff was not adjusted and I would not have taken any office from the Federal Government.

I have *been by you* when you *needed friends*, and when to *stand by you* was *no gain* to any man. You have received more flattery from others, but in our past intercourse I have nothing to regret.

As I never expect to have any concern in public affairs again I felt it due to you as well as to myself that I should say what I have in relation to this matter, and to let you know, that however separated our spheres may be hereafter, yet you *shall*, as you have *ever* done, command my highest regard and admiration.

Very truly,

F. W. PICKENS.

From Wilson Lumpkin.

C. C.

Athens Jan^y. 6th. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR I thank you for your favor of the 29th ult. The mode suggested by you for the further prosecution of the War is the one which had not only occurred to me previous to the reception of your letter, but I have frequently suggested it to others, and I have never conversed with an intelligent man on the subject, that did not concur on the subject. The war would then be defensive on our part, and our Citizens generally would be better reconciled to its long continuance. It really does appear to me, notwithstanding our signal success so far, that we have really not yet advanced the first step towards *subduing* the Mexican people—but the reverse, they are stronger and more determined than ever. The way we have so far prosecuted the war must be changed, or it will be interminable. I have seen enough of the course of such men as Wilmot of Penn. Gordon of New York and various others on the floor of Congress, to satisfy me, that both political parties in the non-Slave-holding States, are firmly and fully united and resolved to prohibit the introduc-

tion of any more slave States into the Union, formed of Territory which may be acquired from Mexico. It is true I have indulged some hope, that in the event of acquiring Territory, we might be able to form something like a reasonable compromise on the subject. But I begin to doubt now, that the time is rapidly approaching, when the great struggle between the slave and non-slave-holding States must come up on an issue which will shake our glorious confederacy to its very Center. My old friend, I love the Union. But I am ready to resist unto death, rather than to submit to the schemes, plans and policy of the Abolitionists and their friends and supporters throughout the non slaveholding States.

Ardently as I love the Union, I consider it Valueless, when it is used for my oppression and destruction.

From this time forward, we may expect the Slave question to be the great and vital one, which will over-ride every other question. Our divisions will be sectional. The names of Whig and Democrat will lose their charms. My greatest apprehension is, that the South may not be as united in the day and hour of trial as her Enemy. I fear the lust for power and place may have its influence on many of our own people. And that portion of the southern population who own no slaves generally feel very different on the subject, from the slave holder.

Nothing can preserve our rights in the approaching struggle but Union in the present Congress amongst Southern men, (or perhaps I should say, Union in the next Congress). The South united can face a frowning world. Work to the point of uniting the South, regardless of party names.

I consider the new fangled scheme of Left Gen^l.¹ &c. perfectly ridiculous. It is nothing more, nor less—Than a selfish and base scheme—designed to benefit individuals at the expense of the best interest of the Country.

If the press and Congress have become so debased, as to unite in keeping light from the people, have we not reason to fear, that the days of our Republic are numbered.

The unofficial people of this country are patriotic. Therefore they favor a vigorous prosecution of the War. Believ-

¹ The plan to make Scott Lieutenant-general.

ing as they do, that no other way can be devised to procure a speedy and honorable peace.

From this to the close of the Session, I shall look for proceedings in Congress with great interest.

As Ever Yrs.

WILSON LUMPKIN

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.

C. C.

Private

New York Feb^r. 14th. 1847

DEAR SIR. I have long observed an abuse growing up in the Senate of the U. S.—of Senators arraigning one another for the political acts or sentiments of former years. In my humble opinion this is not consistent with the dignity of the Senate, or the rights of Senators, because personalities should not be exhibited in that body, and because that as every Senator is the representative of a Sovereign State he is only accountable to the State he represents.

In the recent Tournay in which Mr. Turney¹ in the Senate tilted himself against You, I am much pleased with the manner in which his onset was met. It afforded a happy opportunity of placing yourself in a just point of view before the popular mind of the Country, for you of all public men have been misrepresented to and therefore misconceived by the people. There is no man who knows you believes that your elevation to the presidency would be any personal acquisition or elevation to yourself but the friends of Constitutional principles desire to see you in a position where these principles could be declared and evidenced with greater effect. This, as regards you and the presidency is the whole story.

But your speech on the three millions Bill in its very severity of truth and analysis—in its strict harmony with the best rules of composition and total absence of imaginative or dictional ornament—in its grouping of facts existing and illustrative, has struck a blow which cannot be resisted or returned in any other way than in personalities. The mercenaries of patronage in this city, many of whom went for Harrison in 1840, others who went from Van Buren to Polk in 1844 and

¹ Hopkins L. Turney, senator from Tennessee.

nearly all of whom will go from Polk to any successful candidate in 1845 accost me in the streets "Well what do you think of Mr. Calhoun now?" I can assure you however that the best and largest portion of the people do not express themselves as these mercenaries do.

The Telegraphic news in the Herald reports Mr. Westcott as having said in the Senate on the 13th. that "the democracy of this administration consisted of nothing more than loaves and fishes from the Lieutenant General down to a mere second lieutenant. If the people of the U. S. were only aware of the corruption which exists at the seat of Government they would tumble the President and his departments—the Congress and the Whigs and Democrats heels over heads together into the Potomac, and they would do right."

This is very strong—stronger I suspect than the Senator expressed himself, but I am forced to believe from what I see and feel around me here, and it is painful to myself to see and feel it, that there is no difference in the principles of democrats and whigs but that which governs Ins and Outs. Either party will resort to any means right or wrong, true or false, holy or wicked, pro or anti that will gain Votes.

I see that you are averse to the acquisition of territory from the populous country of Mexico, or that portion which would grow cotton and Sugar. Were you to go in favor of more territory in that direction, what an outcry would be raised that you wanted the whole of Mexico for slave States. There would be a woful howl among those politico philanthropists who really have as little regard for the negro as they have for republican institutions or the constitution of the United States. A few years ago many of our Barnburning Democratic Abolitionists were "Northern men with Southern principles." If Messrs. Van Buren and Wright had not made a miscalculation upon the Texas annexation question, we should not have now the Preston and King movement, or the Wilmot proviso. The Albany dynasty had calculated that the unpopularity or weakness of the Tyler administration would quash annexation for some time.

I dont hear a word about nullification in these days. Who are the nullifiers now in the worst sense of that term? There is

a vast difference between the nullifiers of an unconstitutional tax law, and the nullifiers of our system of Government.

An old man once said to his son, that if he wanted revenge upon his enemies to pray for long life and if granted, he would see enough respecting all of them to satisfy his desire. I think that if your life is spared a few years longer, you will see all those men overthrown who for nearly a quarter of a century have systematically and by corrupt political machinery operated to pervert the democratic party and the legislation of the Union. You were an obstacle in their way upward, therefore they injured you in every possible manner, and it would seem to be a trait of human nature that the injurer never forgives.

I rejoice to learn by the papers that Senator Lewis is recovering his health. I have felt much anxiety about him and would have written to him but feared that it might be an intrusion upon a sick man.

In conclusion—Every day's experience and reflection satisfies me that if the Governmental principles advocated by you shall not prevail—Our system of Government will not be of long duration.

Yours with profound Respect

F. W. BYRDSALL

From John Tyler.

C. C.

Sherwood Forest,

Charles City County V^a March 23, 1847

MY DEAR SIR I feel it to be due to myself to enclose you the New York Mirror of the 13th Inst. and to direct your attention to that portion of an article which I have designated by ink lines. I do this for the single purpose of declaring the entire falsity of the publication, most especially so far as it ascribes to me any unfriendly intentions towards you while you were a member of my Cabinet, or the knowledge of any plot or machination on the part of others of a character injurious to you. So far from this I do not hesitate to say that from the time of your acceptance of the Secretaryship of State to the close of my Administration, you possessed my

entire confidence, and that had it been otherwise you would have been informed of it from my own lips. I held no consultation as to Cabinet appointments and most generally they were not announced to others until they were irrevocably made. Such was the fact in your own case. My object throughout was by calling the highest talents to my Cabinet, to secure myself through great public measures an honorable mention in history. Whether this object has been accomplished or not the future alone can determine. The assumption of motive which is made to me by this libellous writer for calling you to the Cabinet, you are as well aware as myself to be wholly unfounded.

I have abstained from noticing the numberless attacks which have been made upon me as well since as before I left office, but in this instance I have deem'd it proper to break my uniform silence.

With best wishes for your health and happiness

I am y^rs &c

JOHN TYLER

From Duff Green.

C. C.

Washington 6th April 1847

MY DEAR SIR Yours of the 29th [28] is before me. It is, under the peculiar circumstances, most gratifying to me to be thus assured of your confidence and regard. If I know my own heart, its first wish, connected with public affairs is to see you in the position for which your superior qualifications, your eminent public services, and public and private virtues give you claims greater than any other person. I need not say to you, that no one has a higher respect for your character, and that no one places a higher estimate on your friendship. Knowing that I have at all times suffered persecution, because your political adversaries feared that my influence would be exerted for your advancement, the suggestion that those who are recognised as your friends wanted confidence in me, was calculated to wound me, in proportion to the claims which my fidelity, my services and my sacrifices gave me upon them. No one else could so well urge those

claims because no one else so well knows on what they rest, as you do. You know that I have never permitted my own private interests or personal preferences to control my sense of public duty. In the case to which you refer in 1840 you know that when I found that Blair and Rives had induced both Lewis and Pickens to become candidates for Speaker, with an understanding that your friends were to vote for them as printers I told you that I would not ask you to aid my Election as printer. I saw then and told you that your young friends in Congress were making a position for themselves in the dominant party at your expense and at the expense of your principles. I have since seen the selfishness of others, and I am frank to say that one of the inducements with me to publish a paper is to counteract that tendency on the part of those who have acted with you, towards being absorbed by the majority. I would now, while your influence is active create an interest which will control for good the future elements of party:

I have always known that you acted then (1840) as you have on all other occasions from a high sense of your duty to the country. I appreciate the influence which the bias of your political associates had upon your own judgment, and altho I regretted then and have ever since, your reconciliation with Van Buren, I have abated nothing of my attachment confidence or respect for you, personally and politically.

After writing to you I saw Gen^l Gadsden, and conversed with him on the subject of the paper, and he suggested that my best plan was to issue a prospectus and call upon the south to aid me. He said that the objection had been made in Charleston that all was quiet until *you* came, and that their movement had not been responded to in any other place. I wrote by him to M^r Holmes and have not heard from either of them. I confess that it does appear to me that the South are a doomed people, and I am compelled to ask myself, why should I who have so little in common with them take upon myself the advocacy of their interests? I confess to you further that I cannot close my eyes to the fact that this lethargy in the South indicates a state of indifference which, with the fixed opposition to you in influential quarters, greatly discourages me. I can see that to avail ourselves of Gen^l

Taylor's position and popularity we may by uniting your friends and his give a direction to the next Presidential Election greatly to strengthen the position of the South, but I am unwilling to take on myself the responsibility of such a movement. Taylor is a slave holder, and should the V^a Election go against them the Whigs will nominate him. This will probably be followed by the nomination of an abolition Candidate. It is our interest to commit the Whigs against Abolition and we should hold a position which will prompt all parties to look to us as controlling the future.

It has been suggested that the people should in primary assemblies nominate you and Taylor.—If your friends were to do this, the Whigs might nominate Taylor and thus complicate our position. My own view is that as yet we should hold the nomination in reserve, put the questions in issue fully and forcibly before the people, and select our candidate for the South, when public sentiment is more fully developed.

I have closed a satisfactory arrangement for the sale of a part of my mountain property. The parties reside in Phil^a and are highly respectable and wealthy. They go to see the property this week and make the pay^t upon the report of their Geologist, which cannot be otherwise than satisfactory. I will then be in funds and can publish a paper on my own account but, before I act in the matter wish to hear from you relative to Gen^l Taylor's position.

Yours truly

DUFF GREEN

From Alexander Bowie.¹

C. C.

Taladega, Ala. 13 Apl. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR, I trust that you will not feel it as a cruel infliction to receive a letter, now and then, from an old and constant friend—more especially as I shall not write but when something connected with your own prospects, or those long cherished principles which I first learned from you, bears heavily on my mind.

¹ Alexander Bowie, a prominent South Carolina lawyer, had emigrated to Alabama in 1835, and had been chancellor of the northern division of that State from 1839 to 1845.

From R. K. Crallé.

C. C.

Elwah Cottage, April 18th 1847

MY DEAR SIR: I have delayed answering your favour of the 22nd ult. until I could hear and see more from various sections of the State as to the probable course of public affairs. Enough is now developed to warrant the conclusion drawn in your note of the 6th inst. which has just reached me. Ignoble cowardice and an inordinate love of office have prevailed over every honorable sense, truth, justice, consistency and patriotism. The dread of being in a minority is far more powerful than the love of truth; and manly independence succumbs to the hope and expectation of plunder.

Such is the spectacle presented by the State of Virginia. Her Politicians, with some few honorable exceptions, have been so long under the controul of Ritchie, that abject subserviency seems to have become a part of their very natures. Had your friends maintained firmly the stand they took at the meeting in Richmond, I have no doubt the state could have been preserved from the fatal tyranny of a National Convention; but the time when the meeting was held was most unpropitious—immediately preceeding an election in the result of which many of its members had a direct and strong personal interest. Without organization, or the means to make their influence to be felt immediately, and uncertain of the final result of an open and bold stand, they were foolishly led to compromise every thing by yielding that which gives to their enemies complete controul now and for the future. Harvie and Seddon and Bocock seem alone to have maintained themselves.

This is all most shameful, nay, disgraceful;—and is enough to make a man forswear politics altogether. But the end is not yet. The result of the election next Thursday¹ will present some reliable data for future calculations. If it go against the Hunkers (and I am strongly inclined to this opinion) it may present hopes favourable to a future and more auspicious organization of Parties. The dominant Party will perceive its need of our assistance, and may be induced to reconsider its stringent and exclusive rules of discipline—

¹ The Virginia election of April 22.

principles they have none. But if they carry the State, it seems to me that no favourable calculation can be made on the State for the future. We must be put down as the servile and obedient vassals of the Albany Regency; unless, indeed, some new question arise to arouse the public mind from the stupor that enthrals it—or some popular favourite to sever the bonds that bind us.

As to the former, I had entertained hopes from the great issues involved in the Wilmot Proviso, and presented in your Resolutions. But as you well observe in your note of the 6th inst. these are virtually surrendered when the election of the Chief Magistrate is given up to the Cabal called a National Convention. Their selection determines the person, and their *imprimature* endorses the principles of the candidate. So that even this tremendous question gives place to the engrossing matter of power and plunder. Indeed it is much to be doubted, (I speak of course in reference to this State alone, as to the other Slave States it may be otherwise) whether the naked issues involved in the Wilmot Proviso would, of themselves, suffice to overthrow the despotism of Party:—for a very large portion (the trans-Alleghany) of the State is, I fear ripe for the measure, however the fact may be concealed from motives of Party prudence. The fear of losing the vote of the State in the Presidential Election alone, I am inclined to think, prevents both factions in the west from showing their hands. As to the Richmond Junto, looking as they do solely to the possession of power and the plunder it secures, I hesitate not to express the opinion that they will side with the majority, even should that threaten the safety of our domestic institution as it exists,—much less its extension to new Territory. Indeed, so completely have they stultified the public mind, that you cannot even bring intelligent men to look the question fully in the face. They are too much engaged about the election of Presidents to think or to reason like men. This is true of both factions, and if the disease exist to the same extent in other states we shall keep easily under the yoke, without even sufficient virtue to enter a protest; much less to resist as becomes men the daring assault on our rights, honour and liberty.

The other alternative presented in the moral weight of some popular favourite is hazardous in the extreme, as our own past history sufficiently proves; to say nothing of the histories of other popular Governments. That favourite *must be a military Chief*. None other, without some great change in the temper and spirit of our People, can ever hope again to wield sufficient power over the masses. If such a man be taken up, and through his influence the vile machinery of the Factions that infest the state be deranged or broken up, what security have we against the common destiny of all Republics? Jackson might have fixed the Government on a firm basis for a century at least had his virtue kept pace with his popularity, or his judgment been equal to his energy. But while he overthrew the Federal Oligarchy, he allowed himself to be used as the [*word missing*] tool of the worst of all factions—*The Spoils Party*—the very men who had most bitterly denounced him, and left us as a legacy ignorance, vice, insolence and anarchy.

It is true, we may all entertain better hopes of Genl. Taylor, who, it seems is fast rising into notice and threatening the aspirants of the present corrupt and imbecile dynasty. I see it stated in the Public Papers that you have retired from the contest and advised your friends to rally to his support. Is this true? I shall not attempt to dissuade you or offer counsel; but while I feel it to be absolutely necessary for the safety of our institutions that the present infamous dynasty should be utterly overthrown and extirpated, I am by no means certain that the election of Genl. Taylor will secure it. Should the Plunderers find him too strong to be resisted, they will, as in the case of Jackson, immediately sheathe their poison poignards, and salute him with a kiss, though it be that of Judas. This they will certainly do; and looking forward still to the future, will endeavour at the same time to preserve their vile machinery of Conventions and Caucuses for future use. If he be of the tone or temper of Jackson, he will, like him, pass through the fire to Molech, and leave corruption and despotism as our perpetual heritage.

On the other hand, if they stand out, and the opposing faction take him up, as they will do, it will be with aims not very dissimilar. Already you see, from the late nomination

in Philadelphia when John Sargeant and others of that ilk figured most prominently, that a *National Convention* is to pass its final and authoritative judgment. Thus you perceive that they too are for preserving, *in the first place*, the same iniquitous machinery, and doubtless for the same iniquitous purpose. The fact is, that little and bad men cannot rise without the use of *this lever*; and therefore little and bad men, (and who amongst the low and debased leaders of the two Factions can be placed out of this category,) will stand by it to the last. In fighting for it, they are contending for their very existence.

In no case, therefore, could we, I think, safely or consistently support Gen. Taylor, but as a Candidate distinctly opposed to these infernal machines, which have already corrupted the public virtue and prostrated the most conservative principles of the Constitution. That he will have it in his Power as President to reform, to a great extent, the abuses and corruptions of the Government, I have no doubt; but the sincerity of his purposes should be tested by an open and undisguised denunciation of that vile system of President-making &c. which, more than all other causes combined, has led to these abuses and corruptions. If he will do this, his election, with your support, will be certain; and the consequent benefits to the Country incalculable. Will he do this? Will he throw himself upon the People, instead of the ignoble knot of political hucksters who have sold and enslaved them?

If you retire from the contest, however, and under the present aspect of affairs, I cannot undertake to dissuade you, I, for one, shall have no more to do with public matters; but retire forever from the arena, to the calm pursuits of literary and agricultural labour. I see the tendency of the public feeling is towards Taylor every where. It is eminently so in this section. This is what I [*word missing*] and predicted in my letter to you the Session before the last. This Mexican war I felt assured was destined to produce a new litter of military *Heroes and Presidents*. The prophecy is in a course of fulfilment. For your *own reputation* I never believed that the Presidency was worth the pursuit; or that patronage and power could add anything to your fame. Still, for the sake of the Country and its Institutions, I desired much to see you

in the Chief Magistracy. Your retirement, if indeed, you have retired from the contest, will not deprive me of the hope; for with your regular and temperate habits, I do not doubt but that your physical and mental energies will remain unimpaired for many years to come. I shall, therefore, still live under the hope that *when I vote for a President*, it will still be for John C. Calhoun. I shall, *most surely*, vote for no other, though the dead rise to bid me.

Blackford will publish your remarks next week. They would have appeared before but for the pressure of local electioneering matter, and military despatches.

I wish most ardently that you and your family could spend the summer or fall months with us in the mountains. I have had considerable additions made to my House, and, by August, could give you very passable accommodations. Such a trip would serve much to strengthen and recreate you. Write to me as soon as this reaches you, as I am very anxious to know your views and purposes after seeing the Papers last night. Mrs. C. joins me in affectionate regard to yourself Mrs. C. and Miss C. Mary is at school in Richmond.

Very truly yours &c

R. K. CRALLÉ.

*From Peter S. Smith.*¹

C. C.

Philadelphia, Apl. 24, 1847.

DEAR SIR, Admiring and approving your recently published sentiments with reference to the elections of future Presidents from and by the People, at the instance of the American Executive Committee of the State of Pennsylvania of which I have the honor to be Chairman, I respectfully inquire whether, should it be tendered to you and that unanimously, you are disposed to accept the nomination of President of the United States from the National Native American Convention to assemble at Pittsburg, Pa. on the second Tuesday of May ensuing, for the purpose of designating Candidates for President and Vice President of the United States?

The Candidates to be nominated as the Peoples' Candidates

¹ An indorsement in Calhoun's handwriting records this letter as "received too late to be answered in time."

and to be supported by the great American Party of the Country, as the standard-bearers of the National principle, that to preserve and perpetuate our Republican Institutions, *The American Born must Rule America.*

I am Sir Very Respectfully your friend

PETER SKENE (?) SMITH

From James Hamilton.

C. C.

Charleston April 24, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR. If I have not written you before it has been the result of my having been for the last two Months on the move in my Journey to Texas and on my return home. Your course, the vindictive attacks which have been made on you, the admirable ability with which you have sustained the one, and the firmness and dignity with which you repelled the other have commanded my alternate sympathy and augmented Regard.

On my return home, I found with few exceptions the Democratic press of Georgia was in full cry against you and among the most rabid and clamorous was the Columbus Times edited by a Son of the late Mr. Forsyth.

You have some very devoted friends in Columbus who happen to comprise the most intelligent and respectable people in that place. As soon as they learnt my return from Texas they sent for me to come up to Columbus and to consider how these attacks were to be repelled. At their suggestion I went to the Hotel and sketched an article, which I send you which however militant in its tone the Editor was compelled to publish. It is only an introductory Fire vindicating your *Motives* from the unworthy imputations cast upon them. The defence of your *course* and *opinion* I reserve for a moment of greater leisure and a more convenient season under proper provocation. I mean when I take it in hand to make it effective if I can.

I am just from N Orleans the focus of all the Rays which are there converging from the Valley of the West to make Gen^l Taylor President. His partisans are almost universally your friends and the most intelligent surrender, or rather are inclined to surrender your claims rather from *necessity* than

choice because they believe that the popularity of the old Genl will *alone* enable the Country to relieve itself of the conjoint and infamous burdens of Hunkerism and abolitionism.

A Relative of Genl Taylor's came to see me when I was in New Orleans and frankly told me that he greatly preferred you to his kinsman for the Presidency but under your recent rupture with the Democrats and the total alienation of the Northern Whigs from you on a/c of your position on the Wilmot Proviso your election was altogether hopeless altho if Genl Taylor was out of the field he had no doubt you would get a majority of the Slave States in the Union.

In these opinions I entirely concur. He then went on to say that Genl Taylor would not accept he believed a *party* nomination or even the nomination of a National Convention. If elected by the spontaneous Voice of the people he might serve. This Gentleman moreover remarked with some emphasis—If without specific guarantees but under a pledge to do his duty to the whole Country according to the dictates of his own conscience the old Genl. received the support of the highly talented party of Mr. Calhoun (the most talented and chivalrous as he was pleased to say in the Country) he and his friends would have a fair share in the Govt of the Country and in the direction of its public measures. My reply to him was that next to yourself, I should certainly prefer the election of Genl Taylor, because I believed he was an honest Man with a kind heart and a clear head. But I could give no assurances of support without consulting my Carolina friends with whom I was resolved to act *under all circumstances and contingencies*.

Now My Dear Sir What are we to do? With Genl Taylor in the Field you cannot be elected and even if he is withdrawn (of which there is not the smallest prospect for his friends will force him into the canvass) your election would be doubtful and could only be consummated after a tremendous struggle in the H. of R.

The Question then arises shall we stand off and permit the Genl. to pass into the hands of the Whigs or by a timely tender of our adhesion endeavor to organise a New National Republican party on a broad basis sufficiently broad under the adjustment of the tariff, internal improvements, Bank, and rejection and negation of the Wilmot provisio to admit of

Crittenden and yourself taking part in the Gov^t of the Country.

I shall write to two of Gen^l Taylor's friends (in immediate communication with him) to take the ground that he will accept *no party nomination* Nor will he entertain for one moment a consideration whether he will accept the presidency *until the War with Mexico is closed*. This will give us time to shape our Measures but the question again presses home what shall these measures be? We must not lag too far in the rear or we shall lose all influence in controlling public measures. Or shall we let this Military tempest rage, stand aside and take no part in its power or its agitations?

I cannot perceive how a Man of your power whether in or out of Congress can take no part in the public affairs of the Country. Your influence would be as *certain* altho as *silent* as the Laws of Gravitation. It is the irresistible destiny of Genius, and it remains for you to decide how you will use that power in an entirely new State of things. Write immediately in reply directed to Savannah Geo.

I remain My Dear Sir with esteem Faithfully and respecy yours,

J. HAMILTON.

From R. B. Rhett.

C. C.

June 21, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR I have very little communication here with the Cabinet Ministers: but I have found by relatives, and conferences with the President himself, and without giving you authority, I will tell you what I suppose to be the present probability as to future events.

In the first place, they are still full of the idea of conquering a peace: That will not be dispelled, until the City of Mexico is taken, and no peace preceeds or follows its capture. Should however, the administration be disappointed, in conquering a peace with the money at their command, I do not think they will come to Congress to ask another loan. They will adopt a policy consistent with the ordinary [moves?] of the Government, and that policy must be, the one you sug-

gested and advised at the last Congress: It will be a bitter pill to many of them, but it will be swallowed rather than meet worse consequences. Altho' as you suggested there is a large Party growing up in the United States, who are for taking the whole of Mexico,¹ the President I do not think will support it. Old Ritchie would if for no other reason, because you are opposed to it. Benton and Silas Wright altho now not prepared for it, might rally on this ground, believing it, a popular one; and as a good set-off to the Wilmot Proviso blunder. Walker Mason and Clifford in the Cabinet, will be opposed to it. Cave Johnson will do as Polk does; and he will not I am satisfied go for any such policy. I think then, matters will stand thus. If we get a peace, then the Wilmot Proviso must come up in the Senate, and the treaty be rejected, unless the South is false to itself. This will break up the Democratic Party, and disgrace the Administration. If on the contrary, no peace is obtained, then, the administration is compelled to adopt your policy—worse to them, so far as their desires are concerned, than such a disgrace. In either event, the war-makers have little to gain, by the progress of things.

I enclose you a letter I have rec^d from Lewis McLane, to show you his opinion as to our supporting Taylor. As soon as I hear from Gen^l. Davis I will communicate with you, but Gov. Brown from Mississippi told me a week or so ago, that Gen^l. Davis said that Taylor is as sound on the Tariff Question as you are. He is also said to be opposed to a U. S. Bank. We may be driven to support Taylor; but I fear the Whigs will render it impossible by nominating him as their candidate, by a National Convention. Thinking they can elect Taylor anyhow, they will insist on making the election a Whig affair. Scott is in furious Dudgeon at Trist's Mission,² whilst the administration hate both him and Taylor. It is a hard case, that after all, as the consummation of their policy, they may be compelled to make these men or to make you; perhaps both. Some of them may grow grey or crazy, under such intolerable retribution.

You seem to suppose that I am not to be a member of the

¹See the article by Prof. E. G. Bourne, on the United States and Mexico, 1847-1848, in the *American Historical Review*, V, 491.

²The mission of Nicholas P. Trist, sent to negotiate a peace with Mexico.

coming Congress. I have not "*resigned*" as you say: but only decline a re-election in 1848. By this time I suppose the present troubled aspect of public affairs will be settled—either for our relief, or permanent endurance.

Believe me Yours Very sincerely

R B RHETT

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.

C. C.

Private.

New York July 19th 1847

DEAR SIR, You expressed yourself in the Senate of the U. S. to the purport—that the Mexican war was the commencement of a new career in our political history, which precluded your View into the future. I was much impressed with the force and beauty of the declaration at the time you uttered it, and since then, the idea your words conveyed, has remained indelibly traced upon my memory.

This war has given additional excitement to the fanaticism of Abolition, and has already divided the republican party of the North within itself, as well as almost placed it antagonistically towards the Southern portion. The battle fields of Mexico have also introduced Gen^l. Taylor to the people of the United States, as the most prominent candidate for the presidency in 1848, and how many more candidates for that high Office are to come from the same source in future times, who can tell? It is remarkable too, in this era of anti war societies, evangelical unions, anti slavery Conventions, mutual guarantee associations and propagandism of philanthropy that a war chief should stand high in the estimation of these modern crusaders, and that the partizans of every kind of movement, are much taken with the notion of a no party candidate, i. e. no movement at all. But with all this eclat about a no party, or all parties Candidate, it is very evident that Gen^l. Taylor is not the first choice of those who have hitherto controlled the action of the two great political parties. There are other public men that the politicians would greatly prefer to him, but they will yield to the popular will, when they cannot with safety to their selfishness do otherwise. Now, although I do not consider the elevation of a military commander to the highest office in the Republic, as a desirable object as respects

republican Institutions like ours, yet under existing circumstances, with Wilmot provisoes, vicious organizations of political parties &c &c. it may be that Gen^l. Taylor is the best man to break up those long standing corrupt organizations, which have exercised more despotism over the citizen than ever existed under any other constitutional Government. If Gen^l. Taylor is disposed to exert the influence and patronage of the Executive department to this end, he would deserve the gratitude of every friend of freedom of suffrage, and I would prefer him to all other men that I know of, save one.

The recent batch of political manifestoes of the great I am Thomas H. Benton, together with the billing and cooings between the Wilmot proviso Democrats and the abolitionists, have greatly invigorated the hopes and desires of the Van Buren myrmidons as respects a restoration of the Albany Regency Bourbons in the person of Silas Wright. They speak confidently of his being the Candidate of the party in 1848, that with him the State of New York can be carried, and "as goes the State goes the Union." They allege that the loss by the Argus faction, will be more than made up in other quarters;—and besides, there is some prospect of a reconciliation. There is evidently an under current movement on foot amongst the managers, and no effort will be left untried to regain ascendancy, or to triumph in working a defeat.

Party Organizations, as managed, are the curse of the Union. Their operation is calculated to afford demonstration to the world, that the beautiful theory of representative Government is Utopian. The least Virtuous of our politicians in secret cliques and combinations, contrive, by packing the Conventions, to controll the nominations, while there is at all times, a concert of action amongst them to keep the most high minded and capable men in the back ground. For many years you, and all your unflinching friends in this part of the Union, have been jealously guarded against, for there has grown up, nurtured by the partizans of Van Buren, Benton, Wright and C^o. a hostile feeling towards you in the minds of many otherwise well meaning men, which amounts at this day to a fixed prejudice, with which no facts or reasonings can prevail. Have you not for years been opposed by the organized presses of these politicians? Has not every meas-

ure you advocated been resisted to the uttermost, without regard to the principles avowed by the party? How many men in the Senate have risked encountering you as a means to recommend themselves to favor or popularity, or to make themselves great, like as in the fable of the frog and the Ox? Without going fa[r]ther back than the last session of Congress, if Benton, Cass, Turney, or any of your antagonists had prevailed against you, the presses of the organization would have fulminated a yell of triumph throughout the land, the echoes of which would not have ceased during your life time; for in one sentence, you are the object of the malignity of three of the worst passions of human nature, namely, the *selfish ambition* of your political foes, the *avarice* of the protectionists and the *fanaticism* of the abolitionists? But it is greatly to your credit that you nobly sustained yourself through every trial; it is greatly to the honor of the State you represent that she has stood by you while opposed by all sorts of organizations of political and selfish interests, and which would have probably overwhelmed any other man of any other State. Nevertheless, the most wonderful feature of your career is, that notwithstanding all the above adverse circumstances, and even more, you have fixed upon the American mind, your views of Constitutional powers, your ideas of Republican Government, your principles of political economy, more extensively than all your Competitors or Cotemporaries. Yet this is not all, there are thousands of politicians who in these days are in favor of the constitutional expositions they formerly condemned, while they still retain the animosity towards the exponent, which his course *then* excited. For myself, I avow the fact that to no man of the dead or the living do I feel that I am so much indebted for a proper comprehension of our system of Government, as yourself.

Your recent speech, which you delivered in Charleston,¹ is of timely import to the Southern States. It presents to ~~them~~ their true position in the confederacy, and the dangers to which they are exposed. No division should be *there* on the old party grounds about the presidency, but all should unite for the one great object of placing the Veto power of

¹ March 9, 1847, Works, iv, 382-396.

the constitution in the hands of a faithful Southern man. Let me tell you here, that the anti southern Democrats in this part of the Union, are looking forward to the death of the defender of the constitution, and calculating upon their future success after that event. "After him" say they, "there never will be another John C. Calhoun to stand boldly up in the defence of Southern slavery." "The wish is father to the thought," and that it exists in high quarters I give you proof by naming W^m. F. Havemeyer the ex mayor of New York, as one of those who has uttered those words. There is truth in them too.

Some time ago, I was in hopes that the Republican party would have a majority of States in the next House of Rep. but with Florida since lost, Georgia and N. Hampshire equally divided, I doubt the policy of sending the election of president to that body in 1848. If the Republican party should have a majority of States, and were you one of three candidates before the House, I cannot doubt the result, for with the intelligent members who are friendly to you (no other public man standing so high in the estimation of the virtuous and intelligent men of our party,) and the Whigs, who certainly prefer you to any of the opposing candidates of their party, your success would be almost inevitable. For many years you have been my first choice for that office. I know of no other man who deserves it so well of the whole country, but a crisis has arrived which enjoins us to take no step in that direction, unless we have light upon our path, unless we have a candidate with the popular prestige of success. It appears to me that the path you have indicated for the south, would lead to General Taylor for the next presidency. I think we can elect him by the popular Vote. In that event, God grant for the safety of the Union that he may prove to be all that the true hearts of the Republic anxiously and patriotically desire.

The Hon. Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama has had a short sojourn in the city of New York. It is not my wont to call on public men when they are en route in this section of country. I never did so when Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, Polk and others of distinction were here, but M^r. Lewis merits from me grateful consideration and I visited him twice with

much gratification to myself. I regret that circumstances prevented me from evincing those attentions to him which would have afforded pleasing recollections to me. His frankness and kind heartedness are so evident as to ensure him a passport to the best feelings of every body. He went about our city and its environs considerably. I do not recollect an instance of a public man that left more favorable impressions upon those who came in contact with him than he has. At a meeting of the farmer's club, he descanted upon his own agricultural experience and observation, in a way that pleased many of the auditors some of whom have since highly commended the original yet common sense character of the Views he expressed. The Tammany Society learning that he was not an ordinary minded man, but one attracting popularity and notice, not only from the Citizens, but also from its rival body the Texas and Oregon association, sent a deputation to him with an invitation to become a brother of the Columbian order, which he acceded to, and was regularly initiated into that Society, the over twenty Sachems of which, are nearly all of the Van Buren and Wright Kidney. Strange as it may seem, the rival factions united temporarily on him to a certain extent, and he became for a time, a sort of Lion to the two sets of Democrats; one set in favor of nominating him for the Vice presidency with Silas Wright for the presidency, the other set for him for the same office with Gen^l. Cass; both sets calculating that a Vice presidential candidate from the State of Alabama, would be from the right section of the Union to run with their man, especially as M^r. Lewis is well known as a friend of M^r. Calhoun, *of course*, his nomination would draw all the friends of the Carolinian. As to the motives of either set, I confess my want of faith in N. Y. politicians, and could more readily believe that enmity to M^r. Calhoun is at the bottom of these matters, than to work upon the self love of M^r. Lewis, a common feature of all men, is not the most difficult method of accomplishing an alienation between friends.

In connection with these remarks, it may be well to examine the political characters of those whose names are attached to the letter inviting him to a public dinner. The list comprises some of the best names amongst our merchants, but

them I shall pass over to get at the politicians; and first I shall give you the *Van Buren men of the anti Southern stamp*. Viz. J. J. Coddington—Elijah F. Purdy—W^m. Havemeyer—Cha^s. A. Secor—James Conner—A. Vanderpoel—B. J. Messerole—Andrew Carrigan—Niel Gray—Tho^s. B. Tappan—W^m. C. Bryant—F. W. Edmonds—Nathaniel Jarvis—J. M^c. Cullough—Theodore Sedgewick—D. D. Field—J. J. Cisco—J. J. Westervelt—A. H. Mickle—W^m. A. Walker—Robert H. Ludlow—Edward Sandford—Thomas C. Fields—Henry Nicoll—Cha^s. P. Brown.

Next I shall present before you the men of the Gen^l. Cass stamp—Viz—E. K. Collins—John M^c. Keon—F. B. Cutting—Cha^s. M^c. Veau—Prosper M. Wetmore—J. S. Bosworth—W^m. C. Bouck—H. H. Byrne—D. C. Broderick.

I shall now give you a list of the active but convenient politicians whose names to the letter,—the men who profess democratic principles, but care more for ascendancy in the party. *The always administration men*. Viz—James C. Stowall—R. T. Compton—Oliver Charlock—L. B. Sheppard—Rob^t. H. Morris—T. Jefferson Smith—Cha^s. Webb—D. S. Jackson—A. J. Bergen—Sam^l. Osgood—C. S. Bogardus—John D. Haskins—S. J. Willis—Geo. F. Thompson—A. MaClay—G. H. Purser, George E. Baldwin—Abijah Ingraham—Eccles Gillender—M. G. Leonard—George Montgomery.

Finally the Calhoun signers, steadfast and true are—John Le Conte—A. D. Wilson—Henry D. Cruger—Geo. B. Butler—John D. Van Buren—E. B. Hart—James T. Brady—John Commerford.

The reply of M^r. Lewis to the Gentlemen who invited him to a public dinner is admirable in its style, temper, and patriotic sentiment, and still more so in the enlarged scope which he attributes to free trade principles, and the mighty results they are calculated to produce as regards personal freedom, political economy, and general civilization. I have seldom seen more sound doctrine, clearer argument, or better philanthropy expressed in a few words, in short, it is a happy compendium of the whole. It gives great satisfaction and many persons have complained to me because I did not put their names to the letter of invitation.

I sat down my dear Sir, to write you a letter about generalities and I find I have written a longer one than I intended. I trust however to your indulgent consideration of my motives if I trespass too much upon your time; for as this is not intended either for public display of myself—or for private gain, and is written to a man I have never seen, I may reasonably hope you will receive it with considerations similar to those, which have self-evidently dictated it.

I am Dear Sir, with the highest Respect Your Ob^t. Sev^t

F. W. BYRDSALL

The annexation of Texas with its cotton soil and Anglo American population was a measure of absolute necessity to the United States; not so the annexation of Mexico with the population she has. It *was* our interest to preserve her republican nationality equally from ourselves and from Europe. But *now* we must take her, in order to keep her from the hands of others, and we will become deteriorated by such a junction morally, while politically the Union of the States will not be strengthened. However we may *want* the lands, we surely do not *need* the incorporation with us of such a people of inferior mixture as the Mexican. We have started upon the course of conquest, we cannot now recede if we would, our success will create circumstances to impel us onward in that direction, whether we are willing or not.

With the accession of several millions of Mexicans at one swoop—with the vast increase of Emigration from all parts of Europe, the question presents itself, can this extensive territory and people ultimately escape the fate all monarchal and Republican Empires have fallen under? Namely dismemberment.

From Fernando Wood.

C. C.

Newport July 23 1847

DEAR SIR I have, read your letter to the Putnam Whig meeting dated 27th June 1847¹ with much pleasure, and concur entirely in its sentiments. You may be assured that the whole north do not hold opposite opinions to you on this subject.

¹ See Niles's Register, LXXII, 389.

Many of my friends and myself have long ago determined that if this narrow spirit of fanaticism continues at the North, and produces disunion, *our homes* will be found south of the Potomac where true freedom, chivalry and honour characterize the people. We are heartily sick and disgusted with the conduct of many of our immediate citizens on this question.

Very Truly Yours

FERNANDO WOOD

From H. W. Conner.

O. C.

Charleston August 23. 1847

DEAR SIR your favour of the 8th was duly rec^d and before leaving for the North to day I propose to give you an outline of what we have done here since my last.

We have distributed in the Slave states 2000 circulars and 1000 subscription lists and have sent abroad 5000 copies of the Mercury (an Extra) of the 11th containing an Editorial (written by Elmore) accompanied by the wilmot proviso and the resolves of 10 of the northern states in its favour—with the Virginia and our resolutions on the other side—so far as we have yet learned these documents have awakened the people and been most favourably received.

a few days since we got together some 15 or 20 gentlemen—as a sort of preliminary step to a larger meeting They all subscribed to a man—and brought our subscription up to near \$13000.

Tomorrow a larger meeting is to be held (by special invitation—not public) and I have no doubt the am^t will be much increased—a short time hence, a still larger meeting—to be called in the same way is proposed. In the meantime committees of correspondence are being formed—to operate on the different sections of this state and upon all the Slave states. It is the intention also to send round amongst the wealthy planters of this state a special agent to Collect.

while at the north It is proposed that I shall press the matter amongst the Southerners on there from all quarters—and particularly in reference to a Southern Association or

other organization which I will endeavour to do to the best of my ability. My address will be to the care of L. M. Wiley &c New York—if you should desire to advise me. From what I see I believe we can raise in this state an am^t sufficient to establish the paper—say 30 to \$50000. Some talk of \$100 000. In fact there is but one view in this quarter. I *do believe* too that the feeling is becoming deep and widely extended all through the South and that with a proper degree of tact and energy that it may be embodied into a compact form and given the right direction. I believe if Maryland or Virginia would begin by establishing an association to be called “an anti-abolition association for the defence of slavery and of the rights of the Slave holding States and their Citizens”, that it would be taken up by the whole South and similar associations be every where formed—with this organization all other parties and influences on the South would sink before its power and we could come up to the conflict with our whole strength brought to bear

To my apprehension the two greatest dangers we have to encounter—is our own apathy and indolence (which it is distressing to behold) in the first place, and the danger of Compromise when we have got into the conflict. It is unnecessary however for me to fatigue you with subjects you understand so much better than we do.

A reference to the Missouri Compromise in one of our articles in the Mercury as the aim of our efforts—was thought impolitic by some of us, and the force of the remark modified some in the original draft—but another article contending that the violation of the Compromise threw us back upon our original Constitutional ground counteracted it in some sort.

I have heard the name of Jno A Campbell of Mobile; R. W. Barnwell, N. F Colcock and Yancey¹ of Montgomery spoken of for Editor. Yancey I think would be willing for it. The others—probably not, tho’ I do not know. The time has not yet come to discuss it

Very Truly yrs &c

H W CONNER

¹William L. Yancey.

From Joseph W. Levesne.¹

C. C.

Mobile Aug 24th 1847

MY DEAR SIR Since writing you last some of our friends have requested me to obtain your views, in anticipation of some action contemplated in our next Legislature, relative to the ground which ought to be taken against the "Wilmot proviso". There is a growing disposition among our friends to come out boldly against the further acquisition of Territory as the only practicable mode of saving the south against the danger that threatens from this alarming question. It is a fact not to be disguised, that at present there is at the South a large party in favor of the acquisition of territory. An insane thirst after land is the great American disease, and divested of other considerations the party that hold out the prospect of Territory would unquestionably have the advantage. Nor would the *means* of its acquisition, in a moral point of view make much difference. To take ground therefore against the acquisition of Territory even among the people of the slave holding States successfully, they must be convinced that there is no other mode of preventing their defeat of the question under consideration.

Is it certain then, or highly probable that if the war results in the increase of our territory, the Wilmot proviso will become a law. If so, our people cannot be too soon convinced of the fact, nor can we too soon take measures to force the president to a course which will save us from ruin. It will be too late to act after the territory is acquired and the question of its free or slave character determined by Law. Under such circumstances I should not have the least hope that our people could or would take measures to deliver themselves from the distant ruin that would certainly await them. Indeed it is not easy to conceive what mode of effectual redress could be adopted. It would be a wrong beyond the reach of State interposition joint or separate. We could secede from the Union, but would that help us? Would it change or in any manner affect the territory over which Federal Laws have been already extended with federal officers to enforce within the jurisdiction of those laws the opinions and the objects of the victorious party.

¹ A prominent supporter of Calhoun in Alabama.

I regret to see in the Mercury an article, from the pen I presume of Col Hayne the tendency of which is to create the impression that the interdiction of Slavery in the Territory would be harmless—because unconstitutional and void. The writer did not probably intend this. He does not seem to have considered that whatever, in an abstract point of view, the rights of the Southern States may be, the exercise by Congress of jurisdiction over newly acquired territory by the enactment of laws and the appointment of Judges Marshalls &c would have the effect of releasing every slave carried there, on a writ of Habeas Corpus—just as much so as in the State of Pennsylvania where the Constitution of the U. S. has been practically nullified.

I do not think that even in South Carolina the bearings of this alarming subject are fully seen and comprehended. The articles in the Mercury are very unequal to the occasion. I have seen nothing that approaches it properly since the adjournment of Congress except the article in Bronsons Review¹, which I am endeavoring to get republished in this State with the Laws and resolutions of the other States recently republished in the Mercury. I would like to hear from you before this is done.

I have again met M^r Soulé, who repeated what fell from him in our last interview and added again that “no public man ever occupied so high commanding and difficult a position as yourself.—that if by the meeting of the next Congress the war was not terminated the elevation and peculiarity of that position would be still further augmented, and that he thought that both parties would be compelled to look to you as a counsellor and guide”. and in conclusion that “all that he desired was that either in word or act you would show yourself in the least degree a partizan”. I answered that on that point he might make himself easy. He has great confidence in you, but is more reserved and cautious than when he first reached home.

Very truly Your fd &c

JOS W LESESNE

¹ Probably the article on Sectional Rights under the Constitution, in the Democratic Review for September, 1847.

From R. B. Rhett.

C. C.

Sept. 8, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR You requested me, as soon as I heard from Gen^l. Davis as to Gen^l. Taylor's opinions, that I would inform you. I rec^d a few days from Gen^l Davis a letter marked *private*, which hinders me of course from sending it to you. It is of little consequence however, for it contains nothing distinct as to his opinions,—very like what you have seen in the Papers.

Things are looking blacker in Mexico. If Scott triumphs handsomely however, I am still of opinion, that if no peace is obtained by the opening of Congress, the administration will fall back substantially to your policy. If there is any reason however, which may give such a movement the aspect of compulsion, they will not do it: In either event, as peace now seems out of the question, your warnings and counsel must give you a very lofty position. On the subject of the Wilmot Proviso, the administration is doing all it can to settle the matter on the Missouri Compromise line. You see in this morning's Paper Buchanan's Letter on the subject. A friend of Silas Wright, informed me to Day, that he, had he lived, would shortly have taken the same ground. If so, it is to be lamented that he died so soon. Woodbury is open-mouthed against the Wilmot Proviso—Cass following suit. I think therefore, after all it is not improbable that we will make them back out on this great point. At all events it is dividing and weakening the North, and if we of the South only act unitedly, our triumph is certain. The Anti-Slavery Democrats, Butler of New York, Hamlin¹ etc. must be driven off to the Whigs. Certainly since the foundation of the Government, there never has been in politics so silly a move as that of the Northern Democrats on this subject. Their leaders see it, but so many are committed, as to render a return to the right policy very difficult.

On the point of closing the war, should it not be closed by peace by the Meeting of Congress, nothing will be done by the Whigs. Clayton Winthrop and Ingersoll² and others, who

¹ B. F. Butler of New York; Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.

² John M. Clayton of Delaware, Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, Charles J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania.

look on the war as by no means much of an evil, since it will create a Debt, by which high duties will be maintained, in support of their Tariff policy, will not withhold the supplies. They with the Democrats generally, if the Administration determines to go on with the war, will secure the supplies. With this conviction I am doing all I can to induce the Administration to take the proper course—and propose a course themselves to close the war—and I hope not without some success. If they do this, and can settle the Wilmot Proviso matter, the Democratic Party may carry the next Presidential Election. Woodbury will most probably be their candidate. Buchanan's course as Secy of State, and Tariff affinities will I think put him aside. Cass wants the confidence of the South. But if the War, and the Slavery question are not settled during the next Session of Congress, the Democratic Party will be defeated, and new organisations of Party will arise.

M^{rs}. Rhett joins in remembrance to M^{rs}. Calhoun and believe me Dear Sir

Yours Sincerely

R B RHETT

From Joseph W. Lexesne.

C. C.

Mobile Sept^r 12th 1847

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I concur most cordially in every word that you say as to the retaliating course the South ought to take to bring the northern states to their senses. Their conduct has been most atrocious. No language is strong enough to denounce it. The shameless impudence with which they have trampled the Constitution under their feet, and their mean and despicable contrivances to deprive us of our Slave property ought to be held up to the scorn of the whole Union. Not half has been said on this subject that ought to be. The Pennsylvania Law is bad enough, but most of the other states have accomplished the same end only by more cowardly and contemptible contrivances. The Laws providing a trial by jury for fugitive slaves are the most bare faced invasions of the Constitution ever committed. It is none other than a deliberate attempt to manumit our slaves by withholding the

question of property from the jurisdiction of our own courts of justice. And a grosser insult could not be offered to a friendly State, for it assumes that justice will not be administered in them to a man claiming to be free, to one of its own citizens. I consider the South completely absolved from the slightest obligation to observe any faith to these people. And I do most earnestly wish that we had spirit enough to vindicate our dignity and rights in the manner you recommend. Your observations on this point for the first time from any quarter, repeat my own sentiments entertained for years past. We are at this moment as deeply disgraced as any people can be by our tame submission to the wicked and perfidious course of legislation to which you allude. I do hope that if the Wilmot Proviso is discussed next winter in Congress, this other grievance will be unfolded and its iniquities printed in its true colours. Had any nation in Europe violated the faith of treaties in the same manner and as often as the Northern States have the even solemn pledges and obligations of the Constitution, it would have been spurned from the pale of all Christian fellowship with other Communities.

You speak of the advantages derived by the North from the Union. My dear Sir, no man South dreams of the extent of those advantages. He who would set down without the detail to prove it the annual cost entailed upon us by the Union would be pronounced a madman or a fool. Our whole commerce except a small fraction is in the hands of Northern men. Take Mobile as an example— $\frac{3}{4}$ of our Bank Stock is owned by Northern men—as large a portion of the Insurance Stock of the Companies chartered by our own Legislature; besides 7 or 8 foreign Companies who do their business by agencies. Half our real estate is owned by non residents of the same section. Our wholesale and retail business—everything in short worth mentioning is in the hands of men who invest their profits at the North. The commercial privileges extended by the Constitution has wholly deprived us of a mercantile class—and thus deprives us (I think) of the most certain means for the accumulation of wealth. Instead of the condition of Ireland being that which we may expect hereafter, it is in fact that which we now suffer. *This little town pays 2 millions annually for the reflected glories of the Union.* I speak advisedly

and from figures. If a swarm of Locusts should every fourth year settle upon our fields of Corn Cotton and rice and lay them waste we should loose less than we do from the causes I have enumerated—causes not peculiar to this place, but in active operation from N Orleans to the smallest village to the South. Financially we are more enslaved than our negroes. But I am abusing your patience. When I am on this subject I know not when to stop. . . .

J. W. L.

From Wilson Lumpkin.

C. C.

Athens Nov. 18th 1847.

MY DEAR SIR With feelings of deep interest and sober consideration, I have read your paper of the 7th Inst. Your letter presents a correct, but brief view, of the external and internal relations of the Country at the present time—and you are right in your conclusion, That the questions now before the Country are pregnant with the most vital and important consequences and the result beyond the Ken of mortal man. What ought to be done, in regard to our present relations with Mexico, I am not prepared to say. I am, however, prepared to say, that our National character demands an increased vigor in the prosecution of the War, to that Point which may be necessary to humble the pride of the Priesthood and Military Chieftains of Mexico. Then the question will arise, what is to be the next step?

The Annarchal Rulers of Mexico, being prostrated, the people will desire peace. But the whole letter and spirit of our Government stands opposed to conquering provinces to govern, or to that of conquering a country for the purpose of annexation to our Union. Circumstances might justify our wresting territory from an hostile Enemy, and holding it, peopleing it, and annexing it to our Union. But a Territory **already** peopled with materials unfit to enter into the spirit of our institutions, and become good Citizens, should never be annexed to our Union.

On the subject of our internal relations, you present the case, as I conceive of it, *Justly*. The long, constant, and increasing disposition of the people generally, of the Non Slave-

holding States, to intermeddle with, and finally destroy and overturn our constitutional rights connected with negro Slavery, must be resisted efficiently and speedily, or our Federal Union will be dissolved.

Our forbearance on this subject, has to my mind, already become intollerable.

The Wilmot proviso is but one of a long list of our grievances on this subject. And we ought to make one general and consolidated issue of the whole subject. Our great and only difficulty is to unite and consolidate the action of the Slave holding States. Attempts made by States Single-handed must fail. If we cannot produce Unity and concert of action on this subject—Then we may make up our minds to meet the most gloomy anticipations which your letter presents. And strange as it may appear to you, Yet I assure you—that the people of no one of the Southern States, except South-Carolina—are prepared for such action at this time, as you and myself deem to be, not only necessary, but indispensable to the security of the Southern States. Upon this subject our people have been most wickedly and awfully misled by Office holders and office seekers, aided by a Subservient press. One party, *the Whigs*, have deemed it their party interest to preserve a calm quiet silence, least a division might spring up between them and their Northern Associates, and thereby prevent the success of their party at the next Presidential election.

On the other hand, the Democrats have labored long and hard, to convince their southern Partizans,—That the Van Burens, Wrights, Casses &c. &c. was their shield and hiding Place from the coming storm. It is true, that daily developments are stripping off this flimsy Vail of deception. But the minds of the large masses of the people are enveloped in thick and gross darkness on this subject.

I trust I am not wanting in courage or Patriotism to do my duty on this subject. I have most faithfully endeavored to use the humble means at my Command—to sustain those who are battling for the Country. We have many difficulties connected with the Slave question—which are rapidly pressing upon us. To meet them as we ought, I concur with you, that concert of action is the first object to be obtained, and I can

see no way of effecting this object, but by a Convention of the States interested. And if a plan can be devised and prosecuted to success, which will approach to a general feeling on the part of the States interested, I should indulge strong faith, that the heart burnings and strifes, on this Slave question, would ultimately be settled, and the Union preserved. But our Enemies will never cease in their Warfare upon our Constitutional rights—so long as we keep up our Party divisions at home, so as to manifest to the world that we have more thirst for office and selfish Party ascendancy—than for the constitutional rights of the States, and the true interest and liberty of the people.

As they now stand, I am thoroughly disgusted with both the great political Parties of the Country. Both are under the influence and controul of a cunning selfish combination of Corrupt Office Seekers.

They are ready to barter the most vital and sacred Constitutional rights of the people, for place and power. To be sure, there are many good men and true, attached to both Parties, but the influence of such are paralyzed by the overwhelming numbers of a different character. Nothing short of a thorough reorganization of Parties, can save our glorious Republic from destruction.

If the Country is so far depraved—That it cannot afford material for the leaders of an honest, patriotic party—then indeed, will our days soon be numbered. And like Greece and Rome, It will be written, the United States, *W A S.*

I would not hesitate a moment, but move in the matter which you suggest without delay—if I could be as sanguine as you seem to be, that good would result from the effort. Our State elections being over indicates the present as a favorable time for such a movement, it is so. Nevertheless, when I look over the Material which compose the legislature of Georgia, and consider the influences under which they are governed, I assure you, they are the last body of men in the State, that I would look to for a patriotic movement, at this momentous crisis.

Look at our Congressmen, of both Parties, from Georgia, and you have a good specimen of the leaders, who at this time hold the reigns in the State.

Our best men in Georgia are now in private life, pretty generally disgusted with political life. Those however, who concur with my views are evidently gaining strength rapidly, and I entertain no doubt will ere long become the dominant party in Georgia. I venture the opinion, that the actings and doings of the Present Legislature will greatly tend to strengthen the ranks of the Faithful and honest portion of the State. And if the Wilmot proviso, (as you anticipate) should receive the sanction of Congress, it will strongly tend to favor the views which we entertain. Indeed, the passage of the Wilmot resolutions by Congress, I believe will be one of those wicked Acts which will be over-ruled for great good. It will enlarge the platform on which we stand.

Should the Wilmot resolutions, or something like them, pass both houses of Congress, I suppose as a matter of course, the President will *Veto* them. If he does not, few friends as he now has, the number will be greatly diminished.

You are not apprized of all that I have done, for a year past, or you would not suspect me of supineness in regard to the subjects which now agitate the Country. I am not idle, although no aspirant for notoriety. As far as my Circle extends, I have been very successful in exercising a salutary influence in Georgia. My position in relation to public affairs is universally known in this State. When the proper time shall arrive, I will shrink from no position which may be assigned me, in an attempt to get up a Southern Convention, for the Purposes suggested in your letter. The Slave holding States have only to unite in Council and proper action on the Slave question—and our opponents would be crushed at once. Union amongst ourselves would give us strength to face a frowning world.

Your views may be sound upon the subject of retaliatory measures, as suggested in your letter, but my first impressions are not favorable in regard to their Expediency, or practicability.

I at this time strongly incline to the Opinion that the high ground, imperatively taken—That we will no longer submit to the Variegated Violations of our rights Connected with our Slave property, or domestic institutions, by the Non-Slave holding States, would be the most wise and expedient measure

for the South. And after due notice, upon the pledge of our sacred honor and our lives—Maintain the ground assumed.

No man loves or attaches more importance to the Union of these States than he who now holds this pen. But I desire the continuance of no Union which degrades me. If a new State would be Ejected from the Union On account of recognizing the institution of Affrican Slavery—Then the Slave holding States ought no longer Continue in such a Confederacy of States. The repeated assaults upon our constitutional compact has greatly marred its beauty and symmetry, and to my mind it is most clear, that if the General Government cannot be brought back to the Constitution, this generation will not pass away before the glory of our Confederacy will have departed. Write soon and write freely.

As Ever your friend

WILSON LUMPKIN

*From John A. Campbell.*¹

C. C.

Mobile 20 Nov^r 1847

DEAR SIR, I have but lately returned from a summer's excursion, taken with the view of improving my own health and as a part of the education of my daughter. I designed writing to you as soon as I could find the necessary time after my return but my health and other causes combined have prevented.

In the first place allow me now to express to you how warmly and cordially I sympathised in your opinions and feelings in all the measures connected with the declaration of War upon Mexico. The folly of that proceeding was so stupendous that one has hardly an opportunity to contemplate its wickedness. You must now derive in the approbation of all rightminded men in the country a compensation for the scurrilous abuse to which you were subjected.

It is clear to us, that the difficulties on the subject of Slavery, in so far as the action of parties and politicians have occasioned difficulty, are rapidly approaching the degree, that

¹John A. Campbell, afterward well-known as a justice of the U. S. Supreme Court and as a peace-commissioner in 1865, was at this time a practising lawyer in Alabama.

a settlement will be soon required of them. Things cannot remain as they now are. The Wilmot Proviso is that which naturally excites most interest. I regard the subject of the acquisition of New Territory mainly as it may affect the *balance* of power in the federal government. What will be the effect of any large acquisition? Will it be to preserve the balance of power as it now exists? The territory is wholly unfit for a negro population. The republic of Mexico contains a smaller number of blacks than any of the old colonies of Spain and tho' this is not conclusive yet it is a persuasive argument that negro labor was not found to be profitable.

Mr. Buchanan informs his friends in Berks that the territory proposed to be acquired will never be used by slaveholders and Gen' Thompson tells us that the territory is wholly unfit for that population. These Gentlemen do not have with me a great deal of influence but I suppose in this case that they are not far from the truth. If this is the case all acquisitions of Mexican territory results in an increase of the strength of the nonslaveholding states and a corresponding diminution of our own.

I have purposely left out of view the more general question whether a further extension of our limits is desirable. I suppose that if such an extension would result in a serious disturbance of the present action of the government of the U. S. that it is to be deprecated.

The first consideration then for Southern men to take is, could it be used by a slaveholding community or would it be filled by a mixed population of Masters and slaves? My impression is that its population would be in a great measure of the free class.

Let us suppose that I am in error and that the territory acquired might be used by a slaveholding community. Still, the largest share would fall to the nonslaveholding states. I take it that the line of slavery is gradually being removed southwardly and that the largest portions of the occupied lands above the 35° and below 36° 30' of north latitude will be cultivated exclusively by a free population;—and that the line above which slaves cannot be used to advantage will be found to be as low as the 34° degree of north latitude. If M^r Polk should obtain the line that he proposed under the Missouri

compromise the nonslaveholding states would be the largest beneficiaries. Looking then at the question of the acquirement of new territory as it affects the balance of power between the North and South I cannot see any ground for a hope that we should receive an equal share of advantage.

Regarding the question of acquisition in a more general and comprehensive view I still have been adverse to the acquisition.

This war was not brought on by any act and I may say any fault of Mexico. Our President invaded a territory claimed by that Republic and over which its laws prevailed. Our armies met the armies of Mexico and assailed and defeated them. Our Congress before any notice of the fact of an encounter and upon the loosest information makes a proclamation of war. We have maintained a very triumphant contest and have seized their capital. I confess that I do not find in any facts that have been presented a just ground for dismembering their territories.

2. I have very great fears that the existing territories of the United States will prove too much for our government. The wild and turbulent conduct of the western members upon the Oregon question and their rapacity and greediness in all matters connected with the appropriation of the revenues induces great doubt of the propriety of introducing new States in the Union so fast as we do. The connexion of the Whig party with the Abolitionists has never disturbed me a great deal for the reason that the Whig party is *governed* by its leading and reflecting men. The tone of the party is derived from men of property and character and they are in a measure held to respect property guaranteed by the constitution and laws of the country. The union of the democratic party with the abolitionists I have regarded as far more dangerous because they are held by few restraints and are ready to go farther lengths to carry their ends. I have a similar feeling in regard to legislators from the Western states. Their notions are freer their impulses stronger their wills less restrained. I do not wish to ~~increase~~ the number till the New States already admitted to the Union become civilized.

My opinions lead me to refuse territory. Suppose the point to be settled that territory shall be admitted. I wish it

received on no other terms than those of strict equality. I wish a counter proviso to the Wilmot Proviso to the effect of the first of your resolutions and with a definition of property viz. what the laws of the state from which a citizen may remove may define as property. And that this condition shall so remain until the people of the territory shall form a State and be admitted to the Union and this I would like to see a part of the Treaty of peace.

The Wilmot Proviso I take it, will not be pressed upon Congress at its next session, unless it comes in the shape of instructions to the President in regulating his conduct in making a treaty. I do not believe that the President will be disposed to encounter that question. He will place upon Congress the responsibility of determining the war and the propositions of Santa Anna will be the basis. The question will then be evaded by the Act of the Whig party and the Northern democrats. I have always suspected that the administration would not ask for a line to the South of the 36° 30' of North latitude and whether he asked it or not, I have always supposed that this War would terminate by securing no larger portion of Mexican territory than is found north of that line. I have done the President injustice by my suspicion. I am satisfied that the Northern people would willingly yield the land between the Nueces and Rio Grande and take California—at least such would be the inclination of their politicians.

It appears to me viewing all these things together that the true course to pursue is to resume as well as we can our positions before the war commenced. The matters of boundary and of debt have to be adjusted and we must consider the expenses of the war and the losses sustained in our armies as the penalties—the dreadful penalties of having selected an incompetent man to be our President. Do you think we will be taught anything by it?

We shall be asked to vote for Buchanan or Dallas in less than 12 months. I have read over with the most earnest care your letters to Messrs Lesseps and Walker, I agree with you that unless we at the South have made up our minds that the solutions of slavery should be controlled by our enemies that the agitation on this subject should terminate. It is a

very great error it appears to me, to suppose that we have any party at the North, or that we shall ever have one. The politicians do not guide public opinion on this subject. They follow after in obedience to it. I believe that no where in the north would a Candidate maintaining Southern opinions on this subject be sustained for any great length of time. The sermons of the clergy—the prayers of the lay members at the church-meetings contain deprecations of Slavery as a sin. The literary class now becoming large and influential in the cities fill their writings with tirades against it. The Northern Press almost without an exception is opposed to us. And above all the colleges and schools are tinctured with the stain of abolitionism. I do not use the term in the sense that it is applied to Garrison and Phillips, but in a sense that embraces a very large proportion of the population. Garrison and Phillips say that the Constitution of the U. S. is a pro-slavery contract—containing powerful and stringent securities for the slaveholder. Phillips has written quite an able pamphlet¹ to prove this—a pamphlet we might circulate to great advantage excluding a few paragraphs. They have collected all the debates together of those concerned in making or ratifying the Constitution to prove the same truth. Their remedy is to make a *revolution*. Now all this is better to me than the course of those other men who deny your rights or who disregard them while claiming to be the friends of the Constitution. A very interesting statement of the condition, prospects philosophy and intentions of the abolitionists you will find in the report of the Massachusetts Society at their 15 anniversary. I made it a point to go over the different offices of publication of the Society and to examine their publications. I should say that their Press was not very active. The office in New York is a poor affair. Their publications are of a low order making appeals to the credulity of the community by tales of cruelty and oppression of masters exercised over their slaves. There were two books of some pretension one by Dr. Barnes and the other by Dr. Bacon and these were the only ones worth speaking of in their collection. Their list was composed of about 15 publications of a low price. The Boston

¹ The Constitution a Pro-Slavery Contract, by Wendell Phillips, Boston, 1844.

office contained books of a higher order and in greater numbers. The whole collection however was insignificant. I suppose That \$500 or certainly \$1000 would have purchased all in the office. You hear but little of *this sect*. They do not enter much into the general movements of society. The things which do affect the thoughts of men and consequently the movements of society are the various and continual condemnations that this institution receives. The legislatures, anniversary orators and poets, ministers of the Gospel, teachers, all combine in impressing a fixed sentiment in the people, that slavery is a sin and a folly—that it injures the country the master the slave.

I fully agree with you that we should have no share in a convention to make a President tho' I find I am almost alone. The outbreak of the Barnburners in New York has given our people a hope that the party organisation will fall into our hands and we can make the President. They wish to profit by it. I confess a profound indifference to the election of any Democrat north of the Potomac. Mr. Woodbury even if he could receive a nomination would have no chance of an election and I think *his* election is not so desirable as to make us bend a principle to attain it. The Whigs must be infatuated if they fail to elect the next President. I shall be passive henceforth unless you have some counsel that can move me from that condition. I have done so much work in the way of *disorganisation* that I feel reluctant to enter upon a new one and this one is thought to be wholly unjustifiable. I joined a Taylor meeting last summer. My object was to put before the public the principles that I approved on this subject and to prepare for a war on Messrs Wright or Buchanan in case of the nomination of either. I see no motive for desiring the present organisation of the party and I wish to see the issue of events now before us before making a new one.

I also concur with you in the opinion that we should put an end to this constant warfare upon Slavery. Already it has impoverished our credit and it daily weakens our moral power. Our states are fast losing their respectability. The tide of emigration flows past them. They are carefully avoided. Our people look to the future without confidence and our Slaves are emerging above their condition not in intellect or

moral culture but in feeling and temper. They begin to understand that society is being moved on their account. The abolitionists profess a revolutionary purpose. They openly promulgate a design to subvert the Union. The other classes of the Northern people perform all the acts of the abolitionists without avowing the same purposes.

I agree too that a newspaper at Washington City would do great good tho' I fear it will ultimately fail for the want of subscription. I am willing to aid in the project.

I have troubled you with a long letter for which please pardon me and believe me to be Sincerely

Y^r friend

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

From Ellwood Fisher.

C. C.

Cincinnati 12 Mo 4. 1847

DEAR FRIEND . . . I was in Louisville a few days ago, and Clay was at the same Hotel. I had two long conversations with him almost without interruption on the leading topics of the day. He is thoroughly northern in his notions of Slavery; and thinks it will at no distant period be abolished even in tropical regions. He is however not well versed, either in the facts or principles of the question. He was at first impressed with the notion that Slavery would be excluded from any territory acquired from Mexico, and this by the law of nations until Congress by positive enactment established it there. He held that inasmuch as a conquered Territory must be governed by its previous laws until new ones were imposed by the conqueror, that therefore slavery, not now existing there, must remain excluded until Congress instituted it. But I observed that whenever the acquisition was made, Congress must pass laws for its government as a territory, and must either define what should constitute property in it, and thus positively exclude or admit slavery, or give to a territorial Legislature the right generally of passing all laws not incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the United States, and thus leave the question of slavery to people who should settle there. He maintained however that if the latter

course were adopted the South would be sure of exclusion as the population already there were Mexican and opposed to Slavery. But I asked whether the Mexican population were to be allowed to vote. He thought they would be *of course*. I replied that I thought they would *not be* of course. He finally admitted that whether Congress pronounced affirmatively or remained passive on the question depended on the manner in which it was presented.

By the way, what will the Administration do on this question in its policy of armed occupation? If our army should be large enough to repress insurrection or prevent it, and our people are tempted to emigrate to Mexico, is the municipal law of Mexico to prevail, so as to exclude slavery? If so many of the Abolitionists and Proviso men will be in favour of armed occupation.

Clays speech has not united his party in this State. Its leaders prefer McLean, and a large portion would prefer Corwin. But I think Clay is now predominant. I think he will find it difficult to hold Kentucky if a proper candidate is presented against him. His speech has enured largely to thy benefit, in that State as well as of course further South on the Slavery question, and every where on the War question. I admire the boldness with which he pronounced the preamble to the supply bill "a lie," and his rebuke of those who voted for it. As for his notion of a vigorous prosecution of the War if Mexico won't make peace on his terms, many of his warm friends dissent from it and prefer thy policy of a defensive line, amongst the rest the Louisville Journal.

I saw General Butler before he started for Mexico and he is yet in favour of a defensive line. He would take the western base of the Sierra Madre which he thinks could be held by the regular army. And he prefers it not because he would insist on making it the boundary but because it would afford a margin for concession in treating for peace.

I observe that the Union is attempting to under rate the expenses of the War, as if fearful that even all its glory will not reconcile the people to the public debt and high taxes following in its train.

I expect to be in Washington some time in the session but am not now able to say when.

With great regard thy friend

ELLWOOD FISHER

From H. W. Conner.

C. C.

Charleston Dec^r 8, 1847

MY DEAR SIR I rec^d last night the letter of which the inclosed is a copy, and I hasten to communicate it to you. The M^r Peters referred to, you know I think. He is a whig of the worst Sort being averse to any Movement adverse to the wilnot proviso. As he said nothing to my correspondent touching Gen^l Taylors views on that Subject, I infer if any thing was said at all, it was not favourable to his (M^r Peters) views.

I called up at the Hotel the morning after you left, and then only learned you were gone.

I have encouraged our friends here to keep quiet for the present as to Gen^l Taylor and all other Candidates for the Presidency and have written to Co^l Hayne at Columbia who would see Co^l Elmore advising them of the information I have (which I think is about the earliest) and recommending them to keep our friends quiet for the present. The feeling however in favour of Gen^l Taylor I perceive is *Very, Very* strong in his favour even here and it will I think increase rapidly. The sooner his position can be made definite with regard to us is therefore the better.

When you write us it were perhaps better you should write 1st. with a view to informing our friends here generally as to the state of things and the policy to be adopted to[ward] them and next to give some of us your views and wishes more fully in private. your own better judgment will however best determine.

Very Truly Yrs

H W CONNER

[Copy, Enclosed.]

New Orleans 2^d. Dec^r. 1847

MY DEAR SIR. You are no doubt aware that General Taylor is here, or rather at the Barracks, six miles below the City.

I have just seen Mr. Peters, who, in company with several gentlemen, committee of arrangements for his reception &c, met him at the Balize and accompanied him to his present quarters. To Mr. Peters he expressed himself openly and frankly, *stating unequivocally that he is a candidate for the Presidency, and this position he intends to maintain*, no matter how many Richmonds there be in the field or whatever may be their present political position or standing, and *that under no circumstances will he withdraw*.

If popular feeling be any test of success, Gen^l. Taylor is certain to be the next President—nothing, I apprehend, short of Omnipotent power can prevent this result.

Whatever may be the feeling towards other prominent men, it amounts to nothing, compared with the universal sentiment in favor of the General.

What I now state in regard to the General's determination, is so direct that you may rely upon its accuracy, and those who scrutinize the effect of change may discover the probable influence such an event may have on the future action of the Government and on the prosperity of the Country.

Yours truly

From James Gadsden.

c. c.

Charleston S C Dec 9 1847

The Hon^l J C Calhoun

I greatly regret I did not meet you on your way to Washington. You stated you would be in the City on 25 and I postponed my visit to the 29th. My presence was necessary in Columbia on that day.

I was exceedingly anxious of a long and friendly conversation—and on many matters which escape you on the sheet. The Political movements are pregnant with events. The election of Winthrop would argue more harmony in the Whigs than was generally supposed. Their Union will stimulate union among that wing of Democracy with which Carolina does not fraternize. The No Convention Anti Wilmot Proviso candidate is the man for the South. To you your immediate friends look with a fidelity which has never been shaken; and in candor I was sanguine that your course on the Mexican war, the Oregon Boundary &c &c had placed you in the very

position which I have always desired to see you, the Independent Ante Convention Candidate. But Taylor will occupy the same ground; and his great military popularity (I don't speak merely of its availability) will be a serious impediment I fear to any movement for you on the same grounds, with success. Many of Taylors most ardent admirers and who are bound to him by other ties than military fame or political statesmanship, are likewise your friends. They feel a divided influence and these with others, and the People, in many cases will create a diversion probably fatal to both. What are your views? What can be done to promote Union. I am individually so opposed to the Spoil party; who have more than once deceived us; that I can take no part with any other than an Ante Convention Candidate—My preferences have always [been] and continue for you, above all in the Country but if your high claims are to be again postponed: let us know early the intentions; that concert of action may be certain to secure the triumph of one who will not court our influence to deceive and who will stand by the guarantees of the constitution as the Political Bible of the States. I write in *confidence*, expecting a response in the same feeling. I have individually been drawn into, or reconciled to political movements in the past that my judgment did not approve of at the time. I went however with others with whom I have always associated politically, but they like myself perhaps now see how we have been deceived. I desire an early Answer. See Holmes. Our views correspond.

Yours truly,

JAMES GADSDEN

*From Waddy Thompson.*¹

C. C.

Greenville Dec 18. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR. I see that the madness which rules the hour is increasing and seems literally to grow by what it feeds on. I have already spread upon the record my protest from the very commencement of this ill advised Mexican war. I have

¹ Gen. Waddy Thompson, a Whig M. C. from South Carolina from 1835 to 1841, who had afterwards (1842-1844) been minister to Mexico, on which country he wrote a book of importance, was now a planter at Greenville. (See Calhoun's letter to him of October 29, 1847, *supra*.)

no wish or purpose to publish another line on the subject. But if the suggestions which I now make have any weight they will be more useful in your hands than any other. Will the governments of Europe France and England especially consent to our subjugating Mexico? I have very many reasons for saying they will not—some of these reasons not in the possession of every one. Can we prosecute the war if those countries interpose—our supplies and reinforcements must be sent by sea. Their combined navies in the gulph of Mexico without a single soldier on land would at once put an end to the war. Shall we run the risk of such intervention and all the consequences of the conflict which will ensue, or the equally painful alternative of being forced to abandon the war? There will certainly be such an intervention unless we assume the debt of Mexico. If we take the foreign we must take the domestic debt also. That debt is not less than 100 millions. Is the country worth this sum to us besides the annual cost of keeping in subjection an insubordinate and habitually rebellious people, a people indolent vicious and producing nothing for foreign Commerce but the precious metals, and this their single product costing more than its value? The same labor in manufactures or agriculture is much more profitable than the average labor in mining operations in Mexico. To say nothing of the difficulty of keeping in subjection as a province eight millions of people. What history furnishes any instance of such a result? I know of none. To receive them into the Union is impossible. Such a measure would ipso facto dissolve the Union. To which segment would Mexico belong? And would that fraction have power to retain it? Before this war a majority of the people of the Northern departments would have been in favor of a union with us. I do not believe that one per cent of our people would have consented to such a union. How much more onerous and less desirable would such a Union be when forced upon Mexico. All the incompatibility of language race religion education and institutions will occur to every one. Is the country desirable per se, even if we could get it free from the encumbrance of its heterogeneous vicious and hostile population? I do not think that it is. I am quite sure that there is no portion of our own vacant territory

which is not more desirable to such a population as ours. We have the authority of Humboldt that in the latitude of Mexico sugar and cotton will not grow above the elevation of 2000 feet on the whole gulph coast the mountains come down almost to the sea shore. I believe that from Matamoras to Alvarado the average distance from the sea at which that elevation is attained is not more than fifty miles. On the route from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, it is not twenty miles. This narrow belt is generally sterile and precipitous mountains and the worst climate on this continent the very home of yellow fever. Would any sensible farmer abandon the advantages of the Valley of the Mississippi or of Texas for such a country. Beyond this narrow belt the land is generally poor and entirely destitute of timber, generally more sterile than any equal portion of the United States with which I am acquainted. But if it were otherwise, if well-timbered and as rich as the Nile, there is the conclusive and insuperable objection that there is not and never can be the means of transportation. Suppose a farmer having corn and wheat (and the grains are all that can be cultivated) one hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast will the price for which he can sell them pay for the transportation? The average distance will be more than twice that. If he raises stock what can he do with it? if he kills it he cannot cure it even on the table lands. The coldest weather even there is very much like our warm April weather, and meat can not be well cured. But if it could can it be transported by land two or three hundred miles and compete with the supplies from our inexhaustible west, which are sent by water from the very doors of the farmers. If they drive it to the seaboard and kill it putrefaction will begin before it is cut up and salted. These are no new opinions advanced now for the sake of argument. I have always believed that Mexico could never become a great farming country for the simple reason that it has not and never can have the means of transportation to market. The climate is delicious and the country just suited to a lazy people like the Mexicans, whose highest idea of happiness is the "dolce farniente". What earthly good can come of diffusing our people over such an extent and sending them to a country where their labor will be so much less profitable? But to us

of the South it is positive madness. If it was proposed to annex Canada and the British possessions all would see what an overwhelming addition would be made to the power of the free states. It is not more certain that those states would be nonslaveholding than that these Mexican states will. It is nakedly a proposition to add fifteen or twenty non slaveholding states to our union—woe to the Southern man who lends his aid to doing that.

This Mexican country is the natural outlet to some extent for our negro population. If anything can prevent this it will be the erection of dykes to arrest it by planting non slaveholding American states on our Mexican border.

I do not design this as even a summary of the argument upon this vitally important question. All the leading views I know have occurred to you. It may be that some of these have not and I cannot give you a higher evidence of my conviction of the deep importance of the issues involved nor of my respect for your course upon the subject than by suggesting them to you.

Respectfully and truly Yours

WADDY THOMPSON

From J. A. Campbell.

C. C.

Mobile, December 20 1847.

DEAR SIR You have heard before this of Mr. Lewis's¹ election and Col. King's defeat. As Col. King was bound up with the Northern democrats of a very doubtful order, and as he was the candidate of the Hunkers here, this was a work very well done. Mr. Lewis I fear has made pledges which will greatly embarrass him and estrange his friends in this section. He pledged himself I learn to abide a National Convention for the selection of a candidate *preferring* a northern man. He pledged himself to sustain Mr. Polk further than his message calls for support.

In this he will not be upheld. You know what a rough piece of work we have had to perform in this state.

¹Dixon H. Lewis was reelected to the United States Senate by the Alabama legislature on December 18, one of the opposing candidates being William R. King.

The overthrow of Van Buren and his dynasty has not been completed without an effort. With me (and I can say the same as to the most of our friends) the spoils principle was the great and cardinal principal in their party government to which our hostility was directed. That principle had its entire force communicated to it by the use they made of the caucus system. I thought I observed a decided change among some of our friends upon my return in reference to that system. They supposed that the party organisation had passed into our hands in consequence of the movements in New York. It is not so. Even here in Alabama we can not defeat them. I tell you and Mr. Lewis too that if Silas Wright had lived we could not have prevented his nomination except by the use of Mr. Buchanan's name.

It was a profound conviction of our inability to meet those men successfully with any democrat I could name that induced me (of course there were other reasons) to favour the Taylor movement. They (Hunkers) at once spoke of Woodbury to hush our mouths on the subject of Taylor. The plain reason of this is, that the Mountain democracy command the State and our politicians defer to their wishes. The whole of the talent of the democratic party in this State is with us but, the county leaders are not. And our leaders are unwilling to combat. They succumb continually to those mountaineers.

The whole strength of the Hunkers of this State will be given to Buchanan. He is the administration candidate in the South. He expects the South to aid him against a Wilmot Proviso Northern man. How can we get rid of him! There is but one mode. It is for some public men to take bold decided ground against him. I will not vote for him myself. I will vote for no man whose foreign policy has been so shamefully defective in sound judgment and whose personal character is so equivocal. I refer now to his transactions between Genl. Jackson and Mr. Clay in 1825 and his assertion that Mr. Polk was a better friend of a Protective Tariff than Mr. Clay.

What can we do? Cass has taken so much pains to estrange us that it would be a pity if we disappointed him.

Dallas loses caste from his connections with Polk. He seems to want position and character.

Mr. Woodbury has reached quite as high a place as Nature ever intended he should fill. He has been true to us. He can be depended on as a party man. I am willing to vote for him as a party candidate. Looking above the party can we hope any good from his nomination? It would create a schism in every northern State in the democratic party. He has no hold on the popular favor. He has no public services to gild his pretensions. He was a prominent member of the Senate and supported the party creed and that is all we can say. He would be nominated as the Southern candidate at the North. Has he any popularity at the South? His connection as Vice President with a ticket having your name as President upon it induces some to think kindly of him. His fidelity in the Texas and Tariff struggles endears him to others.

Has he any popularity with the voters? Could one in ten thousand repeat a single word that he has ever spoken. Is he identified with anything save the Pet bank system and Swartwouts failure? If you encourage Mr. Woodbury's pretensions you may take my word, that you will only receive in return defeat. I do not think at the North he can unite the Barnburning democrats to him in any of the States and in the South he has no popularity. The contest in his absence is then between Dallas and Buchanan supposing Cass and Van Buren out of the way. In that contest Buchanan has the advantage all over the country. The signs point to him directly as the future nominee of the party.

It comes then at last to this, what can we do? The perils of a party contest seem to me so imminent—the introduction at Baltimore of the disgraceful scenes that were witnessed at Syracuse appears so probable that for one, I am disposed to part with a party organisation.

At present there is but one principle on which it is sought. That principle is deadly to the Constitution and Union. It is to give full support to Mr. Polk and his administration. To carry out the infamous design of destroying the nationality of Mexico.

We cannot support Mr. Clay nor Mr. Lean—nor Crittenden—nor Corwin—we cannot be transmuted into Whigs.

We must find a man who will not accept a party nomination. General Taylor is that man.

In reference to the territory question. It appears to me that the Southern people will be found in a weak position if they insist on the acquisition of territory.

In reference to that subject it appears to me that the just grounds, upon which to place ourselves is that we desire none and ask for none for the purpose of strengthening our institutions but we will not suffer those institutions to be weakened by the action of Congress. If territory is acquired we insist on our share but we have no wish to make the acquisition. I was pleased with Mr. Clay's resolution of disavowal. It was of the same nature as your own opposition to the war. I have continually disavowed for the South and have indignantly resented the imputation of a purpose on the part of our people to spread slavery or any other institutions by means of this war. The impression has been industriously made upon the Northern people that this was the end for which the war was proclaimed. Your opposition to the war has been the most ready answer to such aspersions. We require vindication. We require a moderate and even a self-denying course of conduct in all matters connected with the settlement of the terms of the peace. Let us have peace we shall not quarrel about the terms. In having a peace with Mexico we must not transfer the war so that it shall reach our homes. I say we should have the Northern people to settle the peace as they like and to arrange the questions of territory (within proper bounds) but always with the *PROVISO* that no inequality should result. We should be the *Proviso* men, on that ground we should make our stand.

I have written to New Orleans for the information you desire in regard to Gen^l Taylor.

Very Respectfully, Yrs

J. A. CAMPBELL.

*From Francis Lieber.*¹

C. C.

Columbia S. C. 29^h. December 1847

DEAR SIR, The class of which your son is a member has requested me to resume a certain kind of lectures which I call

¹ Dr. Francis Lieber, the famous jurist, was professor of history and political economy in the South Carolina College at Columbia from 1835 to 1856.

Newspaper Lectures, and in which it is my endeavour to explain all the leading events and transactions as they occur around us, and to teach the students how to read the papers of the day with profit so as to extract and properly to deposit in the mind all that is important in this fleeting and perishable species of literature, reminding them continually of the two facts that what happens to-day is history to-morrow and that no history is more difficult to be got at than that of the 25 or 30 years immediately preceding us.

I requested your son to beg you to send us in documents or papers whatever you do not want. I will turn it to the best account according to my poor abilities. I know you will approve of my plan, and I beg to repeat here the same request which your son may already have communicated to you.

I can only give the best accounts of your son. He is a gentleman and a student.

Will you permit me to beg of you the kindness to send the enclosed to the address?

Why do so few Southern papers mention your resolutions? At least so it seems to me.

In England I make little doubt but that in [such] a conjuncture as the present one in the Congress is, an administration must resign. Our Constitutional fabric does not admit—or, at least not require it.

I am with sentiments of high respect
Your very obedt
F. LIEBER

P. S. I suppose I hardly need add that in my Newspaper Lectures I am constantly mindful that I am paid by the *State*, and have no right to use my chair for propagandism of specific and personal views, although I am aware that a professor is no abstract being—no empty bottle, and that what he considers sacred truth he may not only, but is bound to teach; so, for instance, Free Trade with me. It is for the trustees to see that they appoint the right man as to vital points. I stand in this respect upon the same footing, I think, with our professor of Christian Evidence. He must not use his chair to preach sectarian views, but he can not float in the clouds of indifference above protestantism and Catholicism.

From Alexander Bontie.

C. C.

Fife, Tal^a 19 Jan'y, 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I am much gratified to learn, through Mr. Bowdon a few weeks since, that he left you at your post, enjoying excellent health, and evincing all the vigor of your earlier days. If the anxious wishes of your numerous friends (of whom I claim to be one of the earliest, warmest and most constant) could perpetuate this condition of health vigor and usefulness, you would never be otherwise. I have been long desirous of possessing your opinions and views on some matters of political interest; which I cannot well obtain otherwise than by a free conversation; and therefore, I am more than ever anxious to see you at my house. I have your promise to come this way on your next visit to Alabama, unless you should travel under circumstances which will compel you to take another route. As next summer will be your long vacation, I have great hopes of seeing you then.

We are looking with intense interest upon the proceedings of your present session. What will be the end of the agitation of the Slave question? Till now, I have never dreaded it much; because I believed we had the power and the will to arrest it whenever it became absolutely necessary to act. *Now*, I greatly fear I have miscalculated the energy and spirit of our people upon this subject. If the question should, at this moment, be made, between submission to the claims of the abolitionists and the dissolution of the union, I am by no means sure that our people would not give up their unquestionable rights, to preserve a union which would then become a curse instead of a blessing. At all events, I am confident there would be much division amongst us, even upon that question. You and I know, whatever others may believe, that the Nullifiers of '32 were the truest friends of the Union, although regarded by many, as its worst enemies—because we sought to perpetuate the Union by preserving the Constitution. I have long believed that if the Slave states would, unitedly and firmly, take the position that they must be *let alone* on this subject, or they would secede in a body, all agitation, at least all worth regarding, would instantly cease.

I believe so, because I know that our friends in the free states are too much alive to their own interests, and too acute in perceiving where they lie, to be willing to surrender the advantages they derive from a union with us, for any advantage they could reasonably hope to obtain by continuing the agitation. I should like to have your views upon the probable result of this question, and particularly your opinion as to what will be the proper course for us to pursue, if the question shall be pushed to extremes. I can see no remedy but secession. I see by the papers that you have written the report to be made to the meeting of the Southern members on this question, and ask the favor of you, if it is printed in pamphlet, to send me a copy. Please also send me (or ask Gov. Fitzpatrick to send me) a copy of Mr. Walker's report on the Ware-housing system.

Shall we have a renewal of Whig measures with the incoming Whig administration? If so, you will have to fight over again your old battles; and the Democratic party will once more learn to speak laudingly of you because they will have use for you. Whilst I always feel proud of your position of independence, I often feel depressed on account of its difficulties. To be a politician and an honest man at the same time, is now the most difficult character in the world to maintain. I ought not, however, to rank you as a politician—your aim is to be a statesman, and it is the only virtuous aim. I should like, above all things, to talk with you about Mr. Polk's administration. With one exception (the Mexican War) it appears to me to have been about the best we have had for a long time. At least, he has come nearer fulfilling the pledges with which he went into office, than has been common of late days.

I did not intend when I sat down, to trouble you with so long a communication. But I find myself, often now, afflicted with the proverbial garrulity of old age, and when I begin to write I hardly know when to quit. I know you will excuse me for making this draft on your patience, while I assure you of the sentiments of sincere regard, with which I am

Your old and constant friend

A. BOWIE.

From Henry Gourdin.¹

C. C.

Charleston Jan'y 19, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote to you yesterday, and alluded to resolutions offered in the Senate by Mr. Butler.² It seems that we had not a correct representation of them—this days mail gives them to us as they were offered, and they appear to me to be right and proper, viz. to increase the Army by filling up the rank and file of regiments already in existence. This mode of increasing the Army would be in keeping with the long established and well understood principles of the Military Organization of the Army.

In your letter to Mr. Conner you seem to be under the impression that Mr. Dickinson's resolutions³ have not been noticed in the Mercury. They were very ably reviewed some days since, and I will endeavour to obtain the paper and send it to you. There was a very good article in it this morning also on the Wilmot Proviso and Genl. Cass' opinions, to which I would call your attention. The two articles referred to are indicated by your two letters. If you desire that the papers in this State should continue to agitate these questions you should I think intimate, as far as you can, what they should do, or in other words on what platform they should stand. Thus far, all that has been said and done, has been merely to object to the various schemes put forward by Wilmot Dickinson Cass &c. No scheme has been offered, or recommended by us, and unless something be defined our papers may run on beyond the point desired, and you may find them some day running counter to your own views and opinions, in anticipation. We presume that your opinions are embodied in Mr. Yulee's resolutions viz. that neither Congress, or the Legislatures in the Territories, have any Constitutional right to abolish or prevent Slavery in them.

I give the substance, not the words. It would be an excellent thing, and very desirable, that some course should be determined on that the whole South would unite upon, and then, through particular parties having influence with the

¹ A prominent supporter of Calhoun in Charleston.

² On January 18.

³ The resolutions in favor of Mexican annexations introduced in the Senate on December 14, 1847, by Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York.

press throughout the Country, get them to come out [and] advocate the plan adopted. I think that it might be done by yourself and the representatives of the Southern States in Washington.

We are all pleased here with the Resolutions of the Legislature of Maryland.

I am Dear Sir, Very truly & resp^y Your Ob^t Sev^t

H. GOURDIN.

From Henry Gourdin.

C. C.

Charleston Feby 4. 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I have to own rec^t. of your favor, but cannot refer to its date as Mr. Connor has it for perusal. Mr. Bagby's resolutions¹, and Mr. Yulee's amendments, will be noticed in the Mercury in a day or two.

A report has reached Charleston that Gen^l. Quitman,² and Mr. Dallas will be the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President. From all I can learn, Gen^l. Quitman would be a more desirable candidate for us than any one who has yet been named. He was a Nullifier with us in 1832, and this is the best guarantee for his Southern feelings, and his States rights opinions. Mr. Dallas is also the best man we can find in the North after Mr. Woodbury. The combination is a good one, and the party who has named them strongly urges their immediate nomination in the State. I do not concur in this move however, and have discouraged it as far as I am concerned. The combination is a good one; but can they be elected? My impression is that the Nomination, especially should it be first made in South Carolina, w^d. be regarded as a Southern one, and that would be quite sufficient to unite a large portion of every party in the North against it, while in the South, so great is the progress which Gen^l. Taylor has made in Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia, that unless he comes out with some declarations which the Southern States cannot stomach, he will carry the South against any party or ticket that can be named. At the same time he would have a much

¹ Resolutions offered January 25 by Senator Bagby, of Alabama, denying the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in territory acquired by conquest.

² John A. Quitman, of Mississippi.

larger vote in the West than Gen^l. Quitman. However favourable therefore to the nomination suggested, we may be compelled ourselves to support Gen^l. Taylor to overthrow those of our opponents, who, on the Slave question, are entirely opposed to us, and it would not be wise to place ourselves in a hostile position to him. Besides So. Ca. cannot make the President, and we have consequently nothing to lose by delay, and it would therefore be madness to commit ourselves to any nomination or party. Let others nominate; we will select and decide afterwards, as they may declare themselves.

The nomination to which I have referred comes from Washington. Pray have you heard anything about it? I have only heard it from one quarter and thus far regard it more as a feeler than any thing else.

I am very resp^d and truly Your ob^t. Sev^t.

H. GOURDIN.

There is little chance of any portion of our people or the press, committing themselves by any hasty nomination. I write the above, but with no apprehension of its being done, however anxious some may be to bring it about. M^r. Yulee opposes, I understand, the Confirmation of the Contract made with our Havana Company by the Post Master General. Can you not put him right in the Matter? The Bill as passed required us to go into St. Augustine, which is impossible, because there is not water on the bar by three to six feet, and if the Post Master had insisted on an impossibility, the enterprise must have been abandoned. Our Florida friend and M^r. T. B. King of the House of Representatives are most unreasonable, and I do hope that their selfishness in this Matter may not be permitted to be exercised to our injury, and the injury of our Port.

*From Albert Gallatin.*¹

C. C.

New York March 3^d 1848.

MY DEAR SIR—The issue, on the subject of peace with Mexico, seems to be altogether changed by the contingent Project negotiated by M^r Trist and submitted by the Presi-

¹ Albert Gallatin (1761-1849) Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison, had taken an active part in movements against the annexation and war with Mexico. His pamphlets on Peace with Mexico (1847) and War Expenses (1848) had a very large circulation.

dent to the Senate. The annexation of Texas was both expedient and natural, indeed ultimately unavoidable; and, whether annexed or not, it must necessarily be a slave holding State, so long as slavery existed in the United States. I differed in opinion with you, as to the time and manner of effecting the object, under the strong apprehension that these would produce a war with Mexico. But now I am confident that we agree on the importance of making the project, the foundation of a speedy termination of the war; and of a solid and permanent peace.

One of the great obstacles is the question of slavery; and it is highly desirable, that this should not impede the progress of the negotiations for peace, and that, if practicable without committing either party, the discussion of that subject should be postponed for the present and left open for subsequent consideration. I will also acknowledge that I have the most rooted aversion to the annexation of New Mexico to our Union.

In the next place, without regard to right, and only in reference to a solid and permanent peace, I lay under the most intimate conviction, that the desert between the Nueces and the Rio Norte should be made the boundary between Texas and Mexico; and that if the lower part of the Rio Norte is adhered to, it will necessarily produce collisions and the renewal of a war of conquest.

I have ventured to commit to paper my view on both points, and submit them to your consideration. My suggestions on the first subject may appear fanciful and appear impracticable: and I hope that some better mode, having the same object in view, may be devised. On the subject of the Rio Norte boundary, I have no hesitation and feel that it is of paramount importance.

But I pray that, on this occasion, [I] may be altogether kept out of view. I send it confidentially only to the six or seven Senators with whom I am acquainted (Exaltados excepted.)

Pleased to accept the reiterated assurance of my most distinguished consideration and of my most sincere personal regard.

Respectfully your obed^t. and faithful Servant

ALBERT GALLATIN.

*From Jno. G. Tod.*¹

C. C.

City of Mexico, April 5th 1848.

Mr CALHOUN, I have been mortified to find that the letters that I sent by the British Courier of the 13th of Feb. had not reached New Orleans by the 9th of March!

I sent you a half sheet by that conveyance, believing that it would go forward with dispatch, and that the news with us, about the Peace prospect, would interest you.

The Treaty has arrived, and great difference of opinion prevails as to its probable fate. Those having the responsibility of affairs think we will have Peace in Sixty days, or less time. The truth is, that thus far all the efforts of the Executive Government to get the Congress together have failed; but the prospect is in favor of its assembling in all of this Month. Many good Mexicans, however, do not desire Peace, they want the Country to be occupied by our Troops, this policy gives them an assurance of security for life and property, and affords them a prospect of diminishing the power and influence of the Church; which doubtless, is a greater Curse upon the People, than every thing else put together. The Roman Religion here is not what it is with us in the U. States. If it was not for some of its forms and ceremonies, and its professions, it might as well be call by any other name.

The public mind at present here appears absorbed entirely, by One of those horrid Murders that that shock a community and disgraces humanity.

Some twelve individuals attempted the other night, to rob, in the most thronged part of the City, an extensive Mercantile house, by going from the top of the adjoining building, and letting themselves down by a rope-ladder. The Chief Clerk, a gentleman of great worth, was Killed; the robbers did not succeed in getting any Money, as the firing of pistols attracted different persons and they fled; not however, in time for all of them to escape, as one, or two, were apprehended, since then five or six more have been Caught. Amongst those already in Custody are two Officers, the 1st and 2nd Lieutenants of Captain Naylor's Company of Penn: Volunteers. The Adj: of the 2nd Regiment of Penn: Vols: is

¹Apparently an ex-captain of the Texas navy.

also implicated, and they are after him at present. This horrible and lamentable affair, has done more to degrade the American Character in this Country, and will wherever known, than any thing that has occurred since the Declaration of our Independence. If the Texas Rangers had been in this City and these scoundrels had not been apprehended, I am sure that they would have been suspected, for they had been made the 'Scape goats for all acts of barbarity, as the Mexicans were ready to believe that they would do every thing, no matter how horrible.

If you were in this City for one day, to see and observe the dreadful state of Morals amongst our Troops, you would not be surprised at the outrages committed here daily against society and humanity.

I have always, on proper occasions, denounced the course pursued here by our authorities, in legalizing Gambling houses, and places of resort called "Ball Rooms", which are mere receptacles for a profligacy and corruption unknown, since the downfall of Venice! Not one decent Mexican Lady would dare ever to think of going to a Ball here?—And no American Gentleman, according to the acceptation of the word at home. Yet the rooms are crowded with our Officers Night after Night.

As for the Gambling houses, there is a constant crowd, Sabbath as well as week days, around the Tables—Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Grey Headed Men and beardless Youths, Married and Single: hundred of Whom keep Women, and openly appear in public with them. These things, with drinking, brings down the standard of our morals to a degree, below the conception of Americans at home. Our Generals, and superior Officers looking for political preferment at a future day, do not possess the firmness and moral courage sufficient to discountenance, and rebuke the vicious habits, that are degrading the character of our Flag: and that is destined in time to roll back a tide of vice and corruption upon our Country, that will be felt by many, when the glory of this war has departed.

Bands of desperate Men,—Gamblers and vicious Soldiers,—prowl about, robbing and murdering,—extending their out-

rages to the Neighboring Haciendas—All resulting from vices that have been winked at and tolerated by those to whom are entrusted the honor of our Flag. Many young men, who are the pride of their friends, and the hope of their Parents, will return home to bring down their grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Like causes produce like results, and nine-tenths of the inmates of our Penitentiaries, and Criminals whose outrages shock humanity, terminated their career in the path that is crowded here to excess by our Officers. I say nothing about the common soldier. My desire “to see the world and study Mankind” never yet has induced me to visit the “dark places of the earth”, or the purlieus and sinks of villany, as shadowed forth in this City. Vice does not degrade the Mexican in his own mind, it is a part of his religion: but with our people, it is different. It makes us abandoned to all restraints of Society, and many who are now here, that were an honor to our country, would doubtless, if they were Sailors turn Pirates, when this war is over; but as it is, they will return home to add to the number of those who are a curse to any community.

I do not wish you, Mr Calhoun, to think that I set myself up as a regulator of other Mens’ Morals, or profess the spirit of the Pharisee, but the outrages here at times, would make any Man reflect, who is not drawn within the vortex of dissipation. What is to be the result of it, God only knows. This is a Melancholy subject to write upon, let alone to *send* to a Patriot, and a lover of his Country. Yet it is well that the truth should be known at times, however disagreeable. Foreign Wars if conducted with results that seem likely to accrue from this, would so degrade an army, that they would be ready for any thing, that would give them “a lift” without the efforts of honest industry.

I have just had a conversation with an agreeable, intelligent Mexican, who is lately from Queretaro. He is an advocate for Peace, but fears it would be a long while before it can be brought about, the President is doing all in his power to get the Members of Congress together, even sending them Money to travel upon; as the want of it was their apology for not appearing in their Seats. They have written back, that it

was not received! A party there, are for bringing back Santa Anna and make him *Dictator*, but it is thought they will not do so, until Peace is ratified.

Yr: ob: Serv't:

JNO. G. TOD

From H. W. Conner.

c. c.

Charleston April 13 1848

MY DEAR SIR I have rec^d your letters of the 4th and 6th and have lost no time in giving currency to your views upon going into the Convention. The Mercury will in [an] editorial give the substance of your remarks in a day or two, but beyond this and the circulation of your views through private channels we have thought it not advisable to go at present. In truth we *are afraid* to excite discussion or even attention to the subject knowing as we do the strong and decided repugnance the people have to a passive or neutral line of policy. It is not the going into the Convention that they are anxious for. On the contrary most people see numerous and strong objections to such a course but all concur I think in the propriety and necessity of definite and combined action of some sort amongst the Southern States and in which S^c will play her part and it is with a view to this result that the going to the Convention finds so many advocates. On the receipt of your letter a Conference of a few of your principal friends was held here to talk the matter over and see what was best to be done to keep ourselves in position and at the same time prevent a division amongst ourselves, and they all admitted your arguments to be unanswerable as to a Convention both in principle and in practice but they were equally unanimous that we ought *to do something* in common with the other Slave holding States who participate in our views and principles. This is the whole secret of the desire to move upon the Baltimore Convention, not because it is a Convention, but that the other Southern States are going there. Some of them with the declared intention of resisting any nomination and any move adverse to the rights of the South and particularly because it is thought some combined action of the South may then be adopted whose influence will be felt there and that may also be brought effectively into play hereafter

A plan was suggested by Co^l. Hayne that was thought might obviate some of the difficulties and I was requested to submit it for your consideration and I now enclose it and will be glad to hear from you in reply as early as convenient. The paper was sketched off hastily by Co^l Hayne with no other intention than of submitting it as a memorandum of the views he himself and others with whom he associated entertained. It will be sufficient however for the purpose of expressing his own views to you. All present concur in these views and consisted of M^r. Trenholm, Furman, Hayne Magreth Gourdin, Carew, and Hart. Co^l Elmore is not here, but from the conversation I held with him some days since I am sure he concurs in most part at least if not in the whole.

If deemed best I think we may evade for the present any movement at all touching a convention in any way; as the public mind is sufficiently occupied with subjects nearer home to them—even this however depends upon accident. If a move is attempted by any person or persons of influence it can't be stop'd but admitting that any decided move is evaded now it is sure to come at another time unless some definite mode of action is given to the people. *They will not stand idle and aloof.*

Very Truly yrs

H W. CONNER

*From Nathan Lord.*¹

C. C.

Dartm^o College April 19, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, I have taken the liberty to send herewith a Eulogy lately spoken by me on M^r Adams,² that I may ask your attention to that part of it which relates to the subject of Slavery. From the manner in which I have stated the issue of Slavery some of my friends have inferred that I lean to the Divine Right of that institution. I confess that leaning. But it is consequent upon comparatively recent and necessarily partial investigation, and I cannot yet fully justify to my

¹ Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College from 1828 to 1863, subsequently wrote Two Letters to Ministers of all Denominations on Slavery, 1854-1855, setting forth the Biblical argument for slavery.

² A Eulogy on the Honorable John Quincy Adams, Hanover, 1848.

own mind the impressions which are forcing themselves upon me. I wish to have a settled judgment. From my position in this Institution, particularly as a teacher of Moral and Political Philosophy, it is of consequence that I should have such a judgment, and that I should be always ready to give the reasons of it.

Therefore I take the liberty, which, though it ordinarily becomes not an absolute stranger, I shall rely on your known candor and generosity to excuse; namely of asking you to refer me to any authorities within your knowledge in which the argument for the Divine Right of Slavery in general, or Negro Slavery in particular is soundly and learnedly drawn out. And, if it be not too presumptuous I would also ask the favor of any suggestions from yourself which should seem to you useful in guiding an honest inquiry into this very difficult yet consequential subject.

If Slavery is of God the moral and religious people of the North ought to be convinced of it. Otherwise there will soon be no adequate restraint upon that levelling madness which is driving all things, the world over, as there is too much reason to fear, to a severe catastrophe; and not perhaps the least, though we least fear it, the people of our own country.

I am willing to believe any thing that is true, and, on proper occasions to profess any thing which I believe. But I would not give out presumptions for convictions, or put the interests which I represent in false or doubtful positions. I want light, which, at the North, it is difficult to obtain except on the surface of the whole matter. There is nothing in our Libraries or Journals that reaches directly the essential questions. There must be minds at the South which have been diligently set to work, in this respect; and I should esteem it a high favor to be put in the way of obtaining the results of their inquiries.

It has occurred to me that, if not now, yet in the recess of Congress, you might find a few moments of leisure, which you would willingly afford in giving me the benefit of your advice. I seek it only on my own personal account. Yet I have reference to those public interests to which your life has been ably and honorably devoted. I should not thus venture to obtrude myself but for the profound respect with which I

have been accustomed to regard your character, and your judgment upon questions which effect the most comprehensive and vital interests of the country.

I am, dear Sir, With great respect, Your obed^t Serv^t
N. LORD, Pres^t Dart. Coll.

From R. K. Crulle.

C.C.

Lynchburg, June 3rd. 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for the copies of your several speeches on the California Bill and the Yucatan Message,¹ the last of which reached me by the mail of Tuesday last. I had read Houston's report of it a day or two previously; and as a friend now attending the Superior Court here desired much to see it, I handed it to him on yesterday. He had heard from a brother lawyer of his acquaintance who had seen Houston's Report, that it was the ablest speech he had ever read. The questions involved are, indeed, presented with a force and clearness which surely must carry conviction to the minds of Congress, whatever course their subserviency to the Executive may compel them to take.

I am very glad that an opportunity has been offered for you to explain the true meaning, the intended scope of Mr. Monroe's famous cautionary protest in regard to European interference in the affairs of this Continent. It was high time to put the public right on so important a question; for as generally understood, as expounded by Mr. Polk, as announced every where by demagogues, it certainly was made to assume higher grounds than foreign Powers would be disposed to grant. I have heard much of it before, and never could fully comprehend on what principle so sweeping a claim could be defended. The wonder is that, being so often and so needlessly dragged into notice, in the State papers of the last twenty years, England has not, before this, inquired *by what authority we say these things*. I suppose no fit occasion has occurred to ask an explanation. But is it not likely that the recent treaty, convention, or manifesto, which I see published to day, in

¹ Works, IV, 454-479.

which England claims the *protectorship* of the Mosquito Shoals, and, as such, dictates terms to the government of Nicuragua, will bring the question more fully before the world? I remember, while you were in the Department of State, that some question arose as to the Course the British Government had adopted in order to get the control of the Country; and that you ~~expressed~~ some dissatisfaction at its proceedings. As well as I remember, some Indian of the Country, assumed to be of royal descent, was taken to Jamaica and educated and then placed in the formal possession of the Country; and who, in return for the favour, gave a sort of *political lien* on his territories. The particulars have, in some measure, escaped my memory; but these were the main points. You can ascertain them more in detail by calling on the Department, should Mr Polk make further demonstrations of his beligerent propensities. By the bye, this subject seems to me to be of far more importance than that of Yucatan; for if the Treaty be in fact, a *veritable matter*, it warrants the inference that England, looking to our future acquisitions in the South, is determined to erect a barrier across the Isthmus of Darien, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to secure the communication between the two by means of the Lake and the River San Juan. This communication I believe you thought impracticable on account of the extreme unhealthiness of the climate from the Lake to the Atlantic. But the movement, if it has been made or sanctioned by the Government, would seem to authorize a different conclusion.

The Baltimore nominations¹ have been received here with a good deal of *sang froid*. No exultation—no enthusiasm has been exhibited. The ticket is, in itself, a weak one; but by force of the Party machinery it will carry the State unless the Philadelphia convention² show some common sense, which I do not expect from them. I have published an article in the Paper which I enclose herewith, addressed to them, on the subject, but which I can hardly expect will have any the least influence. Numbers have been forwarded to many influential members of the Party; for the Proprietors of the Virginian,

¹ Of Cass and Butler.

² Of the Whigs.

as well as the rank and file here would be very glad to see its recommendations carried out by the Convention. In my opinion there is no other prospect of success either in this State or the Union. Unless they select some man, *without Party pledges*, they will be signally defeated. Taylor *may*, but you *certainly* would carry the election. But, as I have observed, the Leaders of the Party will demand the previous promise of the Spoils, which I know you will not give. But what will they do? As to Mr. Webster, Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Clay or Judge McLean, I do not see how they can indulge the slightest hope of success. And yet these present the only chances for a *strictly Party triumph*, and if they are forced to surrender that they must be forced to unite either on you or Genl. Taylor; and such is the feeling existing between the friends of Clay and Taylor, that each, I suspect, would prefer you to the other. But a few days will determine.

I am very curious to know what effect the nominations have produced on Messrs. Buchanan, Woodbury and their friends, and what part Walker and Dallas are playing. The two last, I doubt not, have kept the *first* pretty well hobbled for the last three years. Benton, I imagine, is thoroughly estranged. A gentleman lately in his company, informs me that he was become outrageous; and that, in speaking of you as likely to be brought before the Baltimore Convention, he broke out in his ordinary tone, "*No, Sir, no. Calhoun is too great a man—he is too pure a man ever to get the support of this mis-called Democratic Party.*" These are strange sentiments, indeed, coming from such a quarter. He spoke freely of the Party and its Leaders—denouncing both vehemently. Verily there is *nothing new under the Sun* if this be not.

I have not seen a detailed statement of the proceedings of the Baltimore Convention, and should be much obliged, if you should receive an extra copy, to have one for reference. I hear to day that in the latter end of the *feast*, there had nearly been the beginning of a *fray*, and that some resolutions affecting the subject of Slavery were very ominously *negatived* by the majority. And in this connection it occurs to me to call your attention to a late speech of Genl. Bayley, which seems to me to assert some most dangerous doctrines; and Mr. Rhett or some other Southern man ought to answer him at length. Has

he gone over to *the enemy*? He sent me his Speech, and I intend at my first leisure to call the attention of the public to it, for it seems to me to grant nearly all that Giddings himself would ask. . . .

Ever truly yours,

R. K. CRALLÉ

From John Tyler.

C. C.

Sherwood Forest Ch^s. City C^{ty}. in V^a. June 5, 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I thank you for the National Intelligencer containing your speech on the Yucatan question, which I have read with all the attention and interest with which I invariably do whatever proceeds from you. This Yucatan affair is quite an awkward one in any aspect in which it can be regarded. If that Province is to be looked upon as part and parcel of Mexico, then pending the war between that country and this, the insurrection which has arisen may be considered as actually favorable to us, while to take military possession would not only be useless, but would augment the difficulties of a final adjustment. If Yucatan claims to be an independent power and the U. States upon *her* solicitation, moves in the matter, such movement is equivalent to a recognition of her independance, and furnishes new motive to hatred on the part of Mexico. Is that country in a condition to be thus recognized? Is the Spaniard or the Indian in the mastery? You will remember that a somewhat similar case occurred during our time in regard to St Domingo. The Spanish portion of the Island claimed to be independant of the black sway, and appealed to us to be recognized sovereignty, asking our favor and protection. I believe moreover that it was ready to make an unconditional transfer of itself to the U. States. Our sympathies were strongly enlisted in its behalf, but we did not feel ourselves called upon to obey those sympathies or to involve ourselves in the quarrell. I think the principle of policy which has been observed by the gov^t through all time, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, perfectly sound, and I should require a case of commanding character to induce its abandonment. I should certainly not wish to have G. Britain occupying any new position on this

Continent which would give her any additional controul over our trade and commerce, but I apprehend on her part no such interference except upon the express request of Mexico. The surrender of the country so soon as the disturbances should be quieted would seem to follow as a necessary consequence.

Your explanation of M^r. Monroe's declaration is exceedingly valuable. It was necessary to the truth of history. I confess I never before fully understood it. The measures set forth in your speech for your advocacy of Texas annexation are fully sufficient to justify the adoption of that measure, but I confess to the fact that the answer made by Sir Ro. Peel to M^r. Everetts enquiries as to the propositions made by certain persons to G. Britain for pecuniary aid in order to procure the emancipation of slaves in Texas, decided me on the question as it did our lamented friend M^r. Upshur. While the British minister admitted that such proposals had been made, and declared that they had not been countenanced, he nevertheless took occasion *in substance*, also to say that the B. gov^t. would lose no opportunity which might arise, at any time or any where, to urge the subject of emancipation and would exert its best efforts to accomplish it. Seeing then the depressed condition of, not only Texas but Mexico, I could not but consider both the one and the other as accessable to her intrigues and open to her policy. The considerations urged by you in your speech were regarded by M^r. Upshur and myself as inconceivably augmented in the event that this declaration of Sir Ro Peel should with zeal and industry be carried into effect, through the instrumentality of a treaty of peace between Mexico and Texas. A constant border war would have prevailed in the efforts on the one part to arrest persons flying from labor from Louisiana to Arkansas, and leading to open resistance on the other. And ultimately to war with Texas Mexico and Great Britain on the one side and the U. States on the other. Such a treaty as I have alluded to would have given to G. Britain an absolute controul over the trade of Texas under the stipulations of a commercial treaty—then *easily* to be made—and in a short time have relieved her from all dependance upon us for the supply of cotton. Annexation secured us against these contingencies if it shall have done no more, and for one whatever of vitupera-

tion or abuse I may have suffered I am well content to bear, since the result cannot but be advantageous to the country at large.

With sentiments of the highest respect and truest regard

I am D^r Sir Y^{rs} &c

J. TYLER

From J. H. Howard.

C. C.

Columbus June 7th '48

DEAR SIR We have seen enough of political conventions to regard them in almost any other light than safe exponents of the public will. Neither of the great parties can justly claim for their representatives immaculacy in the announcement in the will of the party altho' I did not expect much from our convention I was still disappointed at the feeble support given to M^r Woodbury and really chagrined that he should have met with so little favor from the South. In this abandonment of Woodbury I feel certain our delegations from the South cannot justify themselves from the feelings of their constituents. I will not do injustice to M^r Cass if I know it, but the estimate I have placed upon his political character forces me to the conclusion that he is an unsafe man. I fear he is a mere party majority man, if his party upon a great question should be right, he would be right. And if the party should be wrong he might be then expected to be wrong also. I dread the influence of the majority of his electors if elected at all. We may do better possibly by looking around a little before we give way to the alternative of taking him on the one hand or submitting to the triumph of the whigs on the other. The whig convention will have made their nomination before this reaches you. we cant of course sustain their candidate because if elected by them, he will belong to them. If M^r Clay, Crittenden, M^cClean [M^cLean], or Scott should be chosen, Gen^l Taylor being already in the field will be run and though he is unquestionably very deficient in qualification, his location connected with the circumstances of being rejected by the whigs makes him a safer candidate for the South, and the real constitutional party of the country

than Gen^l Cass. I have therefore in such event determined to support him. But if the Southern whigs should prevail in the convention as I think they will and force Taylor on the whig party he will be in such bad hands that no democrat ought to trust him. Moreover if he receives the whig nomination and no other candidate is presented he will beat Mr Cass and beat him badly. In this emergency I propose a bold and prompt movement—the chance of success is remote it is true, but not chimerical. It is to announce you as a candidate for President and Mr Woodbury for vice president. We can have the ticket started in Georgia, not with the slightest prospect of success but for the purpose of saving Carolina and New-hampshire from taking the initiative. Our ticket of course would command a meagre support—very meagre, when both parties are pledged to their nominations, but Carolina and perhaps New-hampshire too would elect you and may we not from the stubborn opposition of all New England to Taylor expect some aid in that quarter, if no other in all probability our example might bring out Webster, Clay being mortified at the choice of Taylor against a decided majority of the Northern whigs would interpose no objection to his defeat and might also in this general breaking up of the party (which he says has been prophecied in the event that himself was not indicated as the head) consider himself justified in bringing the election into the house. If Taylor is nominated a large body even of Southern whigs who want Clay will consider themselves absolved from any obligations, because Gen^l Taylor has declared himself a candidate independent of their convention. The elements of discord will run high, and the true constitutional men may profit beyond their expectations by a bold and decisive movement. If we move at all we should do it promptly, before parties settle down in submission to the dictation of their leaders. I remarked we would start the ticket in Georgia, but it would be better for your friends in Newyork to lead off, in this crisis; it would have more influence, but if they will not act promptly we though few in number can do it here. I know nothing of Mr Woodburys feelings since he has been spoken of for the Presidency, he might not now be willing to run where I have placed him,

you I presume though will be able to inform me and if he will not then let us take Quitman, Persifer Smith¹ Buckhannan if he will accept it or any other prominent man either civil or military who could bring proper aid to the ticket.

I repeat the position which I have laid down, that if Gen^l Taylor is nominated by the whigs that he will succeed over Mr Cass if no other candidate is brought out, and the only way the country can escape a whig triumph in the event of *Taylor's* nomination is to bring the election into the house, by which my plan can certainly do no harm to the democratic party and may result in much good. As I feel great confidence that if you were returned to the house even by a very low vote, that you would there be chosen in preference to Cass or Taylor. The free exercise of the elective franchise demands that these conventions should be broken down, I would greatly prefer seeing twenty candidates for President than one nominating convention, and the sound public voice of the country will approve of the independence of the man who puts his face against their partizan purposes, or more properly their purposes of *individual* and *selfish* preferment, if we break down the power of the convention by supporting Taylor if the whigs should lay him aside, or yourself in the event Taylor should be nominated we will in either case do essential service to the people of this government, by restoring to them their right of voting. Our preferences under the present odious system are smothered and we are not ever allowed to give them utterance, all to avoid an ultimate choice by the house of representatives, which though to be avoided, if the will of the people could be as well expressed through another channel, still has the advantage of constitutional approbation and [is] in no way more objectionable than the present swindling system. If we act at all, we must act promptly.

Yours Respectfully and friendly

JNO. H. HOWARD

P. S. please write me at once, you may rely upon your communication being treated *strictly confidential*.

J. H. H.

¹Major-General Persifer P. Smith, distinguished in the Mexican war.

From William L. Yancey.¹

c. c.

Montgomery, 21 June, 1848.

DEAR SIR: We have at last started. We have consulted sufficiently to effect a start. Taylor's position in the late Whig convention has thrown into our arms all those Democrats who were for him heretofore. Belser resigns his place on the Taylor electoral ticket. Campbell of Mobile quits his Taylor ground and is with us. Here, Goldthwaite, Elmore, Mayo, Semple, Harris, Belser and kindred spirits are with us. We are raising funds to establish a press here. In that we need aid; but *we will* publish it at all hazards. We will address the people in a manifesto very soon, this week. We will call a mass convention here on the 12 July. At that convention we will nominate the ablest and purest electoral ticket ever put into the field in this State. But upon whom shall we rally for President? Tazewell and Jeff Davis are suggested here? Will they do? Will you write to Tazewell for us? and write me fully your opinions? The skies are brightening. I was despondent a week ago, I am hopeful now. We are all so. We will move in force and effectively.

Yours &c.

W. L. YANCEY.

From J. B. Davis.²

c. c.

Constantinople July 22^d. 1848

MY D^r. SIR Since I have witnessed the hostile feeling of Europe, particularly of England towards the institution of slavery, I have looked with much anxiety to the future in my own country. Our destiny must abide Public opinion. The tide of Public opinion has been setting against us all over Europe, and we have never made an effort to check or aid its ultimate formation. While the Northern fanatic disseminates his falsehoods over the whole world we have not a Journal

¹ William L. Yancey, afterwards famous as a leader of the extreme secessionists and Confederate senator, had been a member of Congress from Alabama from 1844 to 1846, and a member of the Democratic national nominating convention of May, 1848, from which, however, he withdrew when the convention refused to adopt in its platform a proslavery amendment offered by him. Life by J. W. Du Bose.

² An American doctor, resident in Constantinople.

that reaches beyond the limits of the United States to contradict and convict him. I made a slow tour through Europe to this place two years ago, and conversed with a great many English and French. Since I have been here, my opportunities have been no less frequent; and I have never conversed with one individual who had any idea of the relative position of master and slave, of their treatment &c; and I have seldom left a man whose opinions and feelings were not entirely changed, or who was not brought to doubt whether the institution of slavery was not a blessing. The subject has been invariably introduced, and the information sought after by them.

The deplorable condition of agriculture in the hot climates of Europe Asia Africa and America, when black slave labour is not employed, illustrates one fact, that no *white* man can labour in the *hot* sun of the South, and the *free black man will not*. The West Indies, at the present moment, is a lesson to the world if they will read it.

The experience I have had in the cultivation of Cotton in Turkey satisfies me that Cotton cannot be made without loss, if *controlable* labour is not used. And that is the extent of slavery in America.

The whole of Europe has ever demonstrated the fact that inasmuch as the white labouring population cannot be educated, and, even in the most degraded state of ignorance ever sensible that they are born equal, and not destined by the Creator to be *always* menial, they are ever on the lookout for change, at any hazard. The consequence is easily seen, that in all *warm* climates, where the poor are always indolent, ignorant vicious and miserable there has been and will be revolution after revolution to the end of time. Temporarily they have and can be kept down by despotic Governments, but this seems now [to have] passed. The *Negro* knows, acts and feels that God has put a mark of inferiority upon him and this of itself secures his individual satisfaction and happiness.

Such facts with the comparative exemption from riot and disorder, and the acknowledged superiority of the educated class in Slave compared with other Countries, have never failed to produce a strong impression on those I have met with, in favour of the institution of slavery.

We have had in Constantinople for some time past Mr. C. McFarlane of England,¹ of literary reputation, a man alike distinguished for his general information, for his good sense, and his English politics. He is a thorough Englishman and will sustain English institutions in England while he admires America, and would never wish to see her Government and institutions changed. He has ever held the same opinions as yourself on the subject of slavery. And for the sake of drawing England and America nearer together, and perpetuating by mutual interests and combined power their great and liberal institutions, he is determined to wage war against all fanaticism, to oppose abolitionism in the North, as he has ever condemned emancipation in the West Indies. I have suggested to him and my Brother N. H. Davis now here, an enterprise certainly of no small importance to our country, and one which demands your cordial support viz. to establish an Anglo American paper in London, which is to be the organ of the South on this great subject, as well as of Agriculture, Politics, Commerce and Literature.

I am well assured a more suitable person than Mr McFarlane could not be found on the English side. My Brother if he is not himself equal to the task will secure equal abilities from America: but he is of the Carolina school, and looking upon it as a project of great magnitude, he will abide a conference of persons entirely cooperating in this enterprise. I therefore beg your plan of its organization sent here as soon as possible.

McFarlane thinks that when once started by the People of the South, Merchants and Planters, and recognized as *authority*, it will become a mighty engine in Europe and that a large number of persons of influence are now staggered by the condition of Europe and the West Indies. They consider this apprenticeship a "specious pretext" and are willing to listen to reason.

Very respy. yours &c

J. B. DAVIS, M. D.

¹ Charles Macfarlane, miscellaneous writer.

From Fitzwilliam Byrdsall.

C. C.

New York July 31st. 1848

DEAR SIR, I perceive with great mortification that the defeat of the Senate Territorial Bill in the house, was accomplished by 8 votes from the Slave States. That any 8 members of any party from that section of the Union, could be found to Vote against a measure so essential at this crisis, not only astonishes, but shocks all those feelings connected with the preservation of the co-equality of the States. If those 8 men only knew the state of fanatical sentiment in this section of the Country, they would rather suffer any odium than have voted to give not only a fresh impetus, but an increase to a movement of the most fearful portent to the Southern States. When any of those 8 men meet Phelps of Vermont, or Birdsall of this State, they should feel ashamed enough to wish the ground to sink and cover them up. Surely, surely they cannot be aware of the crusade that is now increasing against the institution of Slavery to a most fearful magnitude in the free States. Even in the New York Custom house there is a strong majority of the Officials, Clerks &c in favor of the Wilmot proviso. Among the Citizens too, it is a common objection that Slaves enter into the Representative basis of the lower house of Congress. This is continually dinned in my ears, both by zealots and moderate men. I meet this objection by the correct remark that as in the north and free states, men, women, aliens, free negroes, and all persons count equally in apportionment for members of Congress—So in the South should all persons whether Slaves or free be equally counted in the representative basis, and that the three fifths arrangement instead of being a Concession to the Slave States, was in fact a concession to the north. But what is truth against prejudice?

If the South cannot maintain its equal rights to the territory of the United States—here then we have the beginning of the end. There is no Constitutional right of the Southern people clearer than their right to go with their property of any kind into the territories of the Union. A man from the North, or from the East, the West or the South, carries with him through the new territories all the rights of person and

of property which he had in the State he left, so far in extent as the same rights are not contrary to the Constitution of the United States. When the territory becomes sufficiently populous to form a State then the people will have the Sovereignty of State Rights and not before. In the meantime the General Government is bound to protect the settlers from the north or the South, in all their rights of person and of property. But Congress has no authority to give the right of Voting in Conquered territory to Indians, negroes, or mixed breeds, in making constitutions or laws to Govern. This appears to me to be common sense View of the Subject.

If the Southern people cannot maintain their equal rights as to their settling in new territory, what other rights under the Constitution can they maintain? If defeated on the Wilmot proviso principle, will the crusade began against them stop at that point? They are self deluded who imagine an affirmative. The ground against the proviso is as strong a fortification as they can stand upon. The Statements of those Whigs and democrats who are now uniting with the Abolitionists, that they mean not to interfere with the Slavery existing in the Slave States are all hollow. The only way to make such statements prove true is to take a stand untill the proviso is defeated. A victory here will preserve all the rest.

Accept the heartfelt respect of

F. W. BYRDSALL.

*From Caleb Cushing.*¹

C. C.

Newburyport August 26th 1848

Private.

MY DEAR SIR: The recent proceedings at Charleston, and the direction thus given to the political action of the State of South Carolina, embolden me to execute a purpose previously entertained, that of addressing you on the subject of the presidential election.

You will see by the speech of which I enclose a copy, and especially by the part of it beginning at the place marked by

¹ Caleb Cushing, the celebrated jurist and diplomatist, lately a colonel in the Mexican War.

me, that I am among those at the North who struggle for the application of just principles to the common relations of the North and South. I mention this in order to justify what I am about to say.

Parties at the North are now assuming distinctness and organisation, on the basis of one or the other of the three great Conventions of Baltimore, Philadelphia and Buffalo. Of the latter it is unnecessary to speak. As between the other two I entertain a strong belief that it is for the interest of the South to support the nomination of the Baltimore Convention. The friends of that nomination at the North have assumed the grounds of equal justice to the South in the action of the Federal Government; and they alone are doing this as a party, with frankness and decision. Is it not important, then, that they should be assured of the cooperation of the South? If the Southern Democrats break away from the Baltimore nomination, will not the effect be to dishearten and disperse their best friends at the North? So it seems to me; and therefore the decision of the Charleston meeting, in favor of Genl. Cass, gave me very great pleasure. I can assure you that the Buffalo Convention has quite neutralized the effects of the Utica Convention.¹ Mr Van Buren is now regarded as the ally and agent of the Abolitionists. That is to say, the Buffalo Convention has opened the eyes of men to the true tendency and character of the Utica Convention; so that, beyond the State of New York, the democratic party is becoming reunited, instead of being further divided, by the Buffalo Convention.

I have the honor to be Very respectfully and truly Your friend and svf

C CUSHING

From H. W. Conner.

c. c.

Charleston Sept^r 28 1848

The Hon^{ble} JNO. C. CALHOUN

I have just returned from the North where I went soon after I saw you in Charleston and found your letter of the 25th inst on my arrival.

¹Of the Barnburners.

I notice particularly what you say in regard to the paper and will communicate the views to the parties interested as opportunity offers.

A great change has come over the people of the North since my last annual visit amongst them. Free Soil is now *the universal sentiment of the whole North and East* and has already swallowed up both parties and all orders and classes of people and I can conceive of no sentiment stronger than the determination evinced there to eradicate Slavery from the whole Continent of North America and they mean to do it and will do it regardless of all consequences unless we meet and defeat them before our strength is undermined.

From what I saw I verily believe Van Buren would have been elected upon the free soil movement if both the whig and democratic parties had not at once wrested his ground from him and occupied it themselves. They both now alike claim free soil as being always their true and legitimate ground and are endeavouring to force the Van Buren [*illegible*] off upon the ultra ground of abolitionism and liberty party.

The plan as I understand it with the free soil party is to exclude us from all Territory henceforward and a large portion of the democratic party consisting of the masses, now largely composed of emigrants, and the politicians, are intent upon the absorption of all Mexico Cuba and Canada. The South is of course to be excluded from all, while constant approaches are to be made upon Slavery in the frontier states as Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and Tennessee with the expectation of the people themselves being brought to emancipate by their own Legislatures under an Amendment of their Constitutions under a Convention of the people and they quote Kentucky and point to Virginia in confirmation of what they propose. But what gave me most concern was to perceive an increasing disregard and disrespect of the South. In fact they are fast losing all fear and all respect for us for they see us wasting our energies upon petty and pitiful issues when day by day the Factions of the North are drawing the Cordon closer and closer around us. Indeed I am told over and over that you were not the exponent of the feeling and sentiment of the South on the subject of

Slavery and that the people were not with you and would not sustain you in your defence of the institution.

I find a good deal of excitement here about Taylor and Cass, but not a great deal of acrimony—but for the ill temper and indiscretion of a few there would be no great bitterness felt by any. After the election is over I hope differences may be healed.

I leave on Saturday for Georgia and as far as Montgomery Ala to return in 10 days and thought I might as well give you the result of my observations at the North as well as you understand the condition of things you would be amazed at the state of feeling now existing North.

Yrs

H W CONNER

From H. W. Conner.

C. C.

(Charleston Nov 2^d 1848

The Hon^{ble} JOHN C. CALHOUN

I wrote you on the 24th and we have since had our meeting, proceedings of which you will see in this mornings papers.

The 11th resolution was added at the instance of Co^l Memminger and Co^l Elmore. They saw me the day before the meeting and expressed a great desire for unanimity on the part of the state. I said the first and most effectual means of producing it was to abandon both Candidates for president and vote unanimously for a third—but it was rejected. They sketched off then—each of them—the form of resolution to be presented to the Legislature on Monday next. I sketched off something also not very different. They said if our resolutions would cover that ground they would form on our platform. I then said it was exactly the ground our resolutions would take except that we had not pledged ourselves to stand by the state of S^c C^a tho there was not a man of us but what would do so to the death, in the last resort, tho we counted any separate or independent action of the state—at least for the present or until all efforts for a joint action of the Slave States had failed, as fatal to the very object we were all driving at. I immediately got our committee together and the overture was met in a becoming spirit and the 11th resolution

was the consequence. It embraces all that Co^l Memminger and Elmore required I believe and I hope it may be considered as the first and successful step towards a harmony amongst us all.

At the same time I must express my belief that there has been and probably still is a design to revive the old Bluffton move and with the same motive and end. I do not think that Co^l Memminger or Co^l Elmore favour it at least not as a present mode of action—but Rhett and others do. I do not think it will obtain favour—I *should regret it exceedingly if it did* for I believe the only means efficient and practicable for our purpose is a conciliation or cooperation by some joint action on the part of all the Slave states and *I do feel* great confidence in the practicability of such a combination if the labour and management proper for it is put in play.

I have with a view of at least giving due energy and industry to the object taken the place of chairman of the Corresponding Committee and now have to beg the favour of you to give me your views as to how we should proceed. I wish to start fair and start right and when I have my chart before me, I will put on the sail. Pray write me freely and fully (and in private if you please). I think we may do much if we start right towards producing concert and union amongst the slave states.

About the 1 Dec I expect to go to Georgia, Alabama, Mobile and New Orleans and Apalachicola and I may do much by personal intercourse.

I will not omit attention to your suggestions as to the paper before I go.

Very Truly Yrs &c

H. W. CONNER

*From John Cuninghame.*¹

C. C.

Charleston 12 Nov. 1884

DEAR SIR The pressure of business and private affairs has hitherto prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 16th ult. Your speech both from its subject mat-

¹A lawyer in Charleston; the son, it is presumed, of Calhoun's old friend Robert Cuninghame.

ter and the junctures of its delivery and publication, has and will produce a profound and general impression on the public mind of the South, and neutralize to some extent the injurious influences of the past election. These last have done much, in that section at least, to rivet upon us party discipline, and give us as controlling guides and tests, party ties and purposes. Nothing can now arrest so well this fatal tendency as a concerted effort by the leaders of both parties at the South to get up a Southern Convention, in compliance with their understanding at Washington and the necessity of the crisis. You have no doubt observed that our party here (those who preferred Taylor to Cass) have since the election reorganized as a "Southern State Rights Republican" party, with a view to such effort, and to break down among ourselves those party influences which are shackling our free and manly resistance as an insulted and injured people.

I regret that I cannot entirely agree with you as to the electoral question. The people of this State are certainly not represented as among themselves in the election of electors, according to their federal relations, and upon the federal basis of representation. I have inclined to the opinion also that the present mode of appointment in this State or this feature of it was not only not contemplated by the Constitution for this reason, but because—, in view of the representation of both the popular numbers and of the State Sovereignities in the Presidency, the people should have a direct choice, at least in proportion to their direct share in that representation. It is in addition a fact that our people now desire and will insist upon having the appointment of the electors. Waiving then the question of constitutionality dependent upon the words of the Constitution, I gave my consent at the last election for the above reasons to the proposed change. I did so reluctantly however, as I admire and would cherish the conservative working of the present system in our State. But as to the time of the change I am uncommitted and feel no urgency. If it will at all interfere with our entire concentration of mind and purpose upon the great issue as to slavery and our right, it should by all means be postponed. I shall certainly not urge it immediately, and shall aid in keeping down all excitement and wrangling as to it. But there will probably be none, if urged at each ensuing session of the Legislature.

The Majority of the House of Representatives is so large and fixed in favor of the change, that action will be taken without debate. I am informed there is also now a majority in the Senate, and that it will take the same course. No popular agitation will probably occur under four and at least not under two years. A proposition for the change will be brought before the next Legislature. I think it will be impossible to prevent it. Nothing but the danger now threatening Southern institutions and a fear of distraction could do it. But I am also satisfied that the deep conviction of the necessity of Southern action and union, is so strong in our people, that nothing can distract them from pursuing with prompt vigor any course that may appear to them as proper and effective, and of which they are duly advised. The late Congressional elections at the North warn us that the Wilmot-Proviso will be applied to our entire territory; and that if we resist successfully we must do so now.

Floride was confined with a son a fortnight since. Both are doing well. She joins me in the kindest regards to yourself and family. We hope to see you soon, as you pass on to Washington.

It would give me great gratification and assistance to hear from you as to any of the questions, general or local, that may agitate the State or Nation.

Yours most Sincerely

JOHN CUNINGHAM.

From John Tyler.

G. C.

Sherwood Forest Jan. 2. 1849

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 6 Nov. covering the statement which I forwarded you of our last hours on Texas annexation reached me in due season, and I made your suggestions of change the basis of a new statement to the other members of the Cabinet.¹ I feel satisfied that you are mistaken in fixing on Sunday as the day of our first interview after my approval of the resolutions. The Cabinet Council was held on Sunday, and our interview was on Saturday.

¹ The statement in the revised form may be seen in Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 364, 365.

But in the new statement I have adopted the use of the *day* of the month in place of the *day* of the week—thus—“The resolutions reached me on the 1. day of March 1845. My official term expired on the 4th day of the same month—after my approval had been given to the resolutions Mr. Calhoun the Secretary of State called on me, &c &c” and what follows is made to conform throughout. I enclose you the reformed statement which you will find to be modified according to your suggestions. Bibb, Nelson and Wickliffe substantially concur. From Mason and Wilkins I remain to hear. By the by Wickliffe gives me a fact of which I was ignorant—viz. that Mr. Polk without loss of time after his inauguration wrote Donelson to suspend all action on our instructions until he D. should receive further instructions. He says Donelson shewed him the letter when he W. was in Texas, and doubts not but that it would be found among the Texan archives of Legation. He states his belief that the letter was not marked confidential, but still does not wish his name to be mentioned in connexion with it. Had you any knowledge of this? Yes My Dr. Sir it was “the midnight messenger” that secured annexation. Anson Jones is a potent witness to establish the fact. The fact is that that movement controuled two Cabinets, that of U. S. and that of Texas.

I perceive that the abolitionists are in the lead among you in Congress, and how the matters are to terminate the future will disclose. One thing is quite obvious that old parties are changing their affinities and that legislation is in future more to be controuled by sections than principles.

Tendering you the congratulations incident to the season

I am Dr Sir Truly Y^r

JOHN TYLER

From H. W. Conner.

C. C.

Charleston Jan^r 12, 1849

The Hon^{ble} JOHN C CALHOUN

I reached home last night and hasten to give you the result of my observations South and West

The people of Georgia of both parties are up to the mark and ready to act, but may not take the lead but they consider the issue as inevitable and the sooner it is made the better.

Savannah and Augusta less true than the Country owing to the northern population. Alabama, the Eastern part of it are sound and to the point, their Leading men, as Goldthwaite Yancey, Elmore Belser and others understand the subject and the remedy well.

The Northern part of Alabama and the West I can speak of only from hearsay. The North I think is a good deal governed by party. The West are with us so are the South except at Mobile where they are divided, the northern population being as they always are against us. The people of Alabama as a whole are with us in every thing but the difficulty is with the politicians and the parties. What one side proposes the other opposes.

I fear for Louisiana. New Orleans is almost Free Soil in their opinions. The populations is one half Northern agents another $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ are Foreigners. The remnant are Creoles who cannot be made to comprehend their danger until the negroes are being taken out of the fields. They would then fight furiously. The theory there too is that by restricting slavery to its present bounds the Lands and negroes of Louisiana would be enhanced in value. I was told however by some persons whose opinions I had great respect for (they were of the Senate of that state and planters) that the country was sound and altho they would not make any noise by resolutions or otherwise, they would be found in line when the time for acting came. Louisiana will be the last if at all to strike for the defence of the South.

In Florida I was no where but at Apalachicola. They are all Northern agents there but Florida is right.

The cities all of them are becoming daily more and more unsound and uncertain and all for the same reason. The infusion of Northerners and Foreigners amongst them and their influence is being felt in the interior. The draymen and labourers of New Orleans are all White and Foreigners and they will not let a negroe drive a dray. He would be mobbed or killed. The Steam Boats are all employing white servants and their captains are mostly Northerners and the issue of the Free labour against Slave labour will soon be made at the South.

Our own people many of them are desponding. They begin

to think that the Institution of Slavery is doomed. That all the world is opposed to it and that we ourselves will not or cannot do any thing to avert it. As yet it has been all talk and no action, and the majority at the North becoming daily more and more decided.

Here to my mind is *the only danger* of the South, and I have heard and seen the feeling of despondency expressed with shame and sorrow. I blushed for my countrymen when I saw them ready to cower before the storm. Our slaves themselves are becoming arrogant from the knowledge of this feeling and will soon be troublesome. The feeling is not general however but it is on the increase.

From all I have seen and learned *I am more convinced than ever of the vital importance of prompt decided and efficient action on the part of the South.* The mode of action the wise and the patriotic must determine on, whatever is done should be calmly considerately and wisely considered and the plan of execution well arranged but above all on the execution, the action should be *bold, determined* and decisive. This is necessary to give confidence—it is necessary every way for success and without it we are lost. We must show ourselves able and willing to defend ourselves before we can obtain the support of our friends or the respect or fear of our adversaries.

My whole theory so far as I am concerned is wise and deliberate, but bold and determined action and with the least possible delay.

My movements have been so rapid that I have fallen behind the current of events. I see however that the Southern members held a meeting on the 15th whatever is determined on, each member should exert himself to procure a prompt response from his own district—a simultaneous movement can be obtained in that way. I may write soon again regarding Gen^l. Taylor

Yrs

H. W. CONNER

From William P. Duval.¹

C. C.

Tallahassee, Feby 13th 1849

MY DEAR [SIR] I was deeply distressed to see announced in the public prints the sudden attack, which assailed you in the

¹ William P. Duval, territorial governor of Florida from 1822 to 1834

Senate, and I pray to god your health did not materially suffer, by its continuance. I believed at the time, (as I now do,) the sudden attack resulted from the distressing and alarming and perilous condition of the union. The deep anxiety and the awful consequences, springing from a settled determination of the enemies of the South, to violate the constitution to the destruction of our sacred rights no doubt was the cause of your illness

I have just risen from a bed of sickness, and my mind and blood are cool and temperate. I would do much to preserve the union but cannot submit to the degradation and insult, and the violation of Southern rights, to preserve a disgraceful confederacy. I have read more than once your report recently made to the meeting or convention of the Southern members of congress. It is all it should be clear, forceable and temperate. It is such a report as will stand the scrutiny of the wisest heads of the nation. I have given strict attention to Mr. Berrian's report, which is in fact yours, with the strength and spirit extracted, so as to leave little better than stale beer. The time has passed for conciliation, this has too long been the mistaken policy of the South

For one I am ready to meet the worse that can now Occur. My native State Virginia has stood forward nobly and under her lead the South will rally in spite of the trators that stolen into her confidence and now like scorpions are stinging her bosom. Virginia has an immense store of arms and she will distribute them to sustain the South. When the time shall come (and I fear it is near) I will return to my native state,¹ and leave nothing undone to procure 1200 stand of arms for a corps that I will raise and command in this State, and hold ready to march to any point where their services may be required.

If our slaves must wrongfull[y] be taken from us, we will try and settle them in the North, we will give them freedom and let them conquer our enemies, and give them their cities and country that they may win by their arms. The coloured race will have much to encourage them in this attempt[toward] freedom, a country they can call their own, wealth and honor the result.

¹ Virginia.

Able leaders, discipline and arms will carry that destruction and ruin to our enemies that they are preparing for us. The fancied security of the North may be shattered by a volcano—over which they little dream they are preparing for themselves. I rejoice to see so many of the Southern members uniting on your report, and if further action is determined on by our Southern friends, I am ready to act with them at all hazards.

I see Mr. Clay is elected to your senate, he goes their I fear for evil—for good, he has never sought for in the last 20 years. Gen^l. Cass too is returned I am glad of this, as he will now shew whether his professions are as sincere, as I believe them to be. I sacrificed my election to congress, to sustain him, from the conviction he stood firmly by the constitutional rights of the South. Could I have sustained Gen^l. Taylor, no man in this state could have defeated my election. I have never sacrificed principle for office. I go for my Country and her honor and rights, and prefer defeat on principles, than honor and office, without them.

Let me hear of your health, and let me also have your opinion of the *hope* or *prospect* of any compromise of the all engrossing question of slavery.

I trust providence will preserve your health and enable you to bring to a favorable issue the agitating and dangerous controversy that so seriously threatens the perpetuity of our Union

Your friend

W^m. P. DUVAL

From James H. Hammond.

C. C.

Silver Bluff 19 Feb, 1849

MY DEAR SIR I enclose you a copy of my letter to the Scotch Presbytery¹ and also return you M^r. Jackson's letter which I thank you for sending me that I might see his agreeable compliment to me.

I have read with great satisfaction your very judicious and forcible Address to the Southern People² and am sanguine that

¹ Probably the Letter of Gov. Hammond to the Free Church in Glasgow, on the Subject of Slavery, Columbia, 1844.

² Works, VI, 285-313.

it will have a more Salutary influence among them than it had with a portion of their Representatives. Living in the woods here and passing a great portion of my time in the heart of Swamps I am reclaiming as a forlorn agricultural hope—I hear less than almost any one of what is said even among our own people and know little more of public sentiment here than you do at Washington. But my opinion has long been that the discussion of the Abolition question has eased nearly every conscience in the South about holding Slaves, and that Self-interest will prompt us almost to a man to go through any Struggle and risk any change rather than emancipate them in any way, much less on our own soil. The few trading politicians of the South who have sold themselves and would of course without hesitation sell us and our wives and children for their own promotion, will therefore have a fearful reckoning when it becomes apparent to *all* the people that the crisis has actually arrived. Your Address is well calculated to awaken them, and the conduct of the Abolitionists in Congress is daily giving it powerful aid. I look with perfect certainty to see the Storm rise before long and when it does rise there can be but one result—a dissolution. For the Free States can then hardly be brought to give us those stringent and humiliating guarantees to keep the peace which we shall imperatively and *imperiously* demand. I know that the value of the Union is now calculated hourly in every corner in the South, for I rarely get into a coterie even in the Streets of Augusta—a Yankee town you know—but it is discussed. The conviction too is growing rapidly, if I may judge from what I hear from time to time in these discussions that the union has always been and always will be a disadvantage to us and that the sooner we can get rid of it the better. I have thought this myself for twenty years, but where I met one five years ago who agreed with me, I now meet fifty. There are indubitable signs. I did think that if there could be an Organization of Southern Members of Congress and an agreement to act there in concert on the subject, it might alarm the North and even arrest abolition movements for a long time to come. If this could be done, rather than have a Revolution, I would be willing to tolerate the Union for my time: and having occasion to write to Judge Bayley last summer I vehemently

urged him to attempt such organization. I will own that the result of your late effort has surprised me. I had been startled by the treachery of some Southern Members both whigs and democrats at the close of the last Session. But I would not allow myself to believe, though I feared and sometimes said, there was considerable defection among our politicians. I knew too that no Southern man could maintain out and out the essential Whig principles of Clay and the North, without being wholly false to the South. But that the Whigs in a body and so many democrats too should *desert* us on *this* question so palpably and promptly I did not expect. But I see through it. The fate of the Union is sealed. It is the order—the decree of Providence. Looking as for sometime past I have done altogether to generals and not details in political affairs, it appears to me that this signal failure to adopt the only measure which could give us security in the Union reveals the design of God to sever the Union—to rescue us from the licentious Sodom of Northern Mobocracy and raise us to that position which our vast resources physical and moral will enable us to maintain. If this is not the design, then the Knell of *our* fate has tolled, disunited and distracted it is we who are to bow our heads to the destroying Angel. But I do not believe that such is our destiny. We have not merited it. Its consummation would throw civilization backwards a century or more. In the midst of the daily Strife and high excitement of your position you will probably smile at a semi-superstitious philosophy like this. But I will candidly own that I have come to the solving of all great Moral Problems by tracing through them as well as I am able, the Designs of a Power far above ourselves. I look calmly therefore at the events in Washington, and do not doubt that they will prove the means of working good. Let the Abolitionists press forward. It is our duty so far as we can see *clearly* to oppose them at every step. But we must not be disheartened by *apparent* defeats, but address ourselves to the greater and daily more obvious duty of preparing to shake them off altogether.

Very Sincerely Yours

J. H. HAMMOND

From Hilliard M. Judge.¹

C. C.

Eutaw, 29th Ap^l. 1849.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 15th. ultimo has just been received, and I regret you did not receive the paper I sent you. If I can procure another copy, I will send it to you, as I desire very much that you should see the article alluded to.

The immediate object of this letter is to inform you of an attempt, which is being made, to destroy your influence in this state, by secretly circulating an abominable falsehood, well calculated to deceive the unwary and produce the most injurious effect upon the great Southern question. I have it, not directly, but through the most undoubted authority, that M^r. Houston² of this State defends himself for not signing "the Southern Address," by stating that the Slavery question is agitated alone for party purposes and party effect, and in evidence of that fact, says, you told M^r. Douglass of Illinois, during the discussion of the California bill—"that it would never do to settle this question of slavery—that its agitation was necessary to the success of the Democratic Party in the South." He referred his hearer (Judge Wallace of Tuscaloosa) to the Hon M^r Hilliard of Montgomery, in corroboration of what he stated.

The object of this statement is clear—those Southern Whigs and democrats who betrayed their Constituents, seek to defend themselves by assailing you, in whom the whole South, without distinction of party, have the most unlimited Confidence.

It is part and parcel of the attack made upon you by that base sot and demagogue, Senator Houston,³ urged on, doubtless, by Senator Benton, whose sympathies are wholly with the Abolitionists.

Those Whig members of Congress who have betrayed their Constituents and the South, from love of party and spoils, have united in the attack, as evidenced by M^r Houston of this State referring to M^r Hilliard for support and corroboration. Whether or not this statement ought to be Contradicted, you best know, but I can say to you, it has gained no credence from any person of intelligence, with whom I have conversed,

¹ A supporter of Calhoun in Alabama.

² George L. Houston, M. C.

³ General Sam Houston, at this time Senator from Texas.

of either party, yet, at the same time, ignorant persons in the other portions of the South may be deluded by it.

Almost all Counties of South Alabama have responded most emphatically "to the Southern Address" without distinction of party. North Alabama is much less interested and will be slow in her action, yet I think she will follow the lead of the Southern portion of the State. A favorable omen of public opinion there, is furnished by Houston's refusal to be a Candidate for re-election. Hilliard will be beaten in his District, by a Whig or Democrat who is sound, as may seem best calculated to accomplish this result.

Judge Goldthwaite of Montgomery is arousing public attention to this great question, in the best manner that it can possibly be done, viz. by charging the grand-jurys in his Circuit, in an able manner upon the subject.

The effect is most admirable upon the ignorant portion of the people, from the Color of authority under which it is done. The great difficulty is to make the Masses see beyond their noses—they do not see and feel that the necessary consequence of allowing all the outposts of Slavery to be carried, involves a certain destruction of the Citadel itself.

The public mind is rapidly being prepared for what must come at last—the dissolution of the Union, *but we must have time*. Let the Legislatures speak out in support of Va, as they will all do—let them all be *committed* to the principle of resistance, and then, when the time does come for action, they will be prepared to defend their rights to the last extremity.

Let South Carolina hold back—a little, until her more Slothful Sisters can be equally well instructed in their rights and duty under the present emergency, the whole South will then present an unbroken front, and thus accomplish peaceably what we desire! This delay is not so necessary for Alabama as for the more Western States, for next to South Carolina, Alabama is better prepared for resistance than any other Southern State.

Your suggestion, as to the necessity of a Convention of the Southern States is perfectly obvious. We cannot get along in any other way—the North will not be deterred from her course of wanton aggression by resolutions of the State Legislatures, but let the Legislatures first declare the principle and

the people of the States can give them force and effect in Convention.

Our Corn and Cotton crops were destroyed entirely by a frost on the 15th ultimo, also all the wheat North of this County. This is the second time our cotton has been killed during this Spring, which has caused an unusual demand for Cotton Seed—the next crop cannot possibly be a full one.

I have the honor to remain Your friend and obd^t Serv^t

HILLIARD M. JUDGE

*From Herschel V. Johnson.*¹

C. C.

Milledgeville, Ga. July 20th, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, The perusal of your reply to Col. Benton has afforded me the most heartfelt satisfaction. It is so lucid, so simple and yet so powerful, and so overwhelming, that it will produce a deep impression upon the Country, and consign your insolvent assailant to that infamy which traitors deserve. I have read it, and thrice read it; and there is but a solitary remark which I would be willing to see stricken from it. That is "If it did not", (i. e. Texas did not extend to the Rio Grande) "the war stands without justification. If it did not, the march of our army to the Rio Grande was an invasion of a neighboring Country unauthorised by the Constitution or law". I have always differed with you on this subject. I believe the war can be triumphantly vindicated, even admitting that Texas did not extend to the Rio Grande. Still your remarks on this point, in exposition of Benton's inconsistency are strictly true and unanswerable. The only reason I have for feeling any regret at the expressions above quoted, is, that I fear there may be those so very sensitive of Mr. Polk's reputation, that they will seize hold of it, with the view, if possible, of arraying the prejudices of that class of politicians against you. I feel nothing of this myself, and I can fully appreciate the honesty, with which you entertain your opinions, in reference to the war. But who can satisfy Captious faultfinders? No one need attempt it. Your reply

¹ Herschel V. Johnson, judge of the superior court of Georgia, was afterward governor of that state, candidate for Vice-President on the Douglas ticket in 1860, and a Confederate senator.

will win its way to victory, against all prejudices and silly hypercriticism. Truth is mighty and will prevail. The press, thus far, has spoken of it in terms of unqualified approbation. I trust the South will be awakened from her lethargy.

Our Democratic State Convention came off, according to appointment on the 11th inst. It was a very large assemblage and distinguished for weight of character and intelligence. For the sake of harmony, the subject of the Southern Address was not touched. It would have torn us to atoms, without giving us any strength. We adopted the Virginia Resolutions unanimously; and I think we went a little further on the doctrine of non-interference than any other convention in the South (except Carolina) has gone. We not only denied the power of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in the territories, but denied also the power to ratify any act of a territorial legislature having such an object. There is much excitement in the Democratic party of this State upon the slavery question. The great mass is obviously with the signers; and in order to remove the distrust, which the non-signers feel is felt towards them, there was no hesitation in adopting the Virginia Resolutions.

But notwithstanding these demonstrations, I entertain gloomy forebodings. I seriously fear that the people of the South are not properly awake to the danger,—not thoroughly nerved to united resistance.

What do you think will be the course of the next Congress? It is said that Gen. Taylor has sent on a Commissioner to California to urge and assist the people to make a Constitution preliminary to admission into the Union. If this be true, it shadows forth pretty distinctly the policy of the administration. It will be to bring in California and thus avoid the Wilmot Proviso. In the Consummation of this policy the non-signing Democrats will vigorously cooperate. This is but a circuitous mode of cheating the South out of her rights and gaining the object of the Provisoists. But how can we help ourselves? Suppose California presents her Constitution at the next Session and demands admittance, how can the South object? We admit the right of the people in forming a State Constitution to establish or eschew Slavery. Then, ought we to oppose And how? But California being admit-

ted, what becomes of New Mexico? It still leaves the question all open. It seems to me, that before the South Consents to the admission of California, we ought to demand a just compromise as to New Mexico, and a total abandonment on the part of the North, of their aggressions in respect to the District and slavery in the States. Now is the time for a settlement in full. If we yield now, we are gone. Concession will invite further insult; and we shall ultimately lose our self respect and become worthy of our degraded fate. How dark the future looks! If you have time drop me a word on these points. I want light and desire to know the views of our sage statesmen.

Very sincerely yours &c.

H. V. JOHNSON.

From R. K. Crallé.

C. C.

Lynchburg, July 25th. 1849.

MY DEAR SIR: I received last night, and read with great pleasure your reply to Benton.¹ An extract from it had previously reached us; and expecting the residue, a large number of persons gathered around the Post Office on the arrival of the mail on yesterday. Curses, deep and bitter were uttered against the Traitor; and some who, for years, have been your steady enemies, came up to congratulate me on the triumphant defence. It seems to me that it must surely overwhelm the scoundrel even in Missouri. In this State I am sure he will not have an advocate, whatever may be the effect of his desertion in the Free States. But even there it seems to me his piratical cruise will not be rewarded with a single prize. It is obvious that neither Cass nor Van Buren are prepared to give way, especially in favour of one who, in the effort to intrude on their own peculiar Territory, hazards if [he] do[es] not sacrifice his title to his own. He has undoubtedly overreached himself; and his fate will be as you predict; tho', from present appearances, it is to be feared he will carry his own State. What effect your reply will have there remains to be seen. It will certainly weaken him no little.

¹ See Niles's Register, LXXV, 390-396.

I was at first inclined to think that you should not dignify him with a notice; but subsequent reflection convinces me you have pursued the right course, *placing the reply on the grounds you do*. In this respect the subject is divested, in a great measure, of its mere personal character and bearing, and brings up to view more distinctly to the public the true issue which lies behind the gauze-work of the scoundrel's malignity. I think it will, more than any other Paper the public has yet seen, bring the people to consider the true question which is pending—a question not between Whig and Democrat, but between the *North* and the *South*. I hope it will tend no little to unite and consolidate public sentiment in the latter; tho' this, in the present state of Parties, seems almost impracticable. As to Virginia, I am almost hopeless. The *interests* of the leaders of both Parties are in dissolubly connected with the Federal *Treasury*; and, of course, opposed to the assertion of any principles, or the adoption of any course of action which, by hazarding what they call "*the Union*", put in jeopardy their hopes of preferment and plunder. It is not their *patriotism* but their *love of pelf* which would prompt them to submit to any and every usurpation and outrage, rather than hazard their chances of advancement. These, through the machinery of Party, have got the People under absolute controul. The course of the last Legislature was, I fear, a mere *ruse de guerre*, a manouvre of Party. Neither Party acted in good faith; and neither I fear will venture to come up to the principles avowed in the Resolutions. Indeed, had the action on the Resolutions been postponed until after the result of the meeting in Washington was known, I am sure they would not have received the votes of a dozen Whigs. On the other hand the design of the Democrats was to force their opponents into a false position, while they covered their own past treachery to the South. In short, Sir, should the Wilmot Proviso be passed, nay, should Congress next proceed to abolish Slavery in the District, and the trade between the States, I am compelled to say, with feelings of deep mortification, that Virginia, after a few patriotic groans, will submit. She is already deeply infected with the spirit of abolitionism, much more deeply than most persons think; and I have no doubt our Leaders—who, for the most part, are

mere Pensioners of the Federal Government in *esse* or in *feri* will take advantage of the circumstances to make such *compromises* hereafter as they have made heretofore. The result of the last election affords no fair criterion of popular sentiment, except in some portions east of the mountains. Pendleton, Butts, and Flournoy may show that sentiment in their respective districts, but M^cDowell, by far the most unsound and dangerous of the whole Delegation, reflects but too faithfully the sentiments of the West generally.

With these opinions I fear that when the occasion shall call for decisive action, South Carolina will have to look to the States still further South for support; for, with the lights at present before me, she will not be sustained by Virginia; and, *if not sustained* she will be hunted down, as is usual in such cases, with the tiger vengeance that always characterizes the Traitor. At this moment I am sure the leading Editors of the two Parties in Virg^a. hate the People of S. Carolina with a more intense spirit than Garrison, Tappan or Giddings; and for the obvious reason that their conduct is a standing reproach on their own venality and treachery. They are, as they have always been, only looking to President making. Does not the late letter of Cass to Ritchie show that, under the rose, the game of delusion is still going on? Is it not manifest that ancient political jockey is still rubbing down his spavined steed for a second heat? And will he or those whom he controuls ever stop to inquire about rights or principles, when place and plunder to the amount of millions per. an. depend upon the result of a Presidential election?

Still, if some State do not act we are irretrievably lost; we and our children. There are yet seven thousand men in Virginia who have not bowed the knee to Baal, and I am certain that in whatever course S Carolina may determine to take, in the last resort, she will find a cooperation which will render it no easy matter to crush her. Should the Wilmot Proviso pass, or any kindred measure, I am clear that a Convention of the People should be called immediately, and recommend a General Convention of the Southern States at an early day to take the whole matter into consideration; and on failure to procure such concurrence, to take steps for

their own individual safety. But I am digressing far from the matter which led me to take up the pen. . . .

Truly yours

R. K. CRALLÉ

*From J. L. O'Sullivan.*¹

c. c.

(Confidential.)

Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 24, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, Within a period now counting by days and no longer by months and weeks, the flag of Cuban Independence will be raised.

The people of the Island are ripe and ready in point of opinion and feeling; but, timid and overborne by the military despotism under which they have been so long accustomed to cower, they will of course need a respectable *point d'appui*, to induce them to dare to come out. With such a *point d'appui*, moreover, there is little doubt that a large part if not the whole of the Spanish troops would fraternize with the Revolution. Probably less than 1000 will land under Gen. Lopez.

You are aware of the standing threat of the Spanish Gov't, to make a San Domingo of Cuba if necessary to keep it.

The South ought (according to an expression which Gen. Lopez has quoted to me from you) to flock down there in "open boats", the moment they hear the tocsin. They will hear it very soon. Will they fulfil this expectation? The answer is of supreme importance. They ought not only to go, but *to go at once*. I write to you (being myself deeply interested in the movement, and now on my way to New Orleans on business connected with) in the hope that you will appreciate at once the thousand and powerful reasons which seem to me to apply to your position, to cause you to strain every nerve at this moment for the promotion of the object. At every considerable point in the South volunteers ought to come forward, and go forward in their own modes. It can easily be done legally. They can go as emigrants, California adventurers *via* Cuba, passengers going to Cuba to see for themselves, and determine there to which side to offer their

¹J. L. O'Sullivan was formerly the proprietor of the Democratic Review. This letter relates to the Cuban enterprise commonly called the Round Island expedition,

aid, or to be prepared to act as a neutral police force against servile insurrection in case of danger from the convulsed state of the Island between the two contending parties. Probably the friends of the Revolution can afford them transportation from New Orleans, Charleston, Norfolk or other points, but on this point there can be no practical difficulty. Now, my dear sir, can not you write to fifty points and fifty proper persons to act and act with the requisite energy, promptitude, head and heart, in this matter? Your aid thus extended would be a tower of strength. All going may rely on generous compensation from opulent Cuba, once liberated. But independent of such motives there are considerations enough of a different character which I should think ought to rouse all the youth and manhood of the Southern States in particular to rush down to help the Cuban Revolution.

I shall be for a week at New Orleans, where I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you. This letter is hastily scrawled in the short interval afforded by detention of the cars.

Very Respectfully and Truly, My dear Sir, Your friend and servant,

J. L. O'SULLIVAN.

If I, a "New York Free Soiler" am so deeply interested in behalf of this movement, what ought not to be the enthusiasm of Southern gentlemen?

*From Rose Greenhow.*¹

C. C.

Washington, August 29th, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR . . . Your letter to Mr. Greenhow has arrived yesterday. Now I must tell you of the progress of the Cuba affair. The main spring or mover in the matter has just left me, having taken a parting breakfast, before starting on the perilous undertaking. The expedition will sail on Saturday, that is to say a steamer with a thousand men from

¹ Mrs Greenhow, who writes on account of her husband's illness, was the wife of Robert Greenhow; he was translator to the Department of State from 1828 to 1850, and wrote an important report on the discovery of Oregon (1840) and a valued History of Oregon and California. The reference is to the Round Island expedition for the liberation of Cuba.

New York or some point North, with one part of the forces, and a steamer of a thousand ton with 12 or 15 hundred more, from New Orleans simultaneously, well armed and equipped composed of picked men, and officers, ready for the perils the profits and honours of the venture. We think that all the elements of success are with them, as every chance has been calculated and every thing which prudence and forethought could suggest done to ensure full success. The Government here are in *the secret* and have done no more in the matter of the *Proclamation* than *regard for appearances demanded*. The first fifteen days is the time of trial, and they invite the moral aid, of all true hearts, who desire the incorporation of that ocean gem, in our sisterhood of States—and of all who sympathize with a people groaning under the yoke of tyranny, determined to achieve freedom or die in the struggle.

*From Henry S. Foote.*¹

c. c.

Warrenton. September 25th 1849

MY DEAR SIR; I am gratified to have it within my power to inform you that several leading gentlemen of both the two great political parties in Mississippi, have promised me at our approaching Convention, to act upon your suggestion relative to the recommendation of a Southern Convention. Very recently I have received information from all parts of Missouri touching M^r Bentons movements there, and assuring me of his certain defeat. Among others, Atcheson writes that his overthrow is beyond doubt. Judge Morrow, M^r Treat, and several prominent men besides, write to the same effect. I am invited, as I suppose you are, to the St. Louis Rail-road Convention, and am specially urged to attend by friends who declare their conviction that M^r Benton's plan would be negatived, and none other adopted. It is also declared to be the wish of several that I should address the citizens of St. Louis in opposition to M^r Bentons plan and operations generally. I should willingly comply with both invitations, but I am not certain, or even confident of any such good effects as seem to be anticipated. Were I sure of your attending, which I think you could do with great advantage to the common cause, I

¹ Henry S. Foote (1800-1880) was a Unionist senator from Mississippi from 1847 to 1852, and subsequently governor of the state and Confederate Congressman.

would contrive to meet you, and encounter all the coarser work of the occasion. It would be a great thing to overthrow him, at home, and blow up his Humbug project, in presence of his own constituents.

Several movements which you cannot fail to have perceived, seemed to indicate that the policy of the Administration is to settle the Wilmot Proviso question by admitting California and N. Mexico both as states, upon the formal application next winter. I confess that my mind inclines favorably to the scheme, so far as California is concerned. It appears to me though, that N. Mexico would hardly be ready to enter the Union so early, as my information is that there are not more than five hundred Americans there altogether. I am not inclined to move precipitately in the affair at all; and after all that has occurred, should deem it highly indiscreet to take any important step save in full counsel with yourself and others of the South whom I could name. If California could be brought into the Union under Southern auspices, and provision made for the admission of N. Mexico when a sufficient number of persons of American birth shall be ascertained to have become resident therein; all legislation on the subject of slavery, either by Congress or Territorial legislatures being in the meantime precluded, it seems to me that the honor of the South would be saved, and the population of both the territories so effectually conciliated as might in time lead to most advantageous result. Some such plan as this matured at once and announced about the time of the Missouri Convention, next month, would blow Bentonism *sky-high*; quiet and save the Republic, and sweep away the demagoguism of the present house forever. I do not urge these things upon you. I only suggest them. Whatever is done hereafter in the settlement of this question, I am desirous, for various reasons, should be done under your lead; but I am willing to perform any subordinate part of the good work which may be assigned me. I write in great haste, and under the pressure both of bodily disease, and of mental anguish from the decease of several very dear relatives in the neighborhood which has recently taken place.

I remain most cordially

H S FOOTE

From A. Hutchinson.

C. C.

Jackson Oct 5, 1849.

Hon. JOHN C CALHOUN. Two of your letters to Gen Foote were enclosed to me, to be used according to my discretion on the question of the crisis. That suggesting a Southern Convention was shown by me to our mutual friends Ch. Justice Sharkey¹ and Judge Clifton, who, altho Whigs are well up to Southern rights. We adopted the idea with ardor, but all concurred in opinion, that if we should proceed on a course recommended from S. Carolina, we should fail. The idea of a Southern Convention had previously occurred here—but you may well appreciate how much your opinion strengthened confirmed and animated us. I dropped a note to Gen Foote stating that it had occurred *in Mississippi* that a Southern Convention was the important action required. You will understand this.

In the Mississippian of this date, on its second page, you will find the action of one of the Southern States in Convention, recommending a Convention of the Fifteen Southern States, appointing 12 delegates, with alternates, on the ration that we have two Senators and four representatives in Congress, being six and that both of the two great political parties should be equally represented. Sharkey and myself thought Washington was the best place of the assemblage; but the majority preferred Nashville as more *central*! All agreed that February or March was the time, but here the majority believed that it would require until the 1st of June to enable the Southern States to act.

There were four or five resolutions concerning the exclusion of California, until organized according to the Constitution; but this, not on principle, but as to detail (fact and law) became a theme of prolonged debate; and the Convention, (*impatient to adjourn after three days session,*) laid them all aside and appointed a committee to prepare an address to the South, in which it has been agreed that this subject will be submitted to the Southern People and their Convention.

If the Southern States shall gather around Mississippi and support her the Constitution and the Union will be rescued from the hands of madmen and traitors.

¹William L. Sharkey, chief-justice of Mississippi.

This is the utmost joint action we could obtain. Virginia (my state) I hope will first act, then Alabama, then Louisiana, then Tennessee and Kentucky, then Arkansas, then N. Carolina, then *South Carolina*, and then the *martyred* state of Georgia and the rest. This however is only my wish, the reasons for which I could explain.¹ I trust that our effort will be duly hailed by your nullifying state! Our movement is attempted to be maligned as one of nullification! I am now encouraged to hope that the coalition of the North will soon be compelled to recede and disband. Then politics have too long turned on our affairs: too long has denunciation and actual war upon our agricultural institutions been their theme and agitation.

I am with the highest esteem

A. HUTCHINSON.

*From Reuben Chapman.**

C. C.

Montgomery Ala Oct 19th 1849

Private

DEAR SIR; The legislature of this state will meet here in a few weeks (2nd Monday in next Nov) and as my message I believe will be the first since the adjournment of Congress from any executive of a slave holding state, I am as solicitous as it is certainly important for the interest of the South, that the question now at issue between the Southern and Northern portions of the Confederacy shall be presented as strongly as the nature of a message will allow.

I avail myself therefore of my long acquaintance with you, and your own knowledge of my opinion and course in all questions of this sort in Congress to ask your views as briefly as you may think proper upon the following points. 1st Is not the power of Congress over the territories and public lands within the states identically the same in kind and degree?

¹The second Washington, at his own table, after his election and before he was conducted to the Capitol as the most renowned specimen of a nation's humiliation, said to his guests, in reference to the extension of the area of slavery, to which he was opposed, that "if Mr. C. sneezed S. C. would sneeze." A Southern bishop present told him that "Virginia would sneeze first," etc (Footnote in the original.)

²Reuben Chapman was governor of Alabama from 1847 to 1849.

2nd Does the power of exercising territorial government result from the terms of the 2nd clause of sec. 3rd of Article 4th of the Constitution; or is it incident to the right of acquisition? 3rd May we not rightfully assume from Gen^l Rileys proclamation, that he is acting under instructions from the War Department? and if so, and the ends should be consummated which are in contemplation by that proclamation, would it not be an aggravation of the wrong proposed by the Wilmot proviso? 4th Under what limitations have the people of a territory a right to erect a state government? 5th Are the Mexican and other foreigners resident in California at the ratification of the treaty citizens of the United States within the meaning of the treaty? and if so, has the treaty making power the right to alter in any particular the general naturalization law of the U. S.?

I have thought of recommending that provision be made for convening the legislature immediately upon the passage of the proviso or any similar measure, or the admission of California as a state through the agency above alluded to. Would it be politic to make any other or different recommendation at present? A state or southern convention having neither of them been agitated in this state, I have some fears that the suggestion of either might have a bad effect. The people are however sound on the subject.

I would not trouble you sir knowing the multiplicity of your engagements but for the vital importance of this subject to our country. As my message must be in readiness some days before the legislature meets, I must ask your reply as early as possibly convenient.

With high respect Your friend &c

R CHAPMAN

From Wm. B. Johnston.

C. C.

South Carolinian Office, Columbia, Nov^r 8, 1849.

DEAR SIR, I take the liberty of addressing you for several reasons. Your rumored retirement, you will have noticed probably, we have contradicted in the Carolinian, and we

trust we may have been correct in so doing, indeed we cannot think otherwise.

From various indications, I feel assured the proposition emanating from the Mississippi Convention to hold a Southern Convention will eventually be adopted, and though late may yet be effective in doing good. When conducting a neighboring journal I earnestly and repeatedly urged the necessity of such a measure through its columns; and had the pleasure of knowing that you were convinced that it was *the* action for the South to adopt. Would that the proposition had then received the attention it claimed and deserved. It may not be "too late" now, and there is no doubt but party affiliations have become much weaker since and that there is a better chance for a complete union of men of all parties at the present time.

Intimately associated with the movement, will be the connection of your name with the Presidency, as an independent or constitutional nominee, irrespective of the nominations of the usual *party* Conventions. Now ought not the Democratic presses at the South, take early and decided ground against these Conventions—not only the Democratic press of the South, but Whig also. But more particularly the democratic press, as the late "Coalitions" at the North are sad evidences of the fact that we have, or can have but few friends there. This can be done without the abandonment of any set of political principles, and the mere party associations are not worth a thought, at such a time as this. It could not involve any greater sacrifice—none half so great as the yielding of constitutional rights.

Occupying the position we do, conducting a leading journal, with an extensive and rapidly increasing circulation throughout the State and adjacent States, it is of great importance to us to have [the] benefit of such suggestions as you could give us, and thus be enabled to aid as far as possible in bringing about a union of the South.

I would consider it a great favor if you had leisure to write me briefly upon these subjects, and any suggestions which you might deem of service to me in my present position would be gratefully received and acted on—premising that any commu-

nication you may deem proper to make, being considered strictly confidential—

With great respect Yours truly

W^m B. JOHNSTON.

P. S. I see by the Charleston Courier this evening that they say they have understood you approved of the proposition to hold a Southern Convention. I will probably briefly state in the Carolinian—without saying so authoritatively—that any measure tending to promote union of action will be certain of receiving your sanction.

From J. H. Hammond.¹

Silver Bluff 5 March 1850

MY DEAR SIR, I am greatly rejoiced to hear of your improved health, and by the telegraph that you were in the Senate day before yesterday. I trust that as warm weather advances you will recover entirely and feel well enough to retain your seat through this crisis. If I may judge of your particular views by the three or four sentences which the telegraph devotes to an abstract of your speech on Monday,² I should regard your retirement at this moment as a peculiar calamity to the South. Under any circumstances your loss would be irreparable, but your ideas as to the precise course necessary at this exigency, as I understand them, are so clearly in my judgment the only safe and sound ones, that to be deprived of your powerful aid in developing and enforcing them, would almost make me doubt that Providence was on our side. I have no sort of faith with any Constitutional Compacts with the North. She never has regarded them and never will. On mere Legislative Compromises I look with horror. They are the apples of Hippomenes cast behind him in the race. Our only safety is in *equality of power*. We must divide the territory so as forever to retain that equality in the Senate at least, and in doing so we should count Delaware with the North. She is no Southern or Slave State. I

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond, who writes that it was returned to his father after Calhoun's death on March 31, 1850, by the latter's private secretary.

² Calhoun's famous speech of March 4, 1850, on the slavery question, Works, IV, 542-573.

would infinitely prefer disunion to any thing the least short of this—and I would rather have it I believe *any how* for fear of future Clays, Bentons, Houstons and Bells. If the North will not consent to this I think we should not have another word to say, but kick them out of the Capitol and set it on fire. We must act *now*, and *decisively*. We will be in a clear minority when California comes in and in twenty or thirty years, there will be ten more free states West of the Mississippi and ten more North of the St Lawrence and the Lakes. England would gladly surrender Canada to us now, if she had a decent pretext that would serve her pride. Long before the North gets this vast accession of strength she will ride over us rough shod, proclaim freedom or something equivalent to it to our Slaves and reduce us to the condition of Hayti. She would not even do as England did to Jamaica. She would do what the Constituent Assembly did to Hayti. If we do not act now, we deliberately consign our children, not our posterity, but *our children* to the flames. What a holocaust for us to place upon the Altar of that Union, for which the South and West have had such a bigoted and superstitious veneration.

It seems to me that Congress will leave nothing for the Nashville Convention to do. If you make a truce, however fatal, we cannot violate it. If you make an impassable breach, the powers of the Convention under the Virginia instructions will be inadequate to any useful purpose. The only thing to be done will be to call a General Congress of the South. The Nashville Convention might recommend that, but I presume an equally potent impulse would come from Congress. Should things remain—contrary to every appearance—pretty much as they are, I think that will be the proper course for the Nashville Convention to take. I am decidedly opposed to any Address either defiant or remonstrant, or conciliatory to the North, and nothing need be said to the South after the Southern Address. A very Short Preamble and a couple of resolutions would answer every purpose and these I could draw in five minutes. In fact I have had them by me for some time. The substance of them is in this letter. I am not ambitious myself to “Bell the Cat” and will not push to make the move, but rather second it. But would make it. I would

send you a copy of this paper, but fear to involve you unnecessarily in its consequences. You must preserve yourself for the Convention to frame the New Constitution. You must be there with your full powers. In the mean time I am extremely anxious to see your Book on Government. I trust that you have taken the ground that the fundamental object of Government is to *secure* the fruits of labor and skill—that is to say *property*, and that its forms must be moulded upon the social organization. Life and liberty will then be secured, for these are naturally under the guardianship of Society and that civilization which is the fruit of its progress. “*Free Government*” and all that sort of thing has been I think a fatal delusion and humbug from the time of Moses. Freedom does not spring from Government but from the same soil which produces Government itself; and all we want from that is a guarantee for property fairly acquired. I fear it will be impossible for me to go to Washington. I must endeavour to put my affairs in a proper train, to be neglected hereafter if circumstances require it, as every man must do his duty when the tug comes. In the last eight crops I have sunk four and two of these in the last three, and just now a heavy pecuniary responsibility has devolved on me. . . . Altho’ I have the strongest hopes that I have my lands now in a condition to repay me rapidly all I have sunk in their improvement, I must at this time act with exceeding caution and dare not leave them to any management but my own until I see my crop fairly on the way. Do write me as fully as you can. I think the Atlantic and Gulf States are by an immense majority ready for any thing, and less patient than their leaders. Six months has produced an immense change and it is going on rapidly. If the leaders will only *lead*, neither they nor we have any thing to fear.

Yours sincerely

J. H. HAMMOND

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of course expect their support; but if not I will not complain. In the mean time silence is the best policy. Leave me to meet the occasion. I have received also two letters from Green. I am not surprised at his embarrassment and distress. I have written to him by this mail. I am surprised to hear from him, that he has not received my letters to him. I have written including that which goes to-day four or five letters. Will you say so to him. So far from neglect, I will ever hold him in high estimation for his honest and disinterested course, under the most trying circumstances.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Fort Hill 14th July 1831.

MY DEAR SIR, The last mail brought yours and its enclosures; the latter I herewith return, without taking copies.

If any thing could amaze me, as to the conduct of those in power, what you communicate would have that effect, I take it for granted the movement is from the President himself. How, after the correspondence between him and M^r Monroe, and his attempt to justify his conduct on the ground, that his orders authorised it, he can at this late day attempt to give the affair a turn, which it would be impossible for him to make the publick to believe to be true; and, if he could, would prove fatal to his own character for honor, sincerity and truth, is really extraordinary.

You did well, I think, to consult M^r Wirt. The view he presented appears to me to be the true one. You did not enclose the copy of your letters to him, and I do not therefore understand your view, why you think it best not to communicate with M^r Rhea. I confess with the light I have, it seems to me M^r Wirt is right on that point, as well as all others. It is the natural course, and the reason ought to be strong to take one, that might require explanation.

The subject is one in which the character of M^r Monroe as well as the government is so deeply involved, that nothing ought to be omitted in order to guard his reputation. The question ought not to be permitted to rest simply on the

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

weight of character. The probable truth of the respective statements ought to be fully investigated, should the subject come before the publick. No one is more competent to the task, than M^r Wirt; and I feel confident none would undertake it with more devoted zeal.

I deeply regret to learn the low state of M^r Monroe's health. He is approaching the period, that naturally brings life to a termination, and I feel assured, that one of his firmness of mind, who has passed through so honorable and useful a career, will look at the approach of the period, with perfect calmness.¹ Present my most sincere and affectionate regard to him, and mine, with M^{rs} Calhoun's, respects to M^{rs} G. M^{rs} C and the children, to whom you referred, are gratified with your kind recollection, and in turn desire to be remembered to you.

To Christopher Van Deventer.²

Fort Hill 5th Aug^t. 1831

MY DEAR SIR, Yours of the 6th July, with its enclosure, was safely received. The article was exceedingly well written. It is clear, if the anti masons nominate Judge M^cLean, it will either reelect Gen^l Jackson, or bring the contest into the House where the Judge would be very weak. Report says, that he has declined putting himself on anti masonick grounds. I have been written to but have not yet replied. I will not be in too much haste to decide, whether I will answer, or not. If I do, I will state my opinions precisely as they exist, which is anti-masonick, but adverse to administering the Government on principles of proscription.

There has been so much solicitude to know my sentiments on the great question of the relation, which the state and General Gover^t. bear to each other that I have laid them before the publick, as an act due to them, as well as to myself. I herewith transmit a copy. You will see, that I place myself on the principles, that brought the Republican party into power, in 1801; and that I have expressed myself with that tone of attachment to the Union of these states and our political institutions, which I have ever felt. I know not how

¹ President Monroe had died on July 4.

² Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

our northern friends will receive the communication; but I feel assured, that it contains the only principles by which our constitution, our Union and liberty can be preserved.

I would gladly have given my sentiments on the subject of internal improvement, but I thought it not sufficiently connected with the subject in hand. I have no doubt of its great importance and, within proper limits, its constitutionality; but I think experience has abundantly shown, that the system cannot stand on a solid, or satisfactory basis without the insertion of an express provision Authorizing its exercise, and guarding against its abuses. When the debt is paid, I would be glad to see such a provision, and think the publick lands would constitute the proper funds under proper guards to be appropriated to this great object. I feel assured, that neither the questions of internal improvement, nor the proper disposition of the publick lands will ever be settled down till something of the kind be done, and that, till they are both fixed, our political system will be subject to violent discord and vibrations. Let these, with the Tariff, be placed on their proper basis, and the country will have some prospect of repose, and not before.

If the country wants an individual to carry on the sectional conflicts, I am not their man. I would not advance myself by sacrificing its true interests; but if they look to the higher considerations of peace, harmony and liberty, it would be the proudest incident of my life, to be instrumental in promoting these great objects.

Our best respects to M^{rs} V. and your family.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Fort Hill 8th Aug^t 1831

MY DEAR SIR, The severe indisposition of M^{rs} Calhoun has prevented me from acknowledging at an earlier period your note of the 4th July announcing, by a concurrence, that will be memorable in history, the death of M^r Monroe.

Your previous letter had prepared me for the melancholy

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

occurrence, if death, with the fulness of days and honor, can be so considered.

I shall ever hold the memory of the deceased in gratitude and reverence. It is now almost twenty years since our acquaintance commenced, during a considerable portion of which time, I had ample opportunity, as chairman of the Committee of Foreign relations, while he was Secretary of State, and as Secretary of War under him during seven years of his administration, of forming a correct opinion of his character. Tho' not brilliant, few men were his equals in wisdom, firmness and devotion to the country. He had a wonderful intellectual patience; and could above all men, that I ever knew, when called on to decide on an important point, hold the subject immovably fixed under his attention, till he had mastered it, in all of its relations. It was mainly to this admirable quality, that he owed his highly accurate judgment. I have known many much more rapid in reaching the conclusion, but very few, with a certainty so unerring.

Tho' not intending it, I find myself by a natural propensity, when speaking of departed friends, sliding into a biographical sketch, tho' writing to one, who knew him so intimately, that it must appear out of place, yet I am sure you will pardon it, as the overflowing of friendship and esteem. That I acquired and retained to the last the good opinion of one, whose name will occupy a high station in the eye of posterity, I consider among the fortunate incidents of my life.

I enclose, herewith, a copy of the statement of my opinions on the relation, which the States and Gen^l. Government bear to each other; a subject of the most vital importance, and which from the difference of views entertained in relation to it, is destined to bear strongly on the political movements of the country hereafter. Mine are the opinions of the Republican party of '98, beyond which I do not go an inch. I can scarcely hope for the concurrence of my northern friends, however high the authority and strong the reasons, which sustain me. The ardent pursuit of gain, and the squabbles of politicks have been long drawing off our attention from the higher principles of government, till they are almost forgotten; and nothing but calamity, or its near approach can move

the country to a sense of the danger, always attendant on great and radical errors of policy.

In relation to the subject of your former letter, I learn from a source entitled to perfect credit, that an individual retiring from Washington not long since detailed all of the facts openly at Cincinnati, Ohio, with an intimation, that they would shortly be laid before the publick. Will they not appear in M^r Crawford's book which it is said will be shortly forthcoming? Some able friend of M^r Monroe, M^r Wirt above all others, ought to be prepared to vindicate his character.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Fort Hill 18th Aug^t. 1831

MY DEAR SIR, You have assigned very substantial reasons for the course, which you adopted in relation to M^r Rhea's letter to M^r Monroe. If they do not out weigh the opposite consideration, they at least leave it a question of doubt. In considering him a mere instrument in the hands of others, you undoubtedly took the correct view. I intimated, that the whole would not improbably come out in M^r Crawford's promised correspondence, in my former letter to you. I am strengthened in that impression, by having since learned that he has been in correspondence with M^r Balch preparatory to his coming out; and that M^r Balch was in Washington at the same time with M^r Rhea, as I suppose on the same errand. M^r Crawford's communication, according to an announcement in a Georgia paper, which apparently spoke on authority, ought to have appeared before this in the Globe. Has not the death of M^r Monroe delayed it? It would produce too great a shock to attack his character, while the publick sympathy was so much excited.

You took no greater liberty, than you had a right to do, in transmitting my letter to you to M^r Wirt for his inspection. I have unbounded confidence in his discretion and honor.

In whatever concerns the character of our deceased friend I take a deep interest, and will at all times, to the full extent

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

of my power, cooperate with you in repelling every attack on his fair fame. The course now is obvious, to stand still till the enemy moves, which will put you in possession of his ground. With the direct proof, and the strong collateral circumstances corroborating it, fairly presented to the publick, there can be no doubt of the complete vindication of his character, and the prostration of those, who to save themselves from disgrace, would ruin his reputation.

I enclose you a copy of my communication to the publick. The step was one, I knew of much hazard; but in such cases, I hold candour and truth above all other considerations. That any force of argument can change public opinion on the subjects considered in the communication, I do not expect; but I feel assured that the coming confusion and danger, which I have for years foreseen, will. I know I am right. I have gone over the whole subject, with more care, than I ever did any other; and feel that I can not be mistaken; and I now have, as I ever have had, the utmost confidence in the triumph of truth if properly sustained.

To James Edward Calhoun.

O. C.

Fort Hill 27th Aug^t 1831

DEAR JAMES, The heavy rains and great rise in the Water courses must of course make you solicitous to hear about your planting interest in this quarter. The river has been very full, all over the low grounds, and covering completely the crops, except on a few most elevated spots. It has subsided partially, but is not yet in the banks. The cotton I think is lost, and I fear the corn too. They are both covered over with mud, tho there is now falling a rain, which I hope may was[h] it off, and at least give a more cheerful appearance. I had 50 acres of cotton completely covered and all my corn, in the same condition, except about 3 acres. The cotton on the upland has suffered most from the wet. It has shed profusely.

My communication, as far as I have yet heard, has been well received; with great approbation on our side, and not unkindly on the opposite, with very few exceptions. I have yet seen but two Virginia papers; both very favourable. The R.¹ Enquirer I have not yet received.

Aleck, our house servant, gave us the slip yesterday and is now in the woods. I expect he has made for my place, and may possibly take Midway on his course. I must ask of you the favour to keep a lookout for him, and to give M^r Gibson my overseer immediate notice in order that he may be also on the lookout. I will thank you to inform him, if he should be taken, to have him severely whipped and sent back immediately. I give this trouble, which I am sure you will excuse, as I have a private opportunity of writing to you sooner than I could by mail to my plantation. He had offended your sister, and she threatened him, with a severe whipping. He ran away to avoid it; and has left us without a house servant, except females.

We are all well except your sister, who has not yet entirely recovered, but is much better. I will be glad to hear from you. Should you hear, I would be glad to learn, how I have fared on the River below, and whether Aleck has been seen or heard of.

To Armistead Burt.²

Fort Hill 1st Sep^r 1831

MY DEAR SIR, I am glad to hear that Alick has been apprehended and am much obliged to you for paying the expense of apprehending him, which I will return when I send for him, and taking him to your house. He ran away for no

¹ Richmond.

² Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C. Major Armistead Burt (1802-1883), who in 1828 had married Calhoun's niece Martha, the daughter of his brother William, was always one of his most active political supporters in South Carolina. From 1843 to 1858 he represented the State in Congress. See B. F. Perry's *Reminiscences of Public Men*, pp. 5-12.

other cause, but to avoid a correction for some misconduct, and as I am desirous to prevent a repetition, I wish you to have him lodged in Jail for one week, to be fed on bread and water and to employ some one for me to give him 30 lashes well laid on, at the end of the time. I hope you will pardon the trouble. I only give it, because I deem it necessary to our proper security to prevent the formation of the habit of running away, and I think it better to punish him before his return home than afterwards. I will send for him the last of next week.

I am much gratified to hear that my communication has been so well received by our friends in Abbeville and that the party is doing so well. Our cause is founded in truth and must prevail; or the liberty of the country be lost.

M^{rs} Calhoun is not yet entirely recovered, and she desires her love to you and Martha.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 10th Sep^r 1831

MY DEAR JAMES, Your letter gave me the first information of the extent of my loss at Bath. That added to my loss here, which is literally everything, except about 50 acres of cotton, renders it a calamitous year to me. I will nothing like clear expenses. I am glad to hear, that your prospect is so much better. Your loss here is nothing like in proportion to mine, which is the heaviest on the river. The place is very low. It is a great objection. I send Lewis to bring up Harold and Aleck. The latter is at Abbeville. He was taken up on his way down. I send you some of the last papers. You will see by the Telegraph the tone of some of the leading Clay papers. They are for the most part respectful; I would say more so on an average than those quoted. The Enquirer praises all except the right of the state to interpose. My information from that state in very cheering. In fact I have got through far better than I anticipated. The communication has, as far as I have seen, been published in every paper except the Globe,

and has been I understand universally read. Robbins, who you know knows everything, as he supposes, says the poorest and most ignorant people about Mr Oliver's read it with great interest, and that it has made a strong impression on them.

We have gained the victory in the Charleston city election; and Waddy Thompson writes me, that a thorough going state rights man is elected Gov^r. of Miss^l. The symptoms look well in N. Carolina. You must be sure not to be beaten in Abbeville. Victory there will be important; very important. Take some interest yourself in the contest. You can do much good by canvassing.

Your sister is recovered and we are all well, tho not without apprehension as to health in consequence of the inundation. I wish you to get for me two bushels of corn from Mr Halsey. It comes so early, that it may help me out next summer. Do not fail to obtain it early.

George is doing well. He was much alarmed for fear of sickness, but is now I believe without apprehension.

Your sister and all of the children desire their love to you. I send enclosed two letters.

To Christopher Van Deventer.¹

Fort hill 27th Oct^r 1831

MY DEAR SIR. I have received your last with its enclosures. That Mr S should still consider himself of the Jefferson school of politicks, while he brands his doctrines as those of disunion, I am not at all surprised, tho under ordinary circumstances the thing would have been passing strange. The truth is, that the great body of Northern politicians, in their long contest about men, have entirely forgot principles, and are, as ignorant of the doctrines of the Republican party in former times, as, if they had never read, or heard of them.

Your reply is well written, yet I would advise my friends at this time to avoid, if possible, every thing that would lead to collision in any quarter, saving only with that corrupt knot

¹Original lent by Col J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

that has got hold of power, and who have blasted the fruits of the great victory, which the country had achieved in favour of principle. If you reason with any one, or publish anything, let it be in the calmest spirit, attributing error, but not willful intention. The cause of truth is great, and must prevail. Of this I feel the greatest confidence.

You must not think of publishing the correspondence to which you allude. It would do me no discredit, but a false interpretation would be placed on the publication, which would do harm. The continued assaults of my enemies will give me ample opportunity to place my conduct fairly before the publick on all points, that may be interesting; and there is always great advantage in acting on the defensive. Thus you see, the assault of Maj^r Eaton, in his late address has compelled, and, therefore justified, a reply on my side, in order to correct his errors, in relation to myself, which has afforded me an opportunity to place in its proper light several points, essential to put my course and my character fairly before the publick. Among others, I have corrected his statement of what took place on my application on your behalf, for the place of Chief clerk; and, in doing so, have alluded to my letter to you, informing you of the result, and enclosing the letter of Governor Hamilton to me, in reference to the same subject. I presume you received my letter, tho I do not recollect whether you answered it, or not. As Maj^r Eaton may attempt a reply, I wish you to furnish me a certified Copy of my letter to you and also of the enclosed letter of Gov^r. Hamilton. Address to Washington, so it may be there the first week of the session, and not before, least it might [be] sent to my residence here.

I am glad to learn that your farming prospects are so good, and trust that your anticipation will be fully realized. You deserve much credit for the firmness with [which] you have met difficulties.

M^{rs} Calhoun joins her best respects to yourself, M^{rs} V. and family.

[P. S.] If you have not retained the letter send me a full statement of its contents, as far as you remember it, and also of Gov^r. Hamilton's.

*Memorandum of a Conversation, December 4, 1831.*¹ c. c.

Mem. of a conversation with the Hon. J. C. Calhoun on the night of the 4th of Dec^r 1831.² Spoke of the Gen^l. Gov^t. its positive power—of the negative power of the States—of the tendency of the former to encroach upon and weaken the latter. A State can only confer subordinate distinctions—the Gov^t. more elevated—this corrupts or weakens the States. Of the doctrine of responsibility to the Constituents—carried out to the responsibility of classes in the manufacturing, agricultural and mercantile. Showed that the principle was equally important in its application—That the negative power of the States was this doctrine of responsibility as applied to the Gen^l. Gov^t. that it was the salvation of the Governmt. That the doctrine of secession was only applicable on a question between the *States*; and not as to one or more *States* and the *Gen Gov^t*—that being the agent of the whole. The 3^d 4^{ths} are the ultimate tribunal in all cases involving disputed matters between the agent and principals—and secession can only take place as between the Parties on the decision of that tribunal. Of Capital and operatives—Spoke of the tendency of Capital to destroy and absorb the property of society and produce a collision between itself and operatives. The Federal Govt. by its distribution of revenues creates capitalists, and operates upon the labour of the States. Took the Instance of 100 men without a Gov^t. showed the equilibrium that would prevail. Supposed a Government that would give \$5000 to ten of the hundred and then traced the tendency of the Capital to erradicate the possession of the soil, and to reduce the 90 to a state of simple operatives. Spoke of the Tariff speech in 1816—Done at the request of Ingham suddenly and without preparation. Internal Improvement—in favour of a Constitutional provision giving but limiting the use of the power in favour of the west.

Suggested the propriety of Tazewell's bring up a States Rights resolution in the Senate. Positively declines a compact with Clay. Spoke of his folly and his hopes. spoke of Jackson—said he had it in his power to annihilate him—but would act on the defensive. Gave his views in regard to

¹ From an anonymous MS.

² The night before the opening of the session.

himself—that he was for the virtues and the principles of the South, &c. &c. Said the Anti-Masons had written to him before the nomination of Wirt—His answer was in his Expos'n. He gave it no other. Between two Parties, one founded in interests the other on principle, or antagonists, the middle Party always has the power and wields the patronage. So in the Tariff Party and Free Trade Party—the Jackson half-way gets all the honours—

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 25th Dec^r 1831

MY DEAR JAMES, I have received your letter of the 8th Dec^r. covering a copy of yours to Ma^r Hamilton. The manner, in which you have handled the subject, proves that you have taken a strong hold of it; and, I am of the impression, that the mode of action, which you indicate would at the proper stage have been one of the best to bring our cause before the world, but at the same time, I believe the period has passed to make application in any form to Congress. In fact, it may well admit of a doubt, whether it would be desirable to have a convention of the states till some one of them had interposed, as it is only by such action, that a necessity of acting on the subject could be imposed on the other states, and without such necessity, nothing would be done. With a knowledge that such would be the case, it would be impossible for our members to urge the subject with that Zeal and earnestness requisite to make an impression. I feel daily the more assured, that there is no other remedy for the deep disease, which now afflicts the system, but the one, which our state has fixed on. It will not cure itself. There is not the least indication of the system which oppresses us giving away. The taxes may, and probably will be, repealed; but the bounties will be retained; that is the duties may be repealed on all of the articles, which cannot be manufactured in the country, but will be retained on all that can; the effects of which will be to diminish the burden, but to make it more unequal; to take it off the rich, and leave it on the poor; off the north and on the south; and yet this is all we can expect. Not an inch

more will be yielded; if this indeed can be called yielding. In the mean time, as a necessary result of such injustice and inequality, disaffection and corruption are striking their roots deeply in every direction; and the fatal lesson in a free state is daily taught, that the road to obtain and retain power lies through duplicity, cunning and subserviency. When I look back and mark the progress of events for the last 15 years, and note the decay of honor, honesty and patriotism, and the growth of the opposite vices, I hold it utterly impossible that the present march of our affairs can continue 15 years more, without an entire change of system. It must be arrested, or revolution will be the alternative.

The weather has been exceedingly severe, more so than I have ever known both for the intensity and duration of the cold. It relaxed yesterday, but I fear only to lay the foundation for snow, or rain. If it has been as cold with you, it must have made the completion of our cotton harvest very slow and disagreeable. As far as I can learn the crop will be a short one.

I hope you have entirely recovered. Influenzas have been very common, in fact I may say almost universal. I have escaped with a slight attack, not exceeding in severity an ordinary cold. M^r Wirt has been dangerously ill; but is better. I will be glad to hear from you. Living batchelor as you do, you must have much leisure for writing. Do not forget the corn from Providence.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Washington 27th Dec^r 1831

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your letters of the 17 and 19th Insts with their enclosures and am much obliged [to] you for furnishing me with the Statements they contain.

I have little to write. I do not see the least prospect of any satisfactory modification of the Tariff. As far as I can judge from indications, the result will be the repeal of the taxes and the retention of the bounties; that is, the duties will be retained on all articles the North can manufacture, and be repealed on

¹Original lent by Mr. J Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

all others. The burden will it is true be diminished, but the inequality be increased; it will be taken off[f] the North and left on the South; off the rich and left on the poor. More than this we cannot expect; at least such is my fear; tho' I sincerely hope that I may be mistaken. We shall soon see.

I rejoice to see the Whig commence with so much spirit, and talents. It will be an able auxiliary in the great cause of the Constitution and of liberty. If we should be defeated in Carolina, there will be little hope for our system. Let all be animated with the conviction that they are contending for the Constitution; for the Union; and liberty.

The weather has been exceedingly cold but is now somewhat more moderate. Influenza has been almost universal, and in many instances very severe. I have escaped with a slight attack.

What I write on politicks, you will of course understand is not for the publick.

Make my best respects to Martha.¹

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 30th Dec^r 1831

MY DEAR MARIA, I have been waiting some time to hear from you, but see that as usual you stand on the ceremony of the first letter, even with your father. I do not know, that I ought to censure you for your aversion to writing, as I believe it is in some degree hereditary; but you ought to recollect, that the great object of education is not only to cultivate our faculties, but to learn to control our dispositions; to restrain those that are too strong, and strengthen those, that are too weak. Among the latter, I am sure you will place your disposition to correspond. I do not know a more desirable acquirement (I mean of the literary kind) in a lady, than that of writing a good letter; an acquirement, however, which can only be attained by practice; but which with practice and care may certainly be acquired, at least in a respectable degree. In your case, with your vivacity, and good sense, all that you want is *practice*; and I must insist on your

¹ Mrs Burt, Calhoun's niece.

extending to me during the winter, a full share of your practice. Your Mother informed me, that she had determined on M^r Mark's institution, and that you would commence the 1st Jan^y. I hope you find yourself well situated, and that you are well pleased. You must write to me without delay and give me a full account of everything; the course of studies, the teachers; what you are learning; how many young ladies; and where they are from; who are your room mates; and who your particular companions. If you do not wish to write too long a letter, you may make my inquiries the subject of several.

I wrote Co^l Chappell about a week since and enclosed him \$200 for you, with the request that he would hold it in his hand and disburse it for you. A part is intended for your pocket money, and the rest for your necessary expenses. I hope he has received my letter. The weather has been exceedingly cold; more so than I have ever witnessed. It is now snowing. Influenzas have been almost universal, and in many instances severe. I have escaped, I believe as well as any one that I know.

You have many friends in Columbia. You must not permit yourself to be drawn too much into company. Restrict your visiting to a few families, and do not go into large parties. It will be time enough two, or three years hence to go into company. Let me know what families you visit; and if you have not written, do not delay to write immediately.

[P. S] I have just received the enclosed¹ from the engraver. Keep one yourself and give the other to whom you please.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.²

Washington 13th Feb 1832

MY DEAR SIR, I am not at all surprised, that the current of events here should produce the impression, which it has on you. The whole system is, I fear, deeply diseased, while those, who have the administration of the government in their hands, appear entirely unconscious of the fact, or at least

¹ A picture of himself. See the letter of February 13, 1832, to Miss Calhoun.

² From the Monroe Papers, Department of State; text from an official copy.

indifferent to the fate of the country. Never did I conceive it possible, that a political degeneracy so rapid and extensive could fall on a free country, as that which has fallen on ours within the last seven years. The election of Mr. Adams, under the unfortunate circumstance, [under which] it occurred, gave the downward impulse, which has received a four fold acceleration, by the elevation of the man, who was raised to power to arrest the de[s]cent. How this has resulted I need not relate. It is sufficient to say, that the union of those peculiar qualities which belong to Gen^l. Jackson, his popularity, his force of character; his jealousy, and want of political information, with the impression of his patriotism and honesty, with those, that in like manner belong to Mr Van Buren, his dexterity, cunning, and skill in party tactics, formed a combination better calculated to engender the present corrupt and dangerous state of things, than any other that can ever be imagined. When to this, I add the peculiar character, and action of the opposition, under the direction and control of Mr Clay, which has brought the great interests of this country into a state of most dangerous conflict, I feel that we are rapidly approaching the most dangerous crisis, through which our country has ever passed. It is time for the virtuous and patriotick to lay aside every other consideration, but to save the country, and this, I feel assured, can only be effected by a thorough reformation. Thus thinking, those with whom I act, stand aloof from the present party conflicts. They can act with neither side. Their simple aim is to discharge their duty, and restore the constitution.

I do not doubt, but that the partisans of Mr V. B. will make the most desperate effort to force him into the V. Presidency, but judging from indications, I am of the impression, they will fail. I am told by those, who ought to know, that neither Virginia nor Pennsy^a. will support him, nor consent to send delegates to Baltimore. I am of the impression he will not get a southern vote. My own state will stand aloof from that, as well as the contest for the Presidency. When the time comes she will quietly give her vote according to her sense of duty.

I feel the deepest conviction, that our politicks must take a new direction, and that the government must be thoroughly

reformed in every department with the next four years, or our splendid political experiment will fail, and with it the best hopes of the human race.

I would be very glad to see you on many accounts. I have much to say, that I cannot well say by letter; particularly in relation to that, which concerns the character and memory of our departed friend. I fear the movers against him have not ceased with his death, but that an effort will be made to consummate the base and wicked conspiracy of the last summer.

I am in good health, and trust you are the same. Make my kind respects to M^{rs} G^r. and believe me to be with sincere regard

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 13th Feb 1832

MY DEAR MARIA, As I promised to be a very punctual correspondent, I feel, that I owe an explanation, for the long interval between the dates of your last and this my answer to it, but I have no other, but one, which has been so often offered by negligent correspondent[s], as to be of a very suspicious character, the want of time. I would, however, have you to believe, that, in this case, it is offered in good faith, as a real and substantial explanation. Between business, and miscellaneous engagements, I know of no place better calculated to interrupt a correspondence, than Washington, during a session of Congress; but I must give you notice, that while I may occasionally avail myself of the plea of want of time, I must protest against your offering it on your part, who can have no other interruption, but your studies. I know that you acquire so rapidly, that you cannot in fairness be entitled to put in the plea. You see from what I write, that I shall expect a prompt acknowledgement of this my letter; and, when I tell you how much pleasure it affords me to hear from you, my dear child, I am sure your compliance will be as cheerful as I doubt not it will be prompt. You will, at all events, not be able to get off with your old excuse, that you have no aptness at letter writing. Your last letter is remarkably well written, and affords evidence, that you only need a

little more habit of writing to excel in that description of composition. It is, in fact, the kind that ladies are most apt to excel in; and which, as they are the most frequently compelled to exercise, they ought to cultivate with the greatest care.

I am much gratified to learn, that you are so well pleased with the institution and your situation. The change of your room mate must add to the agreeableness of your situation. I am glad to see, among other things, that your regulations require such early rising; and do hope, you will contract a habit, which will contribute greatly to your health, as well as happiness through life. While pursuing your studies, you must not neglect dancing, musick and the other accomplishments. You know the estimate your Uncle James places even on the walk, but as worthy of cultivation, as that may be, I consider the position in sitting to be still more so, as being connected with health as well as the graces.

I agree with you, the likeness, I sent, is not good. I sent it because the artist had placed several in my hands, and I had no other mode of disposing of them, but to send them to those, who might take some interest even in a tolerable likeness.

I continue to enjoy good health; and am becoming exceedingly anxious to return. These long separations are exceedingly painful, and I will certainly turn my face homeward, the moment my publick duties will permit me to depart from this place. Make my best respects to Co^l Chappell and family, Judge Martin and family, and, if Judge De Saussure should be in Columbia, to him and Miss Sarah.

To James Edward Cullhoun.

C. C.

Washington 26th Feb 1832

MY DEAR JAMES, I will without delay attend to the Bank dividend; and, when obtained, will dispose of your share, as you desire. You have taken the true view of our agriculture. We are, as you say, better off, than what they are in high latitudes. Rotation alone, if washing is prevented, will go far to keep up our land. With us, small grain is an im-

prover; not of itself, but through the after growth, if the land be not pastured, which gives us a decided advantage over higher latitudes, where the harvest is too late for an after growth. But we must not neglect manure. It is a great addition; and ought to be carefully attended to. With proper attention to that, and a rotation based on cotton, corn and small grain, we may (provided always that washing be prevented) go on fertilizing our land from year to year, till Carolina will become one of the finest regions on the globe. I speak on the supposition that the draining process is arrested, which annually transfers not much short of \$20,000,000 of our labour to be placed on far distant regions; a process, the impoverishing effect of which no industry nor skill can counteract. As connected with this point, I enclose M^cDuffie's report on the Tariff, the best thing, that he has said, or written on the subject.¹ It is far from exhausting the subject, but as far as it goes, is unanswerable, and complete except as to the money section, on which his former opinions, have somewhat warped his judgement. I also send you agreeably to your request the documents appended to the report of the Secretary of the Navy; and when Gallatin's report,² with Judge Harpers appendix, on the Tariff is printed, I will also forward you that. It is an important document; but I cannot but suspect, that the Genevan has been much more anxious to conciliate the powers that be, than to do justice to the South. His scheme would give us but small relief, and would but lay the foundation of new struggles. We have certainly made an impression; not by speaking, for that would of itself have had no effect, but by the intrepid and noble stand of our little State. The dread of interposition operates, where logick cannot reach. One great point we have certainly gained, the concentration of Southern opinions, as to the operation of the system. No man from the South is now deceived by the absurdity, that the consumers pay. This is a great step in our march; yet, I think, the North will not yield. They begin to acknowledge, that the real question is, who shall supply the market, and that unless prevented, we can furnish the foreign supplies so cheap, by exchanging our

¹ Presumably the speech of February 8.

² Memorial of the committee appointed by the Free Trade Convention, New York, 1882.

staple products for them, that we can drive them out of the market; a confession, which places the injustice and oppression of the system in the most glaring light. But to turn to agriculture; I am obliged to you for engaging the boiler. I shall find great use for it, when I get my mill in operation. I intend to change my entire system of feeding. In agricultural improvements, I would recommend to you the free use of the coulter, when the surface is bare. It can puncture so much deeper with the same force, that it would be found to be a great instrument both to prevent washing, and to counteract the effects of droughts.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Washington 4th March 1832

MY DEAR SIR, As the subject of your last letter was connected with [the] memory of M^r Monroe, I determined, before I took any step in relation to it, or the letter enclosed, I would lay them before M^r Wirt, so as to have the benefit of his opinion, before I formed my own. The result has been, that we concur in thinking, that it is not necessary to notice the allusion in M^r Forsyth's speech. As far as we are informed, it has attracted no attention; and, in fact, it is so brief, and stands so detached from any thing connected, with what it may be supposed to refer to, that it is doubtful, whether any one not acquainted with the facts, would regard it, as it was probably intended.

Having come to this conclusion, I of course did not deliver the letter enclosed; but thought it proper to show it to the General, who I know may be fully confided in. He concurs in the view taken by M^r Wirt and myself. We think, that the proper position to be taken by the friends of M^r Monroe is to act strictly on the defensive. Should any open move be made in this most nefarious affair by General Jackson, or his partisans for him, no doubt, it ought to be met directly, and with the indignation, which the character of the transaction is so well calculated to excite. I do not, however, believe any such move will be made. It would not be in character.

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

Crime is cowardly. The scheme will be to operate in the dark, and to use the extensive and powerful machinery in his hands to preoccupy the publick mind. I have, in fact, documents in my hand which prove conclusively, that this operation has been, and is still in process; and it is not improbable, that it will become necessary to counteract it. I am of the impression, that, at your convenience, you ought to visit the city, when all of the facts will be before you, and when the course, that ought to be adopted, may, after full consideration, be determined on. I wish to see you on several accounts, and hope, if your business does not prevent, you will not fail to make us a visit.

I would have answered your letter earlier, but Mr Wirt was so occupied in court, that it was some days before he had sufficient leisure to turn his attention to the subject of your letter. I hope the view, which we have taken will meet with your concurrence.

Present my best respects to Mrs G. and believe me to be with sincere regard

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 10th March 1832

MY DEAR MARIA, I have read your last letter with much pleasure. It is correctly and sensibly written. With practice you will excel in letter writing. It is among the highest accomplishments; and well deserves careful cultivation.

With your great aversion to early rising, you deserve much praise for not having in any instance "missed prayers"; and, I do hope, that your anticipation, that habit will make it agreeable to you, will prove correct. We lose time, pleasure and health by late sleeping. Life is a journey. If we lose the morning, it will require hard and fatiguing travel to reach our stage. You must see that daily exemplified in your lessons. The greatest effort will scarcely regain the loss of a single hour in the morning. I am gratified to learn, that you stand head. Where there are so many girls it is a proof both of application and talents. The first visit I make to Mr. Thompson's book store, I will get and send to you the musick

which you request. Give a full and fair trial to your voice, but unless it should prove at least pretty good, it would be an useless consumption of time to attempt to become a Singer; but do not despair till you have made a fair trial.

You say, you are anxious to know, what is going on in the political world, as you have no opportunity to learn passing events in your secluded situation. I am not one of those, who think your sex ought to have nothing to do with politicks. They have as much interest in the good condition of their country, as the other sex, and tho' it would be unbecoming them to take an active part in political struggles, their opinion, when enlightened, cannot fail to have a great and salutary effect. So you see, that I have no disposition to withhold political information from you, but you must excuse me in declining the task of giving you a proper conception of the present political condition of the country. It would be impossible in the limited sphere of an ordinary letter. I can only say negatively, that things are going on badly, and that there must be a great change to bring our affairs right. I hope such a change may be effected, but it is a work of much difficulty.

I commend your caution in declining to speak of your associates till you have had more time to form your opinion of their respective talents, and character. Much of the misfortune of life comes from hasty and erroneous conception of others. A single error, in that particular, often involves the most disastrous consequences.

My health continues good; and my anxiety to return increases daily. As soon as the important business of the Session is through, I will leave this, which I hope may be all next month.¹ I must, before I conclude, my dear daughter, entreat you to take good care of your health. Take ample exercise, and be careful of your posture, while sitting and pursuing your studies. Keep, as much as possible, your body in an erect position. Beauty and health both require it.

¹ *I. e.*, some time in the next month.

*To Christopher Van Deventer.*¹

Washington 31st March 1832

MY DEAR SIR, . . . The political condition of the country is as bad, as it can well be. Corruption has struck her roots deeply into the system. The publick morals are impaired. The independent character of our people is rapidly sinking to the lowest and basest subserviency. The disease, I fear lies deep—far more so than is suspected. We must return to the old Whig doctrines of '98. Nothing but a thorough reform can save us—and that cannot be long delayed, without utter ruin.

Make my respects to M^{rs} V. and your family.

*To Richard K. Crallé.*²

C. C.

Washington 15th April 1832.

DEAR SIR, I enclose \$20, of which apply \$5 to my own subscription, and the remainder to that of M^r Warley, M^r Cherry and M^r Bonum, all of Pendleton, So Carolina. I wish my paper to be sent to this place till the end of the session, and then to Pendleton. By some omission, I have only received two numbers, and will thank you to give particular direction to have the paper punctually sent in future. The subscription, containing the names of M^r Warley, Cherry and Bonum, was sent last summer or fall to Gov^r. Floyd, if I am not mistaken; and I suppose had, of course, been turned over to you.

I see no prospect of a satisfactory adjustment of the Tariff. Some impression has certainly been made by the movements in Carolina, but not sufficient, I fear, to compel the oppressor to let go his grasp. All history proves, when the parts of a community are placed in the relation, now existing between the South and the other sections, reason is perfectly impotent to stay the course of injustice and oppression. If no conservative principle be found in the Constitution, to arrest the

¹ Original lent by Col J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

² Richard K. Crallé, at this time an editor in Washington, was subsequently a confidential clerk to Calhoun during his secretaryship of state and edited the six-volume edition of his Works.

natural course of events, in such cases, the end must be a revolution or an entire change of system. If there be a fact well established by the history of all free states, it is, that some constitutional provision is absolutely necessary to render *the parts of a community just to each other*; as much so, as to render the agents responsible to the people, and for precisely the same reason. Under our system, the States were intended to perform this high and conservative function, through the power of interposition; but by a misconception of the relation between the States and the General Gov^t. the system has operated as if this most important check did not exist. The result has been our present corrupt, distracted and dangerous condition, which, so far from correcting itself, as is anticipated by many, will go on increasing, if not arrested by the interposition of some one of the States, till the system of Government itself will be destroyed. It is true, that the *fear of interposition*, if sufficiently strong, may act like the reality, and thus dispense with the actual application; but in our case, tho' Carolina has made a deep impression, the disease, I believe, to be too deep, and the infatuation too great, for any thing short of the thing itself, to be effectual. Without it, there certainly can be no effectual cure; and one, short of that, would, in the end, prove fatal to the constitution, the Union and liberty of these States. It would finally prove the worst possible result.

Our situation is a strange one. Jackson is losing ground, without his opponent gaining. Disgust uneasiness and discontent are gradually taking hold of the publick, which, if they take the right direction, if they shall cause the people to look into the real cause of our present alarming condition, and to apply the proper remedy, will end in a great and salutary reform, which may perpetuate our liberty and prosperity to the latest generation; but, if not, may terminate in the overthrow of our political institutions. With this impression, I consider the great duty of the enlightened and patriotick, at this time is to turn the public eye to those great whig doctrines, which, at another momentous period of our history, effected so salutary a change in our Government. You have commenced at a most interesting period. A little too late, perhaps, for the presidential struggle, but I regard

that of but little importance; but not too late for the great reform, which, I trust, is before us. The re-election of Gen.¹ Jackson will go far to dispel the existing delusion in relation to him. His name will then lose its potency; and thus the greatest impediments, in the march of principle in the Southern States, will have been withdrawn. The operation of his name has acted more perniciously with you,¹ than in any other Southern State; but the friends of liberty every where look to your intelligence, your firmness and patriotism to counteract the morbid action. No one has a more difficult task, but to none will success bring greater glory.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 28th April 1832

MY DEAR JAMES, I have received your bank dividend (\$22) and have had shipped to Mathers and Bonneau the hill side plough from Baltimore, which costs \$12. The plough had to be made, which occasioned some loss of time.

I am pleased to see you so earnestly engaged in planting, and so desirous of improving our agriculture. It is the first of pursuits, and I know nothing, by which our enlightened and wealthy citizens can more effectually place their country under obligation, than by contributing to its improvement. I have no doubt but with your naval habits and zeal, you will do much that way; but, I think, you would do wrong to resign your commission. It has cost you much time and sacrifice, and ought not to be hastily surrendered. Besides, the times are exceedingly uncertain. No one can tell what may come. There will be no difficulty, I take it, in the extension of your furlough. If I can be of any service in obtaining an extension, you, of course, can at any time, command my service. I have no doubt but the Secretary will be disposed to oblige me.

We are advancing very slowly. Every thing is still uncertain; the Tariff in particular, as much so, as at the commencement of the Session. The stand, which our state has taken, has made an impression; but I fear not sufficiently strong to

¹ I. e., in Virginia.

obtain us justice. The monopolist will relax his grasp only from necessity. There can be no doubt, but that the President, with the immense power and patronage in his hand, might, had he thrown his weight on the side of justice, have closed the controversy; but he and his advisers are much more solicitous about his reelection, than the good of the country; and I am ashamed to add, that many of our southern members are, I fear, far more concerned in the same event than the interests of their constituents. I cannot doubt, from what I daily see, that our whole system is rapidly becoming a mere money making concern to those, who have the control of it; that every feeling of patriotism is rapidly sinking into an universal spirit of avarice. We need a deep and thorough reform.

To Richard K. Crallé.¹

C. C.

Washington May 1832

DEAR SIR, A discussion, such as that you refer to, would be very useful, but, I apprehend, the individuals to whom you name here would be too busy at this late period of the session to under take it. I could not possibly command the time. Judge Harper² probably might be induced to under take it. No one is more competent. If any one could induce him, it would be Mr Preston of Columbia. They are intimate friends, and as Gov^r Floyd is intimate with the latter, that would be the best channel through which to act.

What are the feelings of B. W. Leigh?³ If his talents could be called into action, it would effect much in your State.

I hardly know what to advise you as to the V. Presidency. I put not the least reliance, at this great crisis on P^r. or V. P^r. There was a time, that the immense power and patronage of the Gen^l. Gov^r., placed in able and patriotick hands, might have brought all right. It is now too late for that remedy, or any other, except the reserved rights of the States. You may assume it as certain Congress will do nothing, that ought to satisfy any one, not prepared for consolidation. We must look to the States, as our last hope; and it seems to me, that the question of the V. Pres^y ought to be entered into by you

¹ Of this letter a facsimile has been prefixed to the new (1899) edition of Von Holst's Calhoun, in the "American Statesmen" series

² Chancellor Wm. Harper of South Carolina. O'Neill, I, 270-4.

³ Benjamin Watkins Leigh of Virginia

just to the extent, and no farther, than may be necessary to strengthen the state rights doctrines in your State. To carry it beyond, so as to make it a primary question, would be, as it seems to me, disastrous. In a word, we must reverse the past. Every thing must be held subordinate to principle. The higher and bolder the ground assumed the better. Let us place the Presidential question under our foot; and make it the criterion of patriotism not to take office under the Gen^l. Gov^t till the Constitution be restored; and the South liberated from her burdens.

I no longer consider the question one of free trade, but of consolidation. If, after ten years of remonstrance and denunciation of the system, as unconstitutional, the Southern States should now yield their ground, where can a stand be hereafter made? When will such another opportunity, as that of the discharge of the publick debt, be ever again presented? Let the occasion pass, and it is easy to see, what must follow—corruption, oppression and monarchy. Never was there a more trying period for the liberty of our Country—no not the revolution itself. It is distressing to think how imperfectly it is realized by the great body of the country.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Washington 14th June 1832

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received your letter of the 12th Inst. and now write simply to say that it seems from the Globe Gen^l Jackson is about to come before the publick, on the subject to which your letter refers. With this indication it appears to me that you ought to remain silent for the present. It will give great advantage to act on the defensive.

To Colonel Patrick Noble.²

Fort Hill 8th Nov^r 1832

MY DEAR SIR, I was absent when your letter arrived, which will explain why your request was not complied with. I now

¹ From the Monroe Papers, Department of State, text from an official copy.

² A cousin of Mr. Calhoun, and governor of South Carolina, 1838-1840. For this letter the editor is indebted to Miss Elizabeth Pickens Cunningham, of Asheville, N. C.

enclose a general letter in favour of Samuel, which I hope may be of some use to him. The proceedings at Columbia are of an extraordinary character, indeed, and certainly indicate a factious spirit, as well as a very selfish one. They have been well answered by our Committee, and delegation, which I hope you have seen.

I foresee a good deal of agitation ahead in relation to the rail road,¹ which must distract and divide the State, unless there should be much prudence, and good management on the part of the Legislature. I hold as the first and indispensable step, to preserve the harmony of the State, to be, that the Legislature should come to a final determination before any subscription, or appropriation be made toward the work on its part, and as a condition of its aid and support, that the best route within the limits of the charter shall be selected. The road must not bend to local or personal interest. Let it be fixed, that the two routes by the French Broad and Tuckaseege shall be surveyed, and that the one which is the shortest, cheapest of construction, of the most favourable grading, and which shall from its direction command the greatest amount of trade and travelling shall be selected, and the whole State will acquiesce. Even the selfish would be ashamed to object. I answer for it, that the people in this quarter would cheerfully assent to such a course. It is the only one, that can unite all. In fact, I consider that all the interests present at the Knoxville Convention have pledged themselves and those they represent expressly, to take the best route within the limits of the charter, and that it would be bad faith now to change the principle on which the selection ought to be made.

I do hope that you and the rest of the Representatives in the legislature on the South of the Santee will be vigilant and take care that justice shall be done to our section of the State. Heretofore all the appropriations for improvements have been in the other sections. It must not be repeated. It is time that justice should be done to this section.

I expect to be in Columbia early in the session and will remain as long as my Congressional duties will permit. The session will be an important one.

¹ The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston R. R.

To James Edward Culhoun.

C. C.

Washington 10th Jan^y. 1833

MY DEAR JAMES, I find things better here than I anticipated. Our cause is doing well. Let our people go on: be firm and prudent; give no pretext for force, and I feel confident of a peaceable and glorious triumph for our cause and the state.

The prospect is good for a satisfactory adjustment. It begins to be felt, that we must succeed, and in proportion as that is felt, the disposition to adjust the controversy increases. The scheme of coercion is abandoned, for the present at least.

*To Christopher Van Deventer.¹*Fort Hill 24th March 1833

DEAR SIR, The last mail brought me yours of the 22^d February, and, is the second, which I have received from you since the commencement of the last session of Congress, so that two of your letters must have been miscarried, or purloined. The mail establishment seems to be in a wretched condition every way. I have reason to believe, that letters to, and from me are not safe.

The letter which I received during the session, was at a late period, when I was so engaged, as to compel me to drop my private correspondence, which, I trust, will be a sufficient apology for not answering it.

Your letters, as well as all that I see and hear, satisfies me, that the spirit of liberty is dead in the North; and but confirms the truth of the principles, for which I have contended under so many difficulties. It is of the very genius of a consolidated Government to elevate one portion of the Community, while it corrupts the other. That form of Government is now established by law under the bloody act, and unless there should be a complete reaction, a reaction which shall repeal that atrocious act and completely reform the Government, we must expect, and prepare to sink under corruption and despotism. Of such reaction and reform, there is not the

¹Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

least hope, but from the south, and through the agency of state rights. The oppressed states must act on the principle systematically, that no unconstitutional act shall be enforced within their respective limits. There is no other remedy. We have commenced the system; and as it regards the Tarif, the most difficult of all acts to resist, with encouraging success. I have no doubt the system has got its death wound. Nullification has dealt the fatal blow. We have applied the same remedy to the bloody act. It will never be enforced in this state. Other states may live under its reign, but Carolina is resolved to live only under that of the Constitution. There shall be at least one free state.

I am curious to know how the Webster and Van Buren interests will act. Will they amalgamate? and if not what will be their relative strength and their respective course? As to the South it will go with neither. Even Jackson is dead or dying throughout the whole south.

M^{rs} Calhoun joins her respects to yourself, M^r V, and family.

To Thomas Hollund and others.¹

[Lumpkin County, Ga., July 2, 1833].

GENTLEMEN—I have been honored with your note of this inst., inviting me, in the name of many citizens of Hall County, to join in the celebration of the next Anniversary of our Independence, at Gainesville; and I have to express my sincere regret, that circumstances, connected with my visit to this place, prevent me from accepting your invitation.

Permit me to avail myself of the opportunity of presenting to you, individually, my unfeigned acknowledgement for the very kind terms in which you have communicated the invitation. That my efforts in behalf of constitutional liberty, at this great crisis, when all that we hold most dear is at stake, has met the approbation of those so competent to judge, will ever be to me a source of consolation. We have indeed been compelled to meet the spirit of Federalism in its worst char-

¹ This letter, addressed to a committee of citizens of Hall County, Georgia, was kindly copied from the columns of the *Augusta Chronicle* of July 13, 1833, by Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Georgia.

acter; and with it, what I entirely concur with you, is far more dangerous, that pseudo-Republicanism, which has appeared among us of late; and which, while it professes the doctrines of State Rights, carries the principles and practice of consolidation, far beyond what the Federal party, in the days of Hamilton and Ames, ever conceived. It is this spurious offspring, which renders the present crisis so imminently dangerous to the Constitution and Liberty of our country. The American people are eminently Republican in their character and feelings; and were the contest openly between the two great parties, which have so long divided the country, and which must continue to divide us, so long as our present institutions exist, short would be the struggle, and decided would be our victory; but as it is, with a numerous party within our own ranks, carrying our insignia, and using our watchword, but acting on the extreme ultra principles of our old opponents, the utmost exertions, and the most unceasing vigilance, will be necessary, to restore the Constitution to its primitive purity, and reform the many and dangerous abuses which have crept into the administration of the Government. I trust, however, as great as is the difficulty, it will not be found insuperable. To freemen, actuated by the spirit of patriotism, united, zealous, and firm, animated by the recollection of the noble struggle which their ancestors made in the same great and sacred cause, all things are possible. If there ever was a struggle calculated to call forth the highest energy of freemen, that struggle, particularly as far as the fate of this section is involved, is the present one.

To Francis W. Pickens.¹

Washington 12 Dec^r 1833

MY DEAR SIR, The interruptions incident on an arrival here, and forming arrangements for the Session, have prevented me from writing at an earlier period. On recognizing our ground and seeing the strength of our position, I find that we are a good deal stronger in the House of Representatives both

¹ Original lent by Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C. Gen. Francis W. Pickens (1805-1869), the son of Governor Andrew Pickens, Calhoun's first cousin, was a Nullifier in 1832 M. C. from 1834 to 1843, minister to Russia 1858-1860, and governor of South Carolina from 1860 to 1862, when he had a leading part in the secession movement.

in numbers, and in spirit and Union, than what we were at the last session. In the Senate, our numbers are about the same, but with an increase of spirit and zeal. Our *position* is strong in both houses, particularly in the Senate. No measure can be taken but with our assent, where the administration and the opposition parties come into conflict. Neither party have a majority. It is probably different, *as yet*, in the House of Representatives; yet our weight can be made sensible *there* even now, and will probably be sufficient to turn the scale before the end of the session, as I cannot doubt, but the administration will be much weakened before the close of the session.

There is at present but little prospect of repealing the force bill. I have fixed Friday week for the time to take it up. There is a pretty strong disposition on the part of many of the N. England Senators to vote the repeal; but it is probable, that they will not have firmness enough to carry their feelings into effect.

I hold it doubtful, whether the deposits will be returned to the Bank. All, or nearly all condemn the removal; but many suppose that to return them would but strengthen the bank and increase the prospect of renewing the charter.

We have received the answer of the bank direction to the President's paper. It is a masterly refutation of his charges.

We hear nothing from Columbia. What will be done?

I enclose a letter for Maria. If she is not in Columbia, I will thank you to send it to her.

Say to Mr. Noble, if he has concluded to send Ezekiel to West Point, he ought to forward his application as soon as he returns to Abbeville. I have renewed the application in behalf of Arthur, and Mr. McDuffie and myself have prepared a joint application to the War Department, to be delivered in person by Mr. McDuffie. I hope it may be successful.

To Francis W. Pickens.¹

Senate Chamber 4th Jan^y 1834

MY DEAR SIR, I received your letter this morning, and have conversed with Mr. McDuffie in relation to its contents.

¹ Original lent by Mrs J E Bacon, of Columbia, S. C.

He informs me, that he will in no event be a candidate for reelection. It is due to Mr. McDuffie to say, that his letter to Mr. Brooks, stating that he would not be again a Candidate, was in answer to a letter from Mr. B, directly putting the question to him, whether he would, or would not be a candidate; this fact had, however, better remain with yourself.¹

You certainly can not be censured by any one for permitting your name to be brought forward under the circumstances which you stated; and I do hope, that should you appear to be clearly the Candidate, who is preferred by the party and the District, that Mr. B will retire; as I am perfectly sure you would do under similar circumstances. At all events, I trust, the canvass will be so conducted, should you both be candidates, as to preserve your friendly relations, and the harmony of our friends in the District. I am confident from my perfect knowledge of your character, and your devotion to our Cause and the principles on which it rests, that nothing will be wanting on your part to preserve the Union and harmony of our party, and friends. I am much gratified to learn, that the session terminated as well as it did. We at one time felt great anxiety at the State of things at Columbia. This is no time for discord in our ranks. The period is eminently perilous. I know from [an] unquestionable source, that it is contemplated to agitate the Slave question this Session. A Bill has already been prepared; and the member fixed on to introduce it; but it is still under consideration, at what time and in what manner, it shall be made. It comes from the Colonization Society, and contemplates to emancipate the Slaves in the District immediately; combined with a plan to colonize on a large Scale the free Blacks, anywhere, with the aid of the Government. Such a move, should it be made, as it is certainly contemplated, can only be considered as the commencement of the work of immediate emancipation over the whole [of] the South, to which event it will certainly lead, if not promptly met by the entire slave holding states, with the fixed determination to resist at any hazard. We are aware of the danger, to which you allude, of our merging into one or both of the great parties now contending for the Presidency.

¹ McDuffie resigned from the House, Pickens was elected in his place, taking his seat December 8, 1834.

We are on our guard. You will see from the course of the Telegraph, that we are determined to preserve our separate existence on our basis. If there is to be Union against the administration, it must be Union on our own ground; but of such Union I have but little hope. We are as wide as the poles.

I intend to speak on the Bank question. It will probably be late in the debate. I intend to take distinct ground, such, as in my opinion, the question ought to be placed on.

It seems to be conceded that there is a great pressure in the money market; and prices of all discription have fallen it is supposed from 10 to 20 percent. Good Judges suppose the depression in the price of cotton is at least equal 3 cents in the pound. This state of things has affected the popularity of the administration very considerably; particularly in Virginia.

I am in good health except a cold, which I have had ever since my arrival.

Give my affectionate regards to M^{rs} Pickens, and M^{rs} Simpkins and family; and tell Anna I will write to her the very first leisure moment.

*To Francis W. Pickens.*¹

Washington 20th Jan^y 1834

MY DEAR SIR, I yesterday received your letter of the 6th Ins^t, and tho confidential, I took the liberty of showing it to M^r. M^cDuffie, as it appeared to me to be due to him that he should be apprised of its contents.

I learn from him that shortly after the date of my former letter to you, in which I stated to you on the authority of M^r. M^cDuffie, that he would not be a candidate, he received letters from Judge Butler and M^r. Brooks, stating that it was the desire of his constituents that he should not retire, and advising him to comply with their wishes. His Answers, in which he declined changing the position which he had assumed not to be a candidate, could not have been received at the date of your letter to me; so that the impression that he would not de-

¹ Original lent by Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C.

cline being a candidate must have been founded on inference on their part and not on any authority from M^r. M^cD. I presume when his answers were received the impression would be corrected. M^r. M^cD., I feel confident, will not be a candidate unless indeed a state of things, not anticipated by him, would render it clearly his duty to remain at his present post, and which, if it should occur, would speak for itself, so that the field may be considered fairly opened. He has I have no doubt acted perfectly fair throughout, without the least desire to favour the pretention of any one at the expense of another; and that whatever appearance there may be to the contrary does not originate with him. Your course is an obvious one. The indications being so clearly in your favour, I would pass in silence, without apparently noticing the improper steps, which the too great eagerness on the part of any other to occupy his place, may have induced them to take, however calculated to excite unpleasant feelings. Let nothing be wanting on your part, as far as is consistent with what is due to yourself and friends, to preserve the peace and harmony of the District, at this important crisis.

I enclose my speech on the Deposit question.¹ I cannot say anything, which is better calculated to give you an idea of the great change of sentiment here than to tell you, that notwithstanding the nullification it contains, it has been well received here by all parties.

Make my kind regards to James, Susan, and all of our relations you may meet, not excepting Ezekiel, as wrong as his politicks are.

To Christopher Van Deventer.²

Washington 25th Jan^y 1834

MY DEAR SIR, My arrangements have been such as to prevent me from acknowledging at an earlier period your letters of the 12th Dec^r and the 7th Ins^t.

Things are far better, than you suppose. I entertain no doubt that the administration will be overthrown. It has already received its death blow. It will never be able to

¹ Of January 13; Works, II, 309-348.

² Original lent by Col J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

extricate itself from its present difficulties, unless indeed by a sudden retreat, if that can. In the Senate, it is in a fixed minority, and its majority in the House is gradually giving away. You may put down the whole South as lost to the powers that be. I do not consider the question any longer to be the overthrow of the administration; but what is to come up in its place. Of one thing you may rest assured, that our party will firmly maintain its position. We shall make no choice of evils. We have had enough of that. Others may rally on us, but we rally on nothing but our doctrines. My advice to all our friends is not to commit themselves to men. We have a great battle to fight for liberty and the Constitution, and there is time enough to determine to whom the honors shall be awarded. None of the persons, whom you have named have the least weight to the South. We know of no difference in their political principles. Better—far better for us, that those in power should remain there against our consent, than that we shall put others there, who do not agree with us, with our consent. Our doctrines are spreading rapidly, and you must not be surprised to see them in the ascendant before two years. The change here is immense since the last adjournment.

As to myself, I never did, as far as I can judge, occupy a more elevated stand in the confidence of the intelligent and virtuous. The clouds are breaking away and my motives and character begin to be understood. I speak freely to an old friend.

I send you a copy of my speech in pamphlet form on the deposit question. It has been, as far as I have heard, well received everywhere and by every party.

I regret to hear of your bad health. Your system of farming is so different from ours that I fear you would not find a more Southern residence favourable to your monied concerns. Unless you find your health absolutely to require a different climate, with your good prospect in a pecuniary point of view, I would not advise a change.

Make my kindest and best respects to M^{rs} Van Deventer, and your family.

Wishing you a speedy restoration of your health, with every other blessing, . . .

To John Ewing Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 30th Jan^r 1834.

DEAR JOHN, I received your letter with the power and executed it and returned it immediately. The note is for a very short period, and you must begin immediately to make arrangements to meet it. Your sister writes, that M^r Davis has ceased to work on my mill and Gin, and that neither of them are going. It is too bad. I fear that he will never finish unless he is perpetually urged. I must ask the favour of you to see him about it for me without delay; and to tell him my extreme anxiety to have them done; and that he must finish them without delay. Do see that he loses no time in completing them.

I send you a copy of my speech on the deposite question. It has been well received by all and every where. Our Cause advances rapidly; and you must not be surprised that it should be in the ascendant in less than three years. Jacksonism is broke, and with it Van Buren and I trust his corruption.

Remember me affectionately to Mother and your family.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 8th Feb 1834

MY DEAR JAMES, I have attended to your request.

I fear there is no hope of the impeachment; but that which you will think the next best event, the overthrow of Jacksonism, is certain; and with it, Van Buren and his party. His partisans are falling off in every direction, and the process must continue to go on till he is utterly prostrated. The pressure on the money market is great and growing, and must continue to increase for months to come. It is causing dismay throughout the country. Thousands, who thought themselves rich, must fall. The South will suffer much less than the North. In the mean time, a great political revolution is going on. The feeling of the North towards the South is rapidly reversing. We and our doctrines are daily growing in favour; and thousands who but a few months since execrated us, now look to the South, not only for protection against the usurpation of the Executive, but also against the needy and corrupt in their own section. They begin to feel, what I have long foreseen, that they have more to fear from their own people, than

we from our slaves. The deposit question is still before us. There is a strong majority for restoration in the Senate, say 28 to 20; but in the House there is a small majority at present the other way. It will, I think, however, finally give away; but the Executive veto will, I suppose, arrest the restoration. What will ultimately be done is hard to say. My speech, of which I sent you a copy in pamphlet form, and now enclose another, for some of your neighbors, will give you my conception on the question. There is no alternative but hard money or a United States Bank. The country is not, I think, ripe for the first; and all that can be done is I apprehend to raise the value of gold to 16 to 1 so as to make it the metallic currency instead of silver, and fix some amount, say 10 or 20 \$ below which no Bank bill shall be received into the Treasury. These with some other provisions having the same object in view, would be taking a great step toward a specie currency; and will be going as far as we can for the present. I keep my ideas for the present to myself; but should there be an opening, I will move on them before the end of the session.

As soon as the deposit question is disposed of, I will take up the bill to repeal the force act. Its fate is still uncertain.

You must find your occupation delightful. I almost envy you. As long as I have been in public life my attachment to agriculture is not in the least abated. With your fine plantation and various pursuits your time must be fully occupied and pass away agreeably.

I see you have resigned your commission, and I understand, from some one here, your pay is undrawn. In this, I think, you wrong. It will go to some one less deserving, and be no saving to the country. What you do not take is not saved to the country. Send me a power, and I will draw it for you and you may take me, as your father Confessor, in the case. A letter would be sufficient, I suppose.

To James Edward Calhoun.

O. C.

Washington 16th Feb 1834

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . Our cause is growing daily. The deposit question is still before us and its fate uncertain. I

have been turning my attention a good deal of late to the subject of correcting our currency. I believe the occasion favourable to a movement on the subject, and I will probably make one, the object of which will be to lay the foundation of a system by which we may return gradually to a specie currency; at least, as far as the present state of the commerce and fiscal concerns of the world will admit.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 26th March 1834

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . You will find my speech on Mr Webster's motion in tomorrows Telegraph.¹ It appeared in the daily to day, and will be published in the country tomorrow. It has been received here in a manner highly flattering by all parties. I hope it will ultimately lead to some useful result. The currency is getting into a sad condition. Yesterday the announcement was made of the stoppage of payment by the bank of Maryland, and it is thought the Union bank of Baltimore will stop next. It is a pet Bank, and nothing but the heavy drafts of the Government in its favour has heretofore saved it.

Our doctrines continue to gain ground. I would not be surprised if they be found in the ascendent in less than 2 years. I will take up the Bill to repeal the force act, the first fair opening.

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 3^d April 1834

MY DEAR ANNA, I have received your letter of the 15th March, as I do all of your letters, with a great deal of pleasure.

You cannot imagine how much I am gratified to learn, that you bestow so much of your time and attention, and with so much success on your little scholars. I am sure that you will

¹ March 21. On rechartering the Bank. Works, II, 344-375.

find it, as pleasurable, as it is useful. You must tell them, how much I am pleased to learn, that they are fond of their books, and are learning so fast; and that I will bring out with me, when I return home, the prettiest books, that I can find in Washington for them. I am particularly gratified, that Cornelia has become fond of her books, as I had almost despaired, that she ever would. The mode that you have adopted proves, that you are not a little skilled in the knowledge of the operation of the human mind.

Your mother, as well as yourself, writes me, that she devotes much of her time to the yard and garden, which I am very glad to learn, as I have no doubt it will contribute much both to her health and enjoyment. I hope that you will participate with her in the exercise, and the enjoyment. You must select the vines and shrubs for your particular care. I have no doubt, that your mother's management will quite discredit mine. Whatever she undertakes she does well. I sincerely wish, I were at home, and participating with you all in your employment and amusement, instead of going through the drudgery and confinement, which my duties compel me to do here. I have never been more anxious to return home and see you all . . .

As you are so much of a politician, I must give you all the political news, which, however, may be summed up in a few words; that things remain much, as they were a month since. It is very uncertain, what will be done; but if anything should be, it will be, I feel confident, in conformity with the suggestions, I made on Mr Webster's motion, which have been well received on all sides. I enclosed Andrew a copy in pamphlet form, and now enclose you one also. I hope he has received his.

Your mother wrote me to send her some more garden seeds. In my answer, I said I would send them in a few days, but you must say to her, that when I came to examine her list, I find that the season is too late for them; and therefore I do not think it worth while to send them. I will bring such of them, as may be sowed in the fall. Say to her also, that I have written to Mr Bonneau to send her the Water melon seed, tho I think she will find a good supply of them among the old

seed. I, at the same time, directed him to send up immediately a quarter Cask of best Maderia.

Give my love to all and particularly to your Grandmother. I am rejoiced to learn, that your Aunt Martha's health was so far restored, that she is out of danger.

Write me often, and give me as much and minute news as my old friend D^r Waddel would in telling one of his long stories. God bless you all.

To Francis W. Pickens.¹

Washington 15th April 1834

MY DEAR SIR, I am gratified to learn, that my remarks on the currency has been so well received both by you and our other friends in Carolina. As far as I have heard, it has been well received in every quarter and by all parties. If anything should be done, it will be on the basis which I suggest; but it is quite uncertain, whether anything can be for the present. In the mean time, the crushing of the Banks has commenced, and it is hard to say where it will end. None now remain but two in the District; the U. S. Branch and the pet Bank. The tide of public opinion, however, is turned against the administration to the North, which with the fear of losing Virginia, has caused deep consternation in their ranks; but it is still doubtful whether they will persist in their course, or change their tack; and, if the latter, in what direction they will next move.

You will have perceived by the papers, that the Bill to repeal the force act has been up for discussion. The Telegraph contains my remarks,² by which you will see that my main effort was to show, that the act is repugnant to the nature of our institutions, by the plainest process I could adopt, and to prove by our past and present experience that its principles must prove destructive to our liberty, unless they be abandoned. I hope what I have said may give an additional impulse to the cause, which as far as I can learn, is on the advance in every quarter. As a proof, there was

¹ Original lent by Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C.

² April 9, 1834. Works, II, 376-404.

yesterday a great festival of the party in Philadelphia. M^cDuffie, Preston, and Poindexter attended. I declined from reasons, which you will readily understand. We have accounts that their reception was very enthusiastick.

I forgot to say, my speech is very erroneously printed in the Telegraph, so much so as in some places to spoil the sense. It will appear in pamphlet form more correctly printed. I will send you a copy.

It is quite uncertain when Congress will adjourn. I fear it will be late.

Make my kind respects to M^{rs}. P, M^{rs}. Simpkins and family and your Father and Mother. I wrote to your Father and enclosed him a copy of my remarks on the currency, which I hope he has received.

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 14th May 1834

MY DEAR ANNA, Were it not for your letters, there are a thousand incidents that are daily occurring, where every incident, even the smallest, is interesting to me, of which I should remain ignorant. Your Mother and Brother write me on grave subjects of business, or what relates to the welfare of the family; but you fill up the interval with those little, but to me interesting details, which it is so agreeable to an absent father to know. Were it not for you, I would not have heard a word about the Humming birds, their familiarity, the vines, their blooms, the freshness of the spring, the green yard, the children's gardens, and finally Patrick's mechanical genius and his batteaux, every item of which excited agreeable associations, but accompanied with the painful recollection of my long absence, from those so dear to me. I hope the period is now near at hand, that will put a termination to my absence. The House of Representatives will probably pass a resolution, fixing the 16th of next month as the time of adjournment; and I trust, the Senate will concur in the time. If so, a month more, and my face will be turned homeward, to my great delight. We can for the present do little more, but to check the *progress* of usurpation, which I think has been pretty

effectually done. At another session, I hope the country will collect the fruits. I had by the mail of the day before yesterday a letter from your Mother, and another from Andrew. They both write, that they will start to Columbia in a few days, and as they will not probably be back, as soon as a letter would reach home, I shall delay my answers to them a few days longer. Andrew writes, that you were writing by the same mail; but as your letter did not accompany theirs, I conclude, that you were not in time for the mail, and I of course expect to have one from you by the next mail from Pendleton.

The gay season has passed in Washington. The strangers have in a great measure departed; and the questions, which caused so much excitement have been decided; so that we are comparatively in a calm. I would enjoy the relaxation; but the weather has been so bad, as to prevent exercise, and to give me a distressing cold, which now afflicts me. For the last week we have had high winds . . . This morning it is calm, but cloudy and cold. Should the weather have extended to the South, I fear the loss of the cotton crop will be the result.

I hope your Uncle John brings good news from the mine. I feel anxious to hear from there, as I have not had a letter from M^r Caldwell for several weeks. Either he has not written, or his letters have miscarried. Tell your Uncle, that I would be glad to hear from him immediately, how our affairs are doing in that quarter; and that I hope he will write me very fully; but as he may not be so prompt in writing, as he ought to be, you must get from him all the news and write me by the return mail. I enclose two copies of my remarks on the repeal of the force Bill, one for your Uncle and the other for yourself.

Give my love to all. Do not fail to write, and tell me every thing. All will be interesting.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 21st May 1834

MY DEAR SIR, . . . We have very little news here beyond what the papers will give you. Nothing, I think, will be done

as to the currency this session. The administration is going down faster, than it ever rose. The Nationals, I find are as much inclined to extravagance in disbursements as ever. If the administration were out of the way, a conflict would be unavoidable with them on the appropriations, and I do not know, that it can be avoided as it is. We are determined to bring down the expenses of the Government to the lowest point, and with that view to retrench and economize, wherever it can be done without impairing the publick service. We pay, and it is right, that we should not be called on to pay a cent more, than is indispensable necessary. My belief is, that the Executive usurpations, which grew out of the usurpations of Congress, are for the present pretty effectually checked, and cannot be again revived, but through a repetition of the latter.

I enclose you copies of my speeches in pamphlet form on the repeal of the force act, and on the Protest.¹ The two taken together give a pretty full view of our system, as it regards the distribution of its powers, and the means of preventing the abuse of implied powers, and the conflict growing out of their exercise, between the Departments of the system.

*To Francis W. Pickens.*²

Washington 5th June 1834

MY DEAR SIR, I see the court has decided against us; and the grave question is now presented what shall be done? At this distance from the scene, it seems to me, that our course is clear. Take no rash or violent measure; do nothing that can excite sympathy for our opponents, or endanger the peace of the State; but direct our whole energy to the fall election. The all important point now is to get 2/3 of both branches of the Legislature. If we succeed in that, all will be safe; but if not, it will be impossible to do anything. With 2/3 the Supremacy of the State will be quietly and effectively asserted, through every branch of the Government; and the State will successfully and honourably terminate this great controversy by

¹ May 6, 1834. Works, II. 405-425.

² Original lent by Mrs. J. E. Bacon, of Columbia, S. C.

effectually asserting her supreme authority. Let then every nerve be exerted to carry the fall election; but in the mean time, let all other movements be suspended. We cannot have a better issue. The appeal is to the people, on the question of their own supremacy. If allegiance be not due to them; or if, being due, they have not the sense, or spirit to assert their sovereign power, they are not worthy of it. Nor is this the only advantage. No issue can be better calculated to excite the sympathy of the other States, or to place our controversy in a more favourable point of view, before the whole Union. With this impression, I hope the Legislature will not be called; or, if it should be, nothing violent or rash will be attempted—nothing, in a word, that will not be calculated to give us strength in the coming election.

In what I have said, I speak, I am confident, the sentiment of our whole delegation here.

Present my kind regards to M^{rs}. P, M^{rs}. Simkins and family and all friends;

To Lewis S. Coryell.¹

Washington, 24th June, 1834.

DEAR SIR, I rejoice to hear that the health of our friend Ingham is so completely restored. That he should regard (?) the politicks of the times is not at all surprising. Nothing can be more base and servile, but there is a dawn of hope. The administration is certainly sinking fast in the South and more slowly elsewhere. The Southern Atlantick States will be united against them in less than a year. They never will be able to get through with the deposit question. It is a load too heavy for them.

I wrote Mr. Ingham several weeks since. I have not learned whether he has received my letter. I will thank you to let me know should you see him at an early period, as I fear the mail may not be safe. I had a letter from him day before yesterday which I wish to answer through a safe channel.

I enclose a copy of my speech on the deposit question.

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original.

*To Lewis S. Coryell.*¹

Fort Hill 10th Aug. 1834.

DEAR SIR, I am obliged to you for the information which you give, and the views you present. It would be a great and triumphant move to send Mr. Ingham² to the Senate in Wilke's place, but I fear he is too honest and virtuous for the State at present. Should, however, the Anti-masons favour him, as you suppose, it would make him very formidable, as neither party, I suppose, could carry their candidate against them.

As it regards the next presidential election, I think, it may be assumed that the State Rights party of the South will rally on no man who does not openly avow and support their doctrines. My impression is, that the true policy of the party is to stand fast on their principles, whether they fall or rise. Should they adopt that course, the current of events will, I think, obviously take one of two courses. If the Administration should succeed in N. York, the Nationals would receive their death blow, and the struggle would be between the Administration party and the State Rights; but on the other hand, should the Administration be defeated, their party would aim their final blow, and the struggle would be between the Nationals and the State Rights party. In neither event, in my opinion, could the friends of McLean be formidable. His position on the bench is bad for a candidate and the position taken by his friends not sufficiently well defined. He has no strength in the South. The party must ultimately rally on some other party and on more distinct ground. My advice to our friends everywhere is, to contend under their own colours. It is the manly course; and, as we have truth on our side, it must succeed. The South will soon be unanimous, and experience has shown that when united they cannot be defeated.

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original.

² Samuel D. Ingham of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury in Jackson's cabinet at the beginning of his administration, 1829-1831, and a friend of Calhoun.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 20th Sep^r 1834

MY DEAR SIR. I received your letter by Maj^r. Davis a few days since, who has returned in good health and sperits, and, as I think, with a fair prospect of success, tho' he has been considerably weakened by his long and frequent absences from his constituents. Should he, however, be sufficiently busy between this and the election, he will make up for leeway, as his manners are very popular.

Your remarks in reference to the course, that ought to be pursued by the nullification party in the next Presidential election, have been, as far as my information extends, well received by our party in this State, and throughout the South. They are at once manly, patriotick and wise. The only possible question that can be made is as to the time. Some may think them a little too early; but viewing the whole ground, I am of a contrary opinion. If it has weakened us in any degree with the Nationals, which I think doubtful, we are more than compensated in other quarters. Our true policy is to adhere rigidly to principle, and to keep our position well defined.

I regret to see the course the Whig² is pursuing. It is calculated to weaken both the Editor, and our party in Virginia. He appears to be ready to abandon the great right of State interposition, in favour of the phantom of strict construction—a thing good in the abstract, but in practice not worth a farthing, without the right of interposition to enforce it; as the experience of more than forty years has shown. Every body is for strict construction; M^r Webster, M^r Ritchie and all; but in fact, it will ever be found to be the construction of the permanent minority against the permanent majority, and of course of itself valueless. I consider his course, as calculated to cause much embarrassment in Virginia, and that if he persists in it, must finally throw himself and M^r Leigh, if not

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash., to whom the editor is indebted for many subsequent letters. General Duff Green (1780-1875), whose eldest daughter Margaret married Calhoun's eldest son Andrew, and whose relation to Jackson and Calhoun as editor of the U.S. Telegraph during the time of their rupture, in 1880, is a well-known matter of United States history, was for many subsequent years a man of important influence as a journalist and politician.

² The Richmond Whig, edited, 1824-1846, by John Hampden Pleasants.

the State itself into the hands of the national Republicans. It is certain, it will not be supported by the State right party in the South.

I consider the administration as substantially overthrown; and tho' it ought not to cause us to relax in putting down Executive usurpation and corruption, yet, to act wisely, we must bear it in mind, with all of its important consequences, in any Step, that we may take. I have no fear of our state election. We shall carry $\frac{3}{4}$ of both Houses, and of course the constitutional amendment. I fear we will be beaten in Georgia, tho some of our friends there are sanguine. The contest there is turning more on principle, than it ever has in that state; and let the present election terminate as it may, I have no fear for the success of our party at the ensuing election. We have talents, youth, patriotism and truth on our side. I feel confident, that throughout the state $\frac{3}{4}$ of the young men of talents are with us.

I wrote you some time since, and as you have no reference to my letter in yours, I fear that it has miscarried. I hope you may be able to make your arrangements to take your projected tour. I expect to set out with my family about the middle of Nov^r, for Washington, by the way of Charleston and thence the steamship to Norfolk. We will be glad of your company.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 16th Nov^r 1834

DEAR GEN^l, I expected to leave home on Thursday last by the rail road and steam Packet route, and of course to be in Washington nearly as soon as this; but have been detained by unavoidable business. As the Boat from Charleston to Norfolk will not sail again till the 6th Dec^r I will not leave home till Thursday week and expect to be in Washington about the 10th or 11th Dec^r.

We have not heard yet anything of the N. York election. Tomorrow's mail will probably bring the result of the contest in the city. Should the administration be decidedly beaten

¹ Original lent by Mr Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

in the State Van Buren will be compelled to retire and the administration, as a party, will dissolve, which would change the whole aspect of the political horizon; but should they succeed, the contest will go on between them and the Nationals. The latter have gained too much strength, and are headed by leaders of too much ambition to retire from the contest with a growing cause, or rather apparently a growing cause; for they no doubt will attribute their increased vote in Kentucky, Ohio, N. Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylv^a and other States wholly to their own strength

Till the result of the N. York election is fully known, and the temper of the parties ascertained, it will be difficult to say, what course a regard to duty and the success of the cause for which we contend will dictate. * My impression is that the better course, till the whole grounds are fully ascertained, is "a wise and masterly inactivity;" not to move till we can fix the point of destination. I am still of the impression, that it is dangerous to touch the Presidential question, as yet. I do not think the publick mind will bear movements in relation to it, and of course those who attempt it will suffer.

These are the views of one at a distance, and who has not a full and accurate view of the whole surface. They may be erroneous. I suggest them for your reflection; and if you think them correct to act on, at least till I can see you.

To Samuel L. Gouverneur.¹

Fort Hill 22^d May 1835

MY DEAR SIR, I have just heard from a respectable source, that a book is now writing at Washington under the auspices of Gen^l Jackson and to be published when he retires, on the subject of the Seminole affair; in which an attack will be made both on M^r Monroe's character and my own, and in which the affidavit of John Rhea is to form a prominent part. I deem it important to apprise you of the fact, that it is believed at Washington, that such a work is in progress.

I had no doubt that any effort, that baseness and ingenuity

¹ Printed in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, III, 332, from which the text is derived.

can devise will be resorted to induce you, by them, who believe that all are venial and base like themselves, to abandon the defense of M^r Monroe, but I feel perfectly confident without the slightest effect. Gen^l Jackson feels deeply mortified with the situation he occupies in relation to the affair; and is determined that nothing shall be omitted to reverse it if possible in the eyes of posterity. As to myself individually I certainly can have no objection that he should renew his attack on me in relation to it. He has heretofore gained nothing by his attacks, and I shall take care, if he should renew it, not to let him off as easily as I have in the correspondence.

I would be glad to hear from you, and to learn, whether you have any information as to the supposed contemplated publication, and in particular who is to be the author.

Mrs. C. joins her best respects to yourself and Mrs. G.

*To Druff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 30th Aug^t. 1835

DEAR SIR, I am gratified, but not surprised, to learn the change of sentiment to the North in reference to our doctrines. I have never doubted, that the great truths developed in our controversy would work their way in spite of all the difficulties, they had to encounter. In forming my opinion, I relied not on the force of reason, for that can have but little weight against the resistance of interest and prejudice, but on the disorders and finally disasters which must follow the opposite doctrines. All my anticipations have been realized, and more than realized, and unless there be a thorough reformation will be realized even to the establishment of military despotism, or the disunion of these states. One, or the other or both must follow without a great and timely change. The first victims would be the wealthy and talented of the North. We of the South are by far the most safe. The intelligence of the North must see this, but whether in time to save themselves and the institutions of the Country God only knows. But whenever their eyes may open, they will be astonished to

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Washington.

find that the doctrines which they denounce as treason are the only means of their political salvation, while those, which they so fondly hugged to their bosom were working their certain destruction.

Since you passed through the South the excitement in relation to the Northern fanaticks has very greatly increased. The indications are, that the South will be unanimous in their resistance, and that the resistance will be of the most determined character, even to the extent of disunion, if that should be necessary to arrest the evil. I trust, however, it may be arrested far short of such extremity. Your early anticipation of the danger, and timely and continuous warning begins to be just appreciated.

I am very glad to hear, that your prospects are so good; and hope that you have succeeded to your entire satisfaction in closing your arrangement. You, of course, must be the best judge of what your interest requires; and that with your large family ought not to be neglected; but it seems to me in all your arrangement it ought to be borne in mind, that the present state of things cannot continue. Reform, or revolution must take place; nor can the alternative be long delayed. Either must have a most important bearing on your future interest, and ought to be kept in view in all your arrangements. You would certainly greatly strengthen yourself, if you should succeed in associating M^r Crallé with yourself. He has talents and honesty, and is universally esteemed by the friends of Constitutional liberty. D^r. Gibson is no doubt abundantly qualified to conduct the paper at Washington, and is worthy of entire confidence; but it seems to me, that if he should be left in charge of the paper at Washington it ought instead of a weekly paper to be issued twice a week. It will be impossible to crowd into a weekly paper all the matter that ought to appear, particularly during the session; and if it were, still the people would prefer dividing the reading into two periods, rather than to receive it all at once. Besides, if the paper be but once a week, most of its news will be old. From these considerations, I am decidedly of the opinion, that 9 readers in 10 would rather take a paper twice a week and pay the additional price, than once a week; and

that considered merely as [a] monied affair it ought not to issue less frequently.

We are all well, and I will be glad to hear from you as often as you may find it convenient to write.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 23^d Sep^r. 1835

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I am glad to hear your meeting went off so well. Ours went off as well as it possibly could. Unionism is extinct in our state I think. I see my way clearly on the Slave question and I do not fear an entire triumph on our own conditions; to be followed by unbounded prosperity in the South and a universal rise in property of every kind. . . .

*To J. S. Williams.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 17th Oct^r 1835

DEAR SIR, I have received your two pamphlets, containing the account of the proceedings at Cincinnati, in reference to the projected rail road between that place and Charleston, which I have read with great pleasure.² The meeting takes a different view of the route from the one, which I suggested, in my letter to you. It certainly has the advantage of being far more direct, and of passing through a large tract of interesting country, which now is almost shut out from Market. Not being locally acquainted with the projected route, I had supposed from my general conception as well as from the inspection of the map of the country, that very formidable, if not insurmountable difficulties, would have to be encountered in Crossing the mountains in that direction. I hope my impression is erroneous. The country certainly deserves a careful recognisance, and, if a rail road be practicable on the route, it has many and powerful recommendations. The road would pass through the entire length of this State, say 250 miles nearly half of the entire distance, and, I think I may say with

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting.

² The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston R R, to which several of the subsequent letters relate

confidence, that if Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina, through which it would pass, and which have a deep interest in its execution, will execute the portion which may be within their respective limits, South Carolina will meet our Western brethren on her Northern and Western limits with a well executed rail road to her commercial capital.

But, if the difficulty should be as great on the route as I supposed, still the great object of uniting the West and the Southern Atlantick ports by rail road ought not, and, I trust, will not be abandoned. Its practicability on the route I suggested cannot be doubted. Since I wrote you, I have acquired still farther information of the country in that quarter. A Gentleman, well acquainted with it, informs me, that there is the prospect of an excellent route direct from Athens to the Tennessee River, just below the Lookout mountain, and that the distance between the two points does not exceed 150 miles making the distance from Charleston to that point but 366 miles, and of course will greatly shorten the one I suggested, and fall more within the scope of the project contemplated at your meeting. Should both routes prove practicable, I see no reason why one should supercede the other. The extent of country to be accommodated, and which would have a particular interest in one, or the other route, gives ample scope for both. The great point is, that rivalry and conflict should not be permitted to defeat the grand design of uniting the two sections, on the execution of which the prosperity of so large a portion of the Union depends, and which is calculated to exercise so powerful and beneficent influence over the future destiny of our country and its institutions.

*To David Hoffman and others.*¹

Fort Hill 4th Nov^r 1835

GENTLEMEN, The Mail of yesterday brought me your note of the 21st Ult:, inviting me in the name of the citizens of Baltimore opposed to the President nominating his successor to attend a festival to be given on the 11th Inst: in honor of

¹ A committee of citizens of Baltimore. Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mendes Cohen, esq., of that city. The original is a part of the collection of the late Joshua I. Cohen

the late triumph in Maryland,¹ by those opposed to the Executive Nominee. The great distance and the shortness of the time puts it out of my power to attend.

No one can look with greater alarm, than I do, on the attempt of the Chief Magistrate to appoint his successor. Should it succeed, open and undisguised as it is, and resting, as it almost exclusively does, on the avowed subserviency of the nominee to the will of the President, without those high qualifications and services, on his part, calculated to command the regard of the people, or to fit him for the duties of the high office to which he aspires, it would afford conclusive proof of the consummation of Executive usurpation, over the other Departments of the Government, and the Constitution and liberty of the people. Entertaining these views, I regard with pleasure the decided victory achieved by Maryland in the late election, over the Presidents nominee, and of course, over Executive dictation. It is the more honorable to the state, placed as she is so near the focus of influence and corruption, while others more remote and less exposed have yielded such ready obedience to the nod of power. Her victory cannot but have an important bearing, in deciding the present struggle favourably to the cause of liberty; but a regard to truth compels me to say, that, in my opinion, whatever may be the result of the pending contest between the people and the President, the time must come, and that far sooner than it is anticipated, when Executive influence and power will forever silence the popular voice; unless, indeed, the friends of liberty and free institutions shall Zealously and honestly unite in a common effort to eradicate the causes, which have given such extraordinary power and influence to the Executive Depart. of the Government, and placed the Country in its present dangerous condition. They may be almost all traced to the same origin, the fiscal action of the Government.

While millions on millions are heaped up in the Treasury, beyond the expenditure of this, the most extravagant of all administrations, constituting an immense fund to act on the cupidity of the mercenary, and to unite in one solid and compact band all, in and out of office, who prefer their own

¹ The elections for the Maryland legislature had resulted in the choice of 70 members opposed to Van Buren, to 25 in favor of him

advancement to the publick good, any attempt to arrest the progress of power and corruption must end in disappointment and failure. It will be found almost impossible to elect honest and capable men, or, if such should be elected, to administer the Government honestly and fairly, or with a single eye to the public interest. Here lies the root of the disease, and if there be not intelligence and patriotism enough to apply a remedy, it requires not the gift of prophesy to predict the end, whatever may be the termination of the present presidential Struggle. I do not by these remarks intend to damp the ardour of those, who are at present so Zealously and honorably engaged in defeating executive interference and dictation, in what belongs exclusively to the free and voluntary choice of the people.

My object is far different; to elevate their views to the real cause of the disease, and to direct their aim to the point, where every blow would tell, and where victory, when achieved, instead of being temporary, would be complete and permanent.

*To William C. Dawson.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 24th Nov^r 1835

MY DEAR SIR, I take the liberty of writing to you, to call you attention to a subject, which I believe to be intimately connected with the great question of internal imp^{ts} that now excites so much attention, both in this State and Georgia; I mean the distribution of the Surplus revenue. I do sincerely believe, that a judicious system of rail roads would make Georgia and Carolina the Commercial centre of the Union and the two most prosperous and influential members of the Confederacy. To the execution of such a system, I see but two impediments, the want of concert, and the want of funds. To resort to taxes, or to incur debts, or, what is the same thing, pledge the faith of the State, there are great objections. Among others, their certain tendency would be to create parties and finally to distract and debilitate the action of the

¹From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. William C. Dawson was an influential Congressman from Georgia, serving in the House from 1836 to 1841, and in the Senate from 1849 to 1855.

States. It is in our power to avoid this danger. There is an immense surplus revenue in the Treasury, which must annually increase till the year 1842, when by the provision of the compromise bill the revenue will be brought down to the constitutional and economical wants of the Government. Till then, it will be found utterly impracticable to reduce the revenue, faster than is already provided for, except on a few inconsiderable articles, that will not equal a reduction of \$500,000 annually. The surplus by the 4th March next will equal about \$25,000,000, and the whole surplus, in the next six years will be not short of seventy or eighty millions. The Share that would fall to Carolina and Georgia will not be short of \$3,500,000 cash; a sum, if properly applied by subscribing into incorporated Companies and selling out when the work is completed, and reinvesting in others, in the same way, that would be sufficient to finish any work of importance in the two States, and to give them a system of intercourse most perfect in the world. Fortunately there is one great work, in which both States have an equal interest, and to which their attention ought in the first instance to be mainly directed, without being distracted with minor objects; I mean the extension of the Union, or Athens rail road to the Tennessee near the head of steamboat navigation, thence to Nashville at the head of steam boat navigation on the Cumberland; thence cross the Ohio above the mouth of the Cumberland, and thence to the Mississippi opposite to the mouth of the Missouri. This route, with a branch to the Chattahooche, at or near Columbus to meet the projected rail roads from Montgomery and Pensacola; another down the Tennessee to meet the Decature rail road round the Muscle Shoals and thence by the projected rail road to Memphis; another between the Tennessee and Nashville to Cincinnati, and finally one from where it crosses the Ohio to lake Michigan, would be the most important and magnificent work in the world. The main routes with the local branches would I believe to be over ground highly favourable; and with the cooperation of the States immediately interested aided by the surplus revenue, to be easily executed in a few years.

To make this great fund available, for so important an object, the legislatures of the states interested ought to move

forthwith. I hope Georgia will take the lead. The action of no other state could have half the influence. Your presidential vote is considered doubtful, and you will not be at a loss to understand, what influence that fact would have both with the administration and opposition. The adoption of a resolution to instruct your Senators and request your members to vote for a resolution reported by the Special Committee at the last session to amend the Constitution, so as to distribute the Surplus revenue till the year '42,¹ I do believe would have a decisive effect. I know of no one who could introduce it with more propriety than yourself. The movement could not fail to succeed. The Union party could not with propriety vote against it. Their Constituents would be greatly benefited by its success. The distribution has been twice recommended by Gen^l Jackson in his annual Messages, when the surplus was relatively small and the publick debt not paid. M^r King, your Senator, was on the Committee that reported the Resolution and gave it his support. Under these circumstances, they would hardly venture, I would suppose, to oppose it, as a party; but if they should, I cannot but think, it would give our party a decided advantage with the people.

In addition to these powerful considerations you might urge in favour of the adoption of the resolution, the still higher considerations connected with the purity of the Government and the preservation of our political institutions, which were set forth in the report of the Committee.

Should you agree with me you are at liberty to show this communication to M^r King, M^r Black, M^r Alford, or any other of our friends, that you may think proper, or to make any other use of it that you may judge prudent and expedient.

I would be very glad to hear from you. I will be in Columbia about the 3^d Dec^r, where I will remain three or four days, and where I would be very happy to receive a letter from you. At this great juncture, the cooperation of the two States, is of the utmost importancè both for their safety and prosperity. Every prejudice and hostile feeling ought to be laid aside; and he who would oppose their harmony and concert of action, ought to be denounced as their most deadly enemy.

¹ Amendment proposed by Calhoun February 11, 1835, reported favorably by the committee, and tabled. Senate Journal, pp. 148, 150, 200.

*To A. S. Clayton.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 24th Nov^r 1835

MY DEAR SIR, Knowing your just influence in the State, and particularly with our party, I have taken the liberty of enclosing a copy of a letter to M^r Dawson, on the great subjects of internal improvement and the distribution of the Surplus revenue, which are intimately connected. Should you accord in the views I take, I hope you will give them your active cooperation and influence. Letters from you to our friends in the Legislature could not fail of having a very happy effect.

There never was such a juncture for the two States. By proper exertions they may turn half of the commerce of the Union through their limits. Do cast your eyes on the map, and see the immense extent of country, which the route I suggest, with its various branches, connected with the navigable Streams, which it intersects, or connects, and, I think, you will agree with me, that there is nothing in the world like it. The advantages of New York are not to be compared with it. This splendid work, with all its branches may be easily executed with the funds, which the distribution of the Surplus revenue, would place in the hands of the States immediately interested.

Let me entreat you to use your influence with such men, as Cumock and Dearing to lay aside all narrow views, and to give to the road under their charge such a construction, as will make it a part of one great road of uniform construction, that will give ready transmission, without break or hindrance, to the immense intercourse, which must take place with such a work, between the West and the Southern Atlantick ports. The want of uniformity of structure would only tend to check the intercourse and turn the tide in other directions, and with it, the mighty flood of prosperity, that is ready to break in on the two States, if we should act as we ought.

I would be very happy to hear from you.

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting Presumably this letter was addressed to Augustin S. Clayton, member of Congress from Georgia from 1832 to 1835

*To F. Carter.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 26th Nov^r 1835

MY DEAR SIR, Enclosed you will find copies of two letters to Mr Williams, and one to yourself in reference to the rail road to the West, which I am happy to see begins to excite so much interest both in this State and Georgia. It is clear the time of action has arrived, and I was very anxious to see and have a full conversation with you before the meeting of your Legislature, and it was mainly with this view, that I proposed to meet you at the mines.

I am very much gratified, that the Governor takes such correct views in relation to the subject, and feels so much zeal in its execution. No one can have a greater and more salutary influence in reference to it. With his cooperation, this most important of all works may be kept above the influence of party and local feelings. On this subject let Carolina and Georgia be one. With such Union on it and the questions in reference to Slavery, we may divide on ordinary political subjects without any great injury to the Country; or at least, I hope, without fatal consequences.

Should the State not undertake the work, I do hope, that yourself, Dearing and some half dozen more of Strong Capitalists, who have the publick confidence, will take a charter to execute a rail road in extension of the Athens rail road to the Western limits of your State, with the view of completing the connection between the Savannah and Tennessee rivers. The State would no doubt grant a liberal charter, should she decline acting in order to effect so patriotick, and so important an object. With such a charter, I have no doubt, that a private company would be found abundantly competent to execute the work. So small would be the expense compared to the prospect of the profit, that, when the subject came to be well understood, capital to any amount may be commanded. I would suggest, then, if the State declines, that such a company be incorporated; that ample time be allowed to commence and execute the work, that the Legislature request the Gov^r to make application to the Gen^l Government for a detachment of the corps of engineers to survey and lay out the work in

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting, marked as addressed to Col. F. Carter.

aid of the company, and when that is done, and the plan and estimates are completed, let an able memoir be drawn up presenting fully its advantages and future prospects, and there would be not the least fear of means. The stock might be disposed of at a high premium, or additional stock holders might be admitted on such terms, as might be prescribed. In the mean time, the company might secure all the collateral advantages, such as purchasing all the favourable sites and such property as would be greatly enhanced by the execution of the work.

I do not think that a single track, (which ought first to be executed) would be much more expensive than a paved turnpike, if judiciously executed. There is the greatest abundance of timber on the spot, and the ravines and depressions might be passed on substantial frame work, to be filled up at leisure, as far as may be desirable, after the road is completed, as they are now doing on the Charleston road. By this means a proper elevation might be kept at a moderate expense comparatively and the road be brought into speedy and profitable operation.

I had a great deal of conversation with Mr Boyce,¹ after I left you in reference to the road, and he agrees fully in all these views. You know, that he has a sound, cautious judgement and has a good deal of experience on the subject of rail roads; and he, Gen^l Hamilton² and many of our most worthy and respectable citizens, I have no doubt, would be glad to be considered among the original Stock holders.

I confess, I have fears, if your state should undertake it every thing would run into party operations, to the neglect and ruin of the work. There is a strong tendency in your political system to violent party conflicts.

Should the State not act, and you should concur in these views, I would advise a free and full conversation with Mr Dearing, and, if you and he should concur in opinion, to associate such individuals as you may think fit, and apply for the Charter from the termination of the Athens rail road to your western limits without designation of any particular part.

¹ Ker Boyce, of Charleston.

² Gen. James Hamilton (1786-1857), governor of South Carolina from 1830 to 1832, and afterwards prominent in Texas,

Tennessee or Alabama, as the case may be, would doubtless give a charter to the Tennessee River. If you should apply, write me immediately, and I will have a free conversation with Boyce, Hamilton and others of our friends here, who may desire [to] join in the work. If you can get the charter, I will answer for it, that the work goes through with all of its mighty advantages to the country and a corresponding profit to those, who will have the honor of commencing and completing it. I entertain not the least doubt, that when the route is laid out, and the plans and estimates are formed, that, if it should be thought advisable, the whole Stock might be disposed of at an advance, reserving to the original company all the sites and property that they may choose to purchase on the routes, which of itself would be of an immense value. At all events, if I should mistake, there would be but little loss, even if the charter should have to be abandoned. I would be delighted to have a few hours conversation with you and Dearing together in reference to this great and patriotick undertaking. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him, but from what I have heard of his character, I have a very favourable opinion of him; and with you, he and Boyce with a few other strong capitalists, at the head of a small but well selected company, every thing may be done. I intend to go to the mines some time between the 5 and 10th Nov^r and I still hope you may both make it convenient to meet me there. If you agree to do so and will fix the day, I will be punctual. You are at liberty to show M^r Dearing what I have written or any other friend in whom you may have entire confidence.

I have no doubt the arrangement you propose to make in reference to the mines is a judicious one. I am glad to learn that you have so good a prospect of obtaining for us the turn pike charter and the Spring. They are both, I doubt not, valuable property. In all things, as far as my individual interest in your quarter is concerned, I put entire confidence in you and Cap^t. Clay. I will cheerfully give, whatever information I may get, that may have a bearing on your Western purchases, and which I may communicate with propriety.

I cannot doubt, but that a treaty to obtain the Texas, should one be made on anything like fair terms would be ratified,

and carried into execution. Should it not, political jealousy would be the cause, which, in the present state of the publick feelings, would put an end to the Union.

Should a conflict take place between Mexico and Texas, I deem it much more probable, that the latter would conquer the former, than the reverse; so great and extensive would be the sperit of volunteering, should land be offered as an inducement in Texas, as I doubt not it would.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Washington 24th Jan^y 1836

MY DEAR SIR. I was much gratified with the contents of your letter and hope you may realise your anticipations.

I send you a copy of my speech on the French question. It was made on the Spur of the occasion. I was compelled to acquiesce in M^r Buchanan's indorsement for the Senate, or signify my dissent. I did not hesitate, as bold as the move was. I stood alone. The Senate I fear is subdued. I never saw so little sperit in the body. There has, however, sprung up a fine sperit in the house among the young men from the South and West. I have long looked to them to reform the country, and now, that all the leaders of the Nat. Republican party have withdrawn from the House, the lead in the opposition has fallen into proper hands, the young and the daring from the only section, that can overthrow an administration. Among this band Wise has taken a noble stand. He has made the most effective speech ever delivered against the Administration. It was full of disclosures shameful to the party, and told with great boldness and point. I look on the movement in the House as the commencement of a new era. Your presence is greatly needed. The Telegraph in your absence is far from being effective. The period has arrived, when bold and decided movements must be made. On your return, arrangements must be made for effective operations through the press here. Can you not associate Cralle with you, and take charge between you of both the Telegraph and the Sun? They would present a powerful point from which to act. As

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

the nationals go down, we must come into action. The final and successful resistance must be with us. Our principles only can overthrow power.

I see Pleasants has printed, what I said on the French question, without a single remark. What does it mean? Is he afraid to speak out on the question? If so, it would show a fearful state of things in Virginia.

I fear, that M^r Leigh and M^r Tyler, may act differently under their instructions, should instructions come, which could not but be disastrous to our cause in the state. I think M^r Leigh has taken his ground firmly not to obey, at least at once. It is highly desirable that the two Senators should act together, and it seems to me a mutual ground may be found. In voting for M^r Clay's resolution, they voted under instructions, or what amounted to it, and if they should be instructed to expunge, it would [be] instruction against instruction, and would constitute, it seems to me, a fair occasion to make the appeal to the people, at the approaching election. Let their resignation abide that event, on an able communication to the Gov^r. on receiving the instructions. I know you cannot act in relation to it, but you might suggest these views to some of our friends. I think it is the only safe course and the one that would meet with the approbation of our friends here.¹

*To Christopher Van Deventer.*²

Washington 7th Feb: 1836

MY DEAR SIR, A great pressure of business has prevented me from answering your letters at an earlier date. I am exceedingly gratified to hear that your health is better, and do hope that a Kind Providence may long spare you for the benefit of your family and friends. My own health remains good, fully as much so, as when we last parted.

You give a fearful picture of the progress of the Fanaticks, which is confirmed from every quarter we hear in the North.

¹ In February, 1836, the legislature of Virginia instructed her two Senators to vote for the "expunging resolutions." Judge B. W. Leigh refused to do so; Senator John Tyler, revering the doctrine of instructions, but unwilling to vote for the resolutions, resigned rather than to comply. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I, 522-523.

² Original lent by Col. J. Van Deventer, of Knoxville, Tenn.

I fear a direct issue between them and us cannot long be delayed—an issue, which, if it does not rend our political fabric asunder, will shake it to the centre.

I made a few days since a report on the part of the President's Message, which relates to incendiary publications, in which I have discussed some very important points. The report, I think, was well received on all sides. I will send you a copy as soon as it is printed, which I hope will be tomorrow.¹

The prospect of peace has heightened. The mediation is said to be accepted, of which, however, there is no official information. I trust it is true, and that it will save us from the disasters and folly of a French war.

The times are daily becoming worse. This year is more corrupt and sycophantick than the last, and I fear the next will be more so than this. God only knows what is to become of the country. Without a timely and thorough reform all will be lost, for which our fathers fought and bled.

Anna, who is with me, joins her kind regards to yourself, Mrs V. and family.

Wishing you an improvement of health, and long continuance of life, I remain

*To James H. Hammond.*²

Washington 19th June 1836

MY DEAR SIR, Since you left us, as short as is the period, a very great change has taken place in the aspect, if not the condition, of parties. I had for weeks perceived, that some thing was going on; but was not aware of the extent of the change, till the bill for the regulation of the deposits was brought up. You will remember, that I reported the bill at the last Session from the select Committee on Executive patronage.³ It then passed the Senate and was sent to the other House, where it remained till the end of the Session without being taken up. I introduced it on leave in the early part of this Session, and

¹ Report of February 4, 1836, in Works, V, 190-208

² Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

³ Report of February 9, 1835, in Works, V, 148-190.

while I was waiting for a favourable opportunity to take it up, the opposition in the Senate sunk to a minority. Seeing after this, that there was no opportunity of passing it without the aid of the administration party, I seized on the first suitable occasion to announce my intention of abandoning the bill, and throwing the deposit question, wholly on the responsibility of the administration and their party. The result of that announcement was the offer by M^r Wright, a few days after, of a substitute by the way of amendment for the bill, and which in addition to the provisions to regulate the banks of deposits, contained provisions to dispose of the surplus revenue by vesting it in state securities. I seized on this movement, and offered an amendment to my bill, providing that the surplus should be deposited in the Treasury of the several states rateably on condition of returning it without interest when required. I soon saw, that M^r Wright became shy of the subject, and was indisposed to call up the bill in conformity to his promise. After much delay, I decided to call it up myself. In his opening speech, I clearly saw, that his intention was to get clear of the subject altogether, tho' he professed a strong desire, that something should be done. I determined to act on his professions, and not his real intention, and accordingly joined him in a tone of great moderation in the expression of an equally strong desire that something should be done, and a determination on my part to sacrifice anything except principle to effect so desirable an object. The result, after some remarks from M^r Webster and others, was the appointment of a special Committee of 9, on my motion, from all the parties in the Senate, of which M^r Wright was chairman. The Committee with great unanimity reported an amendment, as a substitute for the bill, on the principle and with most of the leading details of the original bill, and my amendment, but with important modifications in some particulars. M^r Wright's desire to defeat the bill and amendment now became very apparent; but after every expedient he could devise for that purpose, the bill was ordered to a third reading on thursday last, by a vote of 40 to 6, the latter consisting of M^r Wright, M^r Benton M^r Grundy M^r Cuthbert, and the two Mississippi Senators for special reasons arising out of some difficulty in their

state Constitution. The next day after this remarkable vote, the real state of things in the Senate, disclosed itself on the question of the passage of the bill. It was furiously opposed by Benton and artfully, but earnestly by Wright. This brought out Rives and Tallmadge, Wright's Colleague, in a warm and eloquent defence of it, on the old doctrines of the Republican party, of economy, retrenchment, and decidedly attacking the extravagance of the appropriations passed and contemplated, as well as M^r Benton's gold Humbug. The bill, after the debate closed, passed 38 to 6, M^r Naudain of Delaware having resigned, and M^r Morris being accidentally absent. Yesterday a motion was made in the House to take up the bill, and tho' it was the day for private bills and had of course to encounter some opposition from that cause, the vote stood 130 for taking up and 70 against. It will be taken up on Monday, and there can be no doubt, I think, of its passage.¹

The effect has been a complete disorganization of parties for the present. The President is furious, and threatens to veto the bill, should it pass, but I have no fears of that. The Globe took a decided stand against it, and M^r Van Buren is understood to be warmly opposed; but all in vain. The schism may not be permanent, but I am inclined to think it lies pretty deep, and will not be easy to heal. There is unquestionably a good deal of rivalry and jealousy between the interests of Rives and Benton, which tend strongly to distract the party; and to which a good deal of what has occurred may be attributed. But there is another and more powerful cause of distraction, which begins to disclose itself; I refer to the growing conflict between the more honest portion of the party, and the real plunder and humbug portion, who are willing to go all lengths. They have arrived at the point at which it is difficult for these two portions to go on together much longer.

Looking over the whole ground, I am inclined to think, that we are at the commencement of events which must lead to important and salutary changes, if we act with moderation and prudence. It is said Gen^l Jackson threatens to veto the

¹ See E. G. Bourne, *History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*.

bill should it pass. I cannot think he will, and, if he should, I think, it will only accelerate the Overthrow of those in power. The result would not be so speedy, but would be no less certain, should the bill become a law. At this interesting stage of our affairs, I cannot but regret your absence from the councils of the Union. It is the more to be regretted, at this time, not only on account of the importance and delicacy of the juncture, but because we are so weak in the House. Pickens' health is still delicate, which prevents his constant attendance, and Thompson leaves this with his family for Carolina this evening, on account of unfavourable intelligence in relation to the health of M^{rs} Thompson's mother.

Should you see Hamilton before you sail do not forget to say to him, that I am extremely anxious to see him on many accounts, and that he must expedite his visit here as much as possible.

I hope your health has improved, and that you met your family in health, and entirely recovered from the effects of their rough passage. I would be glad to hear from you before you sail, and as often as you can make it convenient while abroad.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Washington 28th June 1836

MY DEAR SIR, I have received from M^r Overton what he estimates to be due to my brothers, and will bring it out with me. I expect to leave here Friday, or Saturday next and probably may take Abbeville in my way. I take the Salisbury route.

I am gratified to hear that my constituents so generally approve of my course. I am of the impression, that much has been effected during the Session. We stand stronger than we ever did on the Slave question. The South is more united, and the nature of the question is better understood both north and South than it has ever been. But we must not relax. The abolitionists are numerous, zealous and active. They have a powerful press and abundant funds. But it is not only

¹ Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

on the Slave question, that we have gained. The bill regulating the deposits and disposing of the Surplus, which has become a law, will do much to restore the ascendancy of the States, and effect a deep political reform. It is the most decisive measure that has ever been adopted to regulate the Government. It is the consummation of the action of our State. No measure has for a long time been received with such universal joy.

Make mine and Anna's best and kindest respects to Martha.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Senate Chamber 4th July 1836

MY DEAR SIR, We are within a few minutes of the adjournment sine die; and I expect to take my departure home in the course of the day. I have but a few minutes to devote to dropping you a line to acknowledge your last.

The deposite bill has already begun its salutary work. It has limited the appropriations by many millions; but they are still great, about \$35,000,000. The Surplus to be deposited with the States will be about an equal Sum. We adjourn under very favorable auspices. Party discipline is broke and I trust before you return, the great work of reform will have made great progress. By that time I trust that your health will be completely reinstated, so that we may have your aid in accomplishing the great work. The deposite act consummates our Carolina movements, and I feel increased confidence, it will effect all that its friends contemplated.

You must write me often and fully. Let me have your impressions on all you see and hear.

With ardent wishes for the complete restoration of yours and M^{rs} Hammonds health and your safe return I remain your friend.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 2^d Sep^r 1836

DEAR JAMES. . . . There is a good tone getting up here in reference to the rail road. I cannot doubt of the vast superi-

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond.

ority of the route by the Carolina gap. You must make a movement at Abbeville. I wrote to Patrick Noble about it, but you know he wants energy. I also wrote to Francis Pickens to give the impulse at Edgefield. We have had a meeting at old Pendleton. It will be followed up by meetings at Pickens and Anderson. We must have able directors from this side. McDuffie must be one. You and our friends must insist on his subscribing the 50 shares to qualify himself for the place. With proper efforts the road may be taken this way; and if it should, I do not doubt that it will be the best stock in the State. I feel confident that \$6,000,000, by the Carolina gap will carry it from Charleston to the Ohio such is the great facility of the route.

We are all well and all desire their love. Anna will be very glad to see you.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 19th Sep^r. 1836

MY DEAR SIR, I have just returned from a laborious examination of the country between this and the mouth of Tuskyseege in company with Col Gadsden. We were nine days incessantly engaged. The result is eminently favourable; far more than I anticipated. I cannot state particulars now. You must come up immediately to concert measures to give the route the proper impulse to carry it through. I will come out with a statement of facts in the Messenger on Friday next. We will have a meeting the week after; and meetings must be had in Abbeville, Edgefield and Orangeburgh. It has a decided preference over all other routes and nothing but suitable efforts are required to ensure its success. •

While up, we must come to a settlement in reference to your mother's estate.

All send their love.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 11th Nov^r 1836

MY DEAR SIR, I was detained much longer at the mines than I anticipated, owing to the absence of Cap^t Clay, which, however, gave me some leisure that was not lost. There are about Dahlonga many, who are familiar with the portion of our route beyond the mouth of the Tuskaseege, where my examination ended. They all concur in giving the most favourable account of the route beyond, even to exceed my anticipations, and, in particular, of the Crab Orchard gap. Among others, I met with Maj^r. Haynes, an intelligent gentleman who resides a few miles below Kingston, and who had come on to take a contract on the Georgia rail road, and has of course turned his attention some what to the subject of rail roads. He (and others concur with him) says that our road ought to Cross at Casey's ferry, about six miles below Kingston, where the bluffs on both sides are high, so that a bridge of 50, or 60 feet elevation may be thrown over the Tennessee, and ought to run up White Creek, instead of the Emory river. He also states that the gap is not more than 16 miles from the Crossing place, and the elevation not more than 200 feet above the river and would not be more than 150 above the Bridge. On the West side, there is scarcely any decent. The Seguachee bends in a large spring just at the Gap, and affords along its valley every facility for a rail road to the Tennessee below the Suck.

I obtained some other information, which I consider highly interesting. I met with Dr. Thomas, a very intelligent man, from Witempka, at the head of Steam navigation on the Coosa, about 17 miles above Montgomery. He says (and others agree with him), that there is a beautiful land route from Witempka, which would intercept ours about Russels ferry, and that a rail road is already in contemplation in that direction. On calculation it is found, that the distance from Charleston to Witempka, would be about 500 miles by the route. He and others agree, that, if the road was completed, all midle and eastern Alabama would draw their supplies from Charleston. I also learn, that the Engineers who had been ordered to survey the route down the Tennessee and

thence across to Athens and Macon from the Suck, had found the rout between the Lookout and Allegany mountains impracticable, which must tend to throw the Athens and Augusta interest with us.

My information from Charleston is in the main favourable for our route, but a great effort will be required to succeed. I will leave here for Columbia about this day 2 weeks, and would be glad you would go with us. Your presence there would be very useful.

Did you send my letter to brother James? It is important I should hear from him before I leave home.

All desire their love to you.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Columbia 9th Dec^r 1836

MY DEAR SIR, I have been here more than a week, and will take my departure tomorrow for Washington.

Mr Burt will give you most of the news of this place, which will dispense with my detailing it.

I have had a pretty full conversation with him on the rail road, and have got him to assent to go to Knoxville, on the condition you will go, as one of the proxies. It is desirable that you both should be there, to see what is going on. I fear the game is in the hand of Blanding,¹ and that the enterprise will be so managed as to sink millions without any substantial advantage to the State. The push at this moment is to get banking privileges, and a subscription on the part of the state, without waiting the Surveys. The object is to commit the State, so that she cannot recede, let the selection be ever so objectionable. I fear both objects will succeed; and if they should, that the whole concern will terminate in little better than a Stock Jobbing affair.

Williams is here; and I hear, that the survey has been recommenced since I left home. I have no confidence in his impartiality and but little in his judgement. The route he has

¹ Col. Abram Blanding, afterward president of the South-Western Railroad Bank, which was a part of the scheme for the building of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston R. R. He was at this time president of the Commercial Bank at Columbia.

ordered to be surveyed on the east side of the Gap is calculated to deceive, unless one should fully understand the topography of the country. He proposes to terminate the line at Burche's ford on the Keowee, instead of terminating on little River, which is many hundred feet higher, or which would be still fairer, on the ridge at the foot of the mountain between Westbro's fork and Little River. The effect is to give a very high appearant elevation to the gap, as the Keowee lies very deep. The elevation of the gap is probably greater than I estimated it, but unless it should exceed 1500 feet above the mouth of 12 miles, after taking off the crest by a tunnel, which is not likely, the whole may be run down at an angle not exceeding 30 feet to the mile, by keeping along the side of the Chatugee Mountain, round the North fork of the Cheochee, passing down near to Tomassee and on the ridge between Cane Creek and little River, and crossing the Keowee on a high bridge below the mouth of 12 miles. Much the greater part of the route would be on one of the best ridges in the state. If a line still more developed should be required, it would be easy to give it a still farther development to the West, so as to make the decent still more gentle. All I ask is an impartial survey when I am at home and can attend to it. I do not fear, but that the route will not only prove practicable, but the most so of any other.

As to the Presidency, I see so much that I do not approve, that I have concluded that I had better have nothing to do with it. The only terms on which I could accept would be that it should be tendered to me without solicitation by the company from a confidence in my capacity and integrity, and then only on condition that the best route should be selected, and I should not be brought into conflict with any of my friends. In a word, if I take it, it must be solely from a sense of duty. I cannot think there is the slightest prospect that it will be tendered on such conditions, and my friends had better not bring my name forward. I read my letter to Hayne on this subject to Burt. He will tell you its contents.

The more I reflect, the more I am convinced, that the Success of the road will depend on the direction, and that on striking Steam navigation on the intermediate streams between the Blue ridge and the Ohio at the nearest and most favorable

parts. Steam navigation on the Western Waters is many times cheaper than on rail roads; and of course, the Tennessee, the Cumberland and Green Rivers, if struck where navigable for Steam would be the best and cheapest extension of the rail road. Any route that overlooks this important advantage must fail.

If you go to Knoxville do not fail to write me from there.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 18th Feb 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I avail myself of the favourable opportunity by Col White to acknowledge your letter of August last, which I read with much pleasure, and I may add with information. Many of the facts you state are new to me. I had no conception that the lower class had made such great progress to equality and independence. Such change of condition and mode of thinking on their part indicates great approaching change in the political and social condition of the country, the termination of which is difficult to be seen. Modern society seems to me to be rushing to some new and untried condition.

With us great changes have occurred, as short as has been the period of your absence. You have of course read the papers and have kept up with the general march of events in this quarter. The Presidential election terminated, as was anticipated, when you left us; but far less decisively, than was anticipated by friend, or foe. It is quite certain, that the President elect did not receive a majority of votes, and that, if the opposition had known their strength, he could have been defeated easily. The general impression is, that he cannot maintain himself. The opposition show no indication of yielding, while his own party is agitated by conflicts within. The more decent portion under Rives, Buchanan and others are making war against their more filthy associates under Benton, Kendal, Blair and Johnson. Thus far victory leans in favor of the latter. In the meantime, the outrage[ous] acts of the party, forced on them by Jackson and Benton with

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S C.

his associates are shocking the feelings of the country corrupt and debased as it is. No act within my recollection has excited such disgust and loathing as the expunging resolutions. The party Senators, in voting it, looked more like culprits, than victorious leaders. That has been followed by repeated breaches of privileges of the members of the two Houses by the President. The last and most violent was in my own case. You will of course have seen his letter to me, and the manner in which I met it.¹ My triumph was complete. His friends in the Senate hung their heads in dum[b] silence.

This is a sad picture of the state of things on this side of the water; and yet with my non despairing disposition, I am disposed to regard it as the precursor of a general and thorough reform. The principle of stability and regeneration is wonderfully strong in our country and under our political system. We have for the last 12 years been going through a great and dangerous juncture. The passage is almost made, and, if no new cause of difficulty should intervene, it will be successfully made. I, at present see none, but the abolition question, which, however, I fear is destined to shake the country to its centre. It has made great progress since you left us. Its advocates are more numerous and audacious than ever, and have taken higher ground, at this, than the last session. For the first time the bold ground has been taken, that slaves have a right to petition Congress; and what is wonderful, a vote of the House of Representatives, has by strong implication, sustained the ground, which has neither been recinded, nor superceded, and we are about to adjourn leaving this question, which involves directly the right to emancipate, in this uncertain condition; or rather to express myself more strongly, and at the same time more truly, the act of emancipation; for the right to petition Congress is itself emancipation. It would make the masters but overseers, against whom the slave would have a right to appeal to Congress, as the absolute master of

¹Under date of February 7, 1837, Jackson wrote a violent letter to Calhoun, protesting against remarks of the latter in the Senate. Calhoun had declared that many in high places, even persons connected with the President, had been, according to statements never contradicted, engaged in speculations in public lands; he had been reported to Jackson as accusing him of such conduct. See Niles's Register, LI, 390, 391; Calhoun's Works, III, 1-9.

all. Such is the present posture of this, to us, all important question. How it is to end time can alone disclose. I have ever had but one opinion on the subject. Our fate, as a people, is bound up in the question. If we yield we will be exterminated; but, if we successfully resist, we will be the greatest and most flourishing people of modern time. It is the best substratum of population in the world; and one on which great and flourishing Commonwealths may be most easily and safely reared.

I trust yours and M^{rs} Hammonds health is greatly improved, and that you have both enjoyed yourselves in your long absence from your country. Your numerous friends will heartily welcome your return.

Anna is with me and joins her best respects to you both, and requests me to say that she almost envies you the pleasure you must have experienced in passing over the old and renowned regions of the old world.

I enclose a copy of my speech on the admission of Michigan which is the only one, that has been printed in pamphlet form this session.¹

*To Joel R. Poinsett.*²

Washington, 9th Mar. 1837.

MY DEAR SIR, Our delegates placed the name of my son Patrick on the list of applicants for West Point. He is sixteen years of age, of good constitution and well advanced in his education. He is very desirous of receiving his education at West Point, and as this is the first favour I have ever asked in relation to an institution I cherished not a little, I would be pleased if his wishes could be gratified.

We start in the course of an hour and my daughter and myself regret that our incessant engagement has deprived us of the pleasure of calling on yourself and Mrs. P.

This will be handed by Capt. Bell of the Ordnance, an excellent officer with whom I take pleasure in making you acquainted.

¹ See Works, II, 586-616.

² Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania who possess the original. Poinsett was now Secretary of War

If you can give my son a warrant with propriety, address to Pendleton, S. Carolina.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Abbeville 22^d March 1837

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . On the whole, I think the last session went off well. The administration lost every measure they had at heart, and were for the last 8 or 10 days of the session in a minority in the House of Representatives. Van Buren goes in very weak and may be easily crushed with anything like a vigorous effort. There is a great and growing change in our favour. . . .

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 12th May 1837

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . I enclose the Messenger, containing an article signed Americus, recommending the Southern Review¹ to the patronage of the slave holding states. Such a work is indispensable to our character and safety; and I hope you will take charge of Abbeville. I know no one so well calculated to give an impulse to the work in the District as yourself. See Maj^r. Burt, Co^l Noble, M^r Wardlaw, M^r M^cDuffie and others and on some sale day, or other publick occasion have a meeting and give the impulse to the subscription. It is all important. No man, who can spare \$5, ought to withhold his name. We ought to get in the South at least 6000 subscribers.

The difficulties of the times increase. I see not the end. Unless the British Government should interfere and arrest the progress of the Disorder, I would not be surprised, that it should end in the overthrow of the banking system. Our government by its folly and vice has lost all control for good over the banks and the currency.

We are all well and all join in their love to you.

¹ One Southern Review died in 1832, another, the Southern Quarterly Review, was born in 1842. This was an intermediate attempt or project.

To Robert M. T. Hunter.¹

Fort Hill June 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I write to say to you how much I am gratified with the success of your election. The struggle in Virginia seemed to be to destroy all who would not range themselves under the flag of the Administration or opposition, as mere partisans; and that you should have sufficient strength of yourself to maintain your position between the contending parties is a source of joy to your friends in this State, and to none more than myself.

What is the true result of your election and what is the future prospect of Virginia? Is she destined to be bound by the mere trammels of party, or is there a prospect that she will ever assume independent ground on her former principles? What course did the two parties take in reference to yourself? Who brought out your opponent, and on what ground did he place his election? Our State is profoundly quiet. Publick sentiment approaches to something like unanimity on all the great questions of the day, and our people seemed determined to hold the presidential election strictly subordinate to their principles. We begin to turn our attention to the readjustment of the Tariff under the compromise act. My mind is made up; that it ought not to be delayed beyond the next session, and that we ought to go for a uniform *ad val.* duty on all articles, without any discrimination; and such, I think, will be the unanimous voice of the State. It is our only safe position; and if we can get the South to unite on it, its success is certain. It would give us a security, that we have never heretofore had under the government. I intend to direct a good deal of my attention to the subject before the meeting of Congress, and will probably make an early move on it. This, however, I write to you as a friend, and for your private ear, as it perhaps would not be advisable that what I

¹ The text of this letter, the original of which I have not seen, is derived from a copy kindly furnished by Miss M. T. Hunter, of Lloyds, Va., its present possessor. Robert M. T. Hunter (1809-1887), one of the most prominent of Virginia politicians, had lately been elected to Congress. See the letter of December 18, 1839. He served in the House from 1837 to 1843 (being Speaker from 1839 to 1841), and from 1845 to 1847. He was a Senator from that year until the secession of Virginia in 1861, after which he served as a Confederate senator and secretary of state. During the years from 1837 to 1850 he was one of the warmest and most influential of Calhoun's supporters in Virginia.

contemplate should be known; but I hope, if you concur with me, that you will take such steps by correspondence and otherwise, as may prepare our friends for the movement in your State. Do let me hear from you at your early convenience, and favour me fully with your views on that and all other points, that you may deem worthy of attention. What would be the effect in Virginia, if Clay should not be nominated by the whig convention?

With my kind regards to Mrs. H.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 26th June 1837

DEAR SIR, It will be impossible to form a definitive opinion, as to the proposed convention, to which you refer, till we see the objects distinctly stated, and the motives, which actuate those who propose it fully developed. If it is intended under the general name of Whigs to call all the opposition together in order to ascertain, which section is the strongest, with an understanding, that all shall rally under him, who may be the choice of the strongest, without regard to his political principles, or views of policy, I do not see, how we could go into such a meeting without an unqualified surrender of our principles and the policy we deem the best for the country. We are in a minority of the opposition, and would be sure to be voted down and be compelled to vote for Clay or Webster, or to violate the pledge implied in going into the convention. If we do the former, would be merged in the national Republican party, and leave the whole states rights ground open to be seized on by those in power; if the latter, we would be weakened, and disgraced in the eyes of the community.

But, if the object be to harmonize the two sections of the opposition, the states rights, and the national, it seems to me, it would fail and leave us in a worse condition than ever. On what grounds can we compromise? How can the consolidation party and the anti consolidation; the abolition and anti abolition, the retrenchment, and the expenditure parties compromise? Where is the middle ground? I must say I can see

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

none. If they should come together, it must be by concession, or surrender. One or the other must yield. At all events, if compromise be the object, it is clear, that there should be a previous understanding among the leaders, before the convention meets; and that can only be done after the meeting of Congress; or all will be in confusion. And hence I am clearly of the opinion, no countenance should be given to the move at the present time. If the object be to select a candidate, it is too soon; and if to harmonize, I would say, that all attempts at harmonizing faster, than experience and reflection may bring the heterogeneous mass together, will prove worse than useless, and will certainly defeat the object in view.

My impression has been and is, that we occupy the strong ground of truth and principle, and ought not to surrender it on any account; that it is the only ground on which the administration can be defeated, and on which defeat would be of any value to the community. On none other can the country and its institutions be saved, and there is no hope of its being made available, but by our adhering to it with inflexible tenacity. The worst thing that could befall us and the country would be for us to bring in a party hostile to our doctrines and principles. The present state of things is greatly to be preferred to that. There is some hope in the present, there would be none in the other.

Let us then stand fast, do our duty firmly, and maintain kind relations with all, except the rogues, who have got hold of power; and show much more solicitude to redeem the country, than to advance ourselves. The crisis is too great and dangerous for a display of ambitious feelings. It is the time for the patriot; one who cares more for the publick, than himself; and, if I mistake not, all, who push forward to get an advantage in the hope of getting the start will be defeated. They at least ought to be. The difficulties and dangers are destined to increase, and the people to be saved must look to the wise, the resolute and patriotick. Be kind to all, but commit to none; and distrust any opining, that does not lead in the direction of a rigid adherence to our principles and doctrines, If we stand firm, the national party must become extinct; and till it becomes so the country cannot be saved. Time and

experience have decided against them. We cannot save them by uniting with them; but would only identify our fate with theirs. I see my way clearly. The past is in our favour. We have nothing to correct or repent of.

Let me hear from you often. I greatly rejoice, that the prospect of your paper is so good. It is of vast importance that it should hold its ground.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill July 27th 1837

DEAR SIR, Absence from home has prevented me from acknowledging your several letters from the 12th to the 15th Inst. both inclusive till now.

I am distressed to hear of your difficulties with the paper and would do anything in my power, to which I could by any possibility bring my feelings, that would afford relief; but I must say, after full reflection, that I cannot think the acceptance of the place you propose would have the effect, that you suppose, and that it would be difficult for me to get my consent to undertake it.

So far from aiding, its effects as it appears to me, would be to bring a weight of opposition, originating in political considerations, against you. It would be viewed and regarded as a political movement, and would rouse both national and administrative forces to thwart it. But placing this consideration out of sight, and regarding it personally, as it relates to myself, I see great difficulties. The business would be entirely new to me, and to one at my time of life, few things are more formidable. Rare are the instances of the success of one in a new undertaking so late in life. It is difficult to acquire a taste for a new pursuit, when our habits are all fixed. This in my case would especially apply to the duties attached to the place in question. Of all things in the world, I have the least taste for money making, and the poorest capacity for success in it, and in particular the branch connected with stock, exchange, or banking, to which I have a peculiar aversion. My highest ambition as to money is to be independent,

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

in a moderate and plain mode of living. I have just about sufficient for that purpose and it is all I want. I know, that Mammon is the idol of the times, but, I cannot get my consent to worship at his Shrine. Thus feeling and thinking, you must see how illy qualified I am for the task you propose, and how exceedingly irksome its duties would be me to me: I would infinitely prefer, if I was compelled to choose to take the place of chief Engineer, at the head of the mining Department of your concern, for which I would have much more capacity and inclination. To develop the resources of so fine a deposite would at least require so much reflection and energy as to absorb the attention.

As to the other topicks you touched of a political character, and which you seemed to think might be offensive to me, it would be difficult for any one, whose friendship to me has been so severely tested as yours has been, to say anything, which I would regard in that light; but I must say, that tho' your remarks gave no offense, they deeply mortified my feelings. I am sure, that if your letters would fall into the hands of those who are to come after us, they would infer from the topicks you urge on me to adopt the course you recommend, and the remarks with which you accompany them, that I was a vain, light headed, ill judging and ambitious man, ignorant alike of the nature of the times, and my own strength, and constantly leading myself and those who follow me, into false positions, and aiming constantly at the Presidency and destined constantly to be defeated. I know you do not and cannot so think of me. No one knows better than yourself, that in the heat of youthful years, I never sought, or desired the Presidency, but through a faithful discharge of my duty, and as an instrument of high usefulness and distinguished service; and that when the alternative was presented between truth and duty on one side, and personal aggrandizement on the other, I never hesitated for a moment. You also well know, I never held out office, or emoluments to those who followed me; nor have ever asked or sought the support of any; and that for years I have, in obedience to what I believed to be my duty, knowingly pursued a course, that would sacrifice my popularity. How then can you say, that I more over rate my strength than any other publick man? I who have resisted

every attempt of my friends to bring forward my name, on the express ground that I did not suit the times, nor the times me, and that I would not accept the Presidency, unless my services were demanded by the country to reform the government from top to bottom. So far from overestimating, I have no doubt, that the very services, which ought to recommend me to the country, and the qualities, which ought to give confidence, constitute insuperable objections to my election. Nothing can raise me short of saving the country from convulsions; which gives me not a moment of grief. I would rather, to use your own expression, stand alone in my glory, seeing what is coming, raising an honest and fearless voice of forewarning, untainted and untouched by the times, than to be President of these States, on any other condition, than through a discharge of my duty, which I know is your own opinion of me. This I wish my friend[s] to know; and that there is very little prospect of honor, or emoluments in following me. But enough of this.

As to my taking place on the Harrison ticket, I am sure it could be no more than a momentary impulse with you. How could I who am anti national, take a place under a prominent national Republican? How can I, who am anti abolition, go on a ticket, headed by one, who has expressed an opinion in favour of appropriating money to emancipate our slaves by purchase; and whose main support is in a state chiefly tainted by abolitionism, and by the Gov^r. of that state who has come out an open abolitionist? I touch not other topicks, the danger of elevating a weak, vain man with no fixed principles, and having such men as Granger, and others of like description as my competitors, and being defeated by them.

As to the convention of the Whigs, I intend for one to have nothing to do with it. I am not of the same party with Webster and others, and do not intend to go into any move, that may be controlled by abolitionists, consolidationists, colonizationists. I speak as an individual. If my friends think differently, I shall not complain: but shall regard it as a signal, that they are tired of being in a hopeless minority, and that it is time for me to step off[f] the stage. I believe the sound portion of the country, if there be one, that is left, is to be found in the original Jackson party; I mean those who rallied

under him to put down M^r Adams, and his administration, and that the true policy is to reorganize the old party. Such of our friends, who take a different view will be woefully disappointed in the end. They may sacrifice their principles in going with others, but their reward will be scorn and contempt. M^r L. has taken the true view, and no one can do more to effect it both in and out of the administration party, than himself, and if he succeeds, he will deserve and receive the lasting praise of the country. He also selects the proper state in which to commence action, and can do more there, than any other man. He has taken, the common sense and patriotick view, which opens a glim[p]se of light, coming from that quarter, in the midst of darkness that surrounds us.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 7th Sept^r 1837

MY DEAR SIR, Things are doing well here. Van Buren has been forced by his situation and the terror of Jackson to play directly into our hands and I am determined, that he shall not escape from us. We have now a fair opportunity to break the last of our commercial Shackles. I mean the control which the North through the use of Government credit acting through the banks, have exercised over our industry and commerce. How wonderful, that the author of the Safety fund system and the favourite of New York (the State above all others the most benefitted by the Union of bank and state) should be forced by circumstances, which he could not control, to give the fatal blow to his own offspring and supporters! Into what situation may not an artful but shortsighted politician be forced?

I have taken my stand. I go against the chartering of a United States bank, or any connection with Biddles, or any other bank. I go in a word for a complete separation from the whole concern. So far I have come to a fix[ed] determination. Beyond that I wait for developement; and shall come to no conclusion, till I see the whole ground. We will divide. My colleague, as I understand him, goes for Biddle's bank and will probably take a portion of the Representatives with him.

Like divisions will probably run throughout all the States, and I would not be surprised, if an entirely new organization of parties should rise out of the present state of things.

In the mean time, it is of vast importance, that the meeting in Augusta should be fully attended. Now is the time. Abbeville must send her delegates. You and M^cDuffie ought to be two of them. Let a meeting be called at the Court House and the nomination be made. It is of little importance whether it be fully attended or not. Some body must move in the affair; and I know of no one better calculated to give the impulse than yourself.

I had a long letter yesterday from M^cNeil, on his western tour of exploration. He writes me that he is determined not to hasten a final decision on the route; and I have no doubt from the tone of his letter he will do his duty. I trust I may get off in time to attend the meeting of directors. There is, I think, a fair prospect that the work may yet take the proper direction. If you can, you ought to attend.

Let me hear from you.

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

c. c.

Washington 8th Sep^r. 1837

MY DEAR ANNA, On the day of my arrival here, I wrote to your mother, and since then to Andrew. I hope both letters have been received.

We expected, when I first wrote, to change our lodgings, but Co^l Pickens, and myself both concluded, after looking about, that we could not better ourselves, and have determined to remain with Miss Cocran for the Session. Our Mess is a mixed concern. It consists of Co^l Pickens, myself, M^r Rencher of N. Carolina, the Philadelphia and the Rhode Island Representatives; and is of course too discordant to be very social on political subjects. In other respects it is agreeable enough; but contrasted with the mess of last winter, which was like a family party, it is solitude compared to a social circle of friends. The consolation is, that we have the prospect of a short session. Every one seems to think that it will adjourn by the middle of next month; and some suppose earlier. It cannot be too short for me. There is no prospect of doing

much. There are now four parties; the two great divisions of administration and opposition, each divided in itself; the former into administration proper and the conservatives, and the latter into the States rights and Nationals. The division is such that neither of these subdivisions can move without the other. What is to grow out of all this time alone can disclose; but I see clearly it must end in a complete reorganization of the political elements of the country.

I stand on my old position and have avowed my determination, not to go for the chartering of a United States bank, nor for Biddles, or any other State bank, or combination of banks, reserving to myself the right to determine on other propositions, as they may be presented. I see clearly that Van Buren has been compelled to play into our hands (no thanks to him, he had no choice) and I am resolved to use my position, to reform the Government, and to throw off the last of our commercial Shackles. In the mean time my position is one of great delicacy, and will require consummate prudence with decision and boldness. It causes much speculation; but I think I see my way clearly. It puts me in a position much more congenial to my feelings, than that which I have occupied for the last few years. It was impossible for me to go with the leaders of the nationals. We disagreed on almost all points except resistance to Executive usurpation. We could not part on a point better for me, than the one on which we now separate. I stand now on my own bottom, with no influence acting on me but a rigid adherence to those great principles, for which I have made so many sacrifices.

I have not had a letter from home since I left, tho it has been a week since my arrival here. I hope to hear soon. My love to all and tell the children they must write to me. I shall be very impatient to get home.

[P. S] As usual I have had a bad cold since my arrival, but am better.

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 30th Sep^r 1837

I was quite refreshed, my dear Anna, with the account you gave me of the Wedding and wedding parties and the gay

hours, which you and Maria have spent. It was quite a contrast of my life for the last month, which has been one of incessant toil and labour, without relaxation, or amusement of any description whatever. I have to stand in the breach in this great conflict, and bear the brunt of the action. My situation was extraordinary. I held the fate of the country, by the confession of all, in my hand, and had to determine in what direction I should turn events hereafter. I did not hesitate. Acting on long established conceptions, I could not array myself under the flag of the banks and by so doing lay the foundation for restoring the very system of plunder, which has cost me so much labour to pull down. The decision has embittered the national Republican party against me, but for that I care little. We hold no principle scarcely in common, and neither I, nor my section had anything to expect from them. As I acted with them to put down executive usurpation on Congress, I now act with the opposite side to repel theirs on the State, and such is the force [of] my position, that I hope to accomplish both.

I regret that my colleague has not thought fit to go with me. I think both he and Gen^l Thompson¹ have acted badly, but I leave it to them and their constituents.

I can say nothing about the gayety of Washington. I have not heard of a party; tho' the city is full of strangers. Our gallery is daily crowded, and with a large portion of ladies. The debate is drawing to a close, and I expect to conclude it on Tuesday. The decision is doubtful, but I think the separation will pass by a few votes.

Mr. Felder is here on his way to the north for his niece; and I am glad he brings so favourable account of the state of public sentiment in his quarter of the State. Col^l Nisbit called on me last evening, just from West Point, and says that he saw Patrick. He is well, looks well and stands well in the institution. He is quite pleased, the Col^l says with the place. All this was highly gratifying.

I received William's letter² and say to him he may expect an answer by the next mail.

I wrote to your mother a few days since, and to Andrew by

¹ Senator William C. Preston; Gen. Waddy Thompson, M. C. from South Carolina

² William was Calhoun's fifth and youngest son.

this mail. I enclosed a copy of my speech in pamphlet to you and him. I hope you have each received your copy. Give my love to Maria, M^{rs} Yates, if with you, to your mother and all the family.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 27th Oct^r 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I returned home on the 24th and had the pleasure of finding the sick all on the recovery. Maria and Anna are free from all disease and only require the Cook and time to restore them to their usual health and strength. Andrew will set out West in a week, or ten days, and is much obliged to you for your information of the mill seat on the Phillibody, which he will certainly visit.

I could not get off in time to be at Flat Rock, but I learn, that things took a proper turn. I saw Gen^l Hamilton for a short time at Abbeville on his return from there and I learn from him, that the F. Broad route is in fact abandonned; and that the intention is to purchase the Hamburgh road and to Unite with the Augusta and Athens interest to extend their road to meet the Georgia main track from the Suck to the Chattahoochee. This is as it should be. They now take the very route, which I recommended three years since, and which I could not get a single man in Charleston to join me. All the movements about the French Broad, at the late meeting, was but to cover a retreat.¹ A branch will probably be made to Columbia, to gratify the interest in that quarter, to which there can be no great objection. Thus far, Charleston has a fair prospect, to consummate it only requires, that the Compromise act shall be rigidly adhered to and that the monied and commercial power shall not be concentrated by an act of Congress in the North.

On this point I did not find the General so sound. He expressed himself decidedly opposed to a national bank but equally as much so to the divorce. His plan is a Union of ten

¹ A letter to Hon. David Hubbard, kindly sent by Professor F. W. Moore, of Vanderbilt University, but received too late for insertion, shows that as late as June 15, 1838, Calhoun still hoped for a combination with Georgia, and a route to the Tennessee River; but see the letters of October 28 and November 17, 1838, *post*.

of the strongest of the state banks to be selected by the General Government and to be maid [made] their fiscal agent and the instrument of restoring specie payment; Biddles bank of course to be one—a plan in my opinion still more objectionable, than a national bank. He professed great personal regard, but, I infer from his conversation that there will be a vigorous effort made in this state in favour of his views, and against the divorce, which must be counteracted, and in which you must take an active part. The first point will be to secure the members of the legislature. Every one of your members ought to be seen and secured on the opposite side. You must be at Abbeville on sale day next and see and converse with all of them, who may be out and the rest ought to be written to.

The next will be to secure prominent and influential individuals, and M^cDuffie in particular. They are making great efforts to secure him. He was perfectly sound when I saw him at my house, a short time before I sat out for Washington, and I hope is still so; but he is liable to be acted on by men inferior to himself; and I must request you to see him as early as convenient to confirm him in the faith, if sound, and if not to bring him right.

I am gratified to learn that all in this neighbourhood are right as far as my information extends; and that such is also the case as far as I could learn through the entire line of my route home with the states rights party. There never was so favourable an opportunity to break the last shackles on our industry and to Unite the entire South. It must not be lost.

I sent you a copy of each of my speeches, which I hope you got.¹ I also sent a copy to each member of the Legislature.

If I can possibly leave home, I intend to be at Anderson on sale day and the day after at Abbeville. I wish to make a visit to my brothers Patrick and William and will return by your residence. I would be glad to meet you at Abbeville.

All join their love to you.

¹Speeches of September 19, 1887, on the Treasury Note Bill, of September 23, on the motion to postpone the Independent Treasury Bill; of September 26, on Clay's bank amendment; of October 3, on the Bill to separate the Government from the Banks. Works, III, 60-133.

*To Duff Green.*¹Fort Hill 27th Oct^r 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I arrived here day before yesterday after a safe and pleasant journey with the exception of the Dust, which was very troublesome throughout the whole way.

The little opportunity I had of ascertaining publick sentiment has brought me to the conclusion, that the indications are not unfavorable, but that the publick sentiment is still in a course of formation. I am of the impression, that the party opposed to seperation in this State intend a rally. Columbia will be the centre of their hostility. The attack will be made on the Reformer, under the pretext[t] of repelling its alledged attacks on Co^l Preston, but with the real design of attacking me through its sides. You will see the line of operation in the Telescope, and the use they intend to make of your supposed enmity to Co^l Preston and relation to me. It appears to me, that the most effectual mode of cutting this line of hostile operation is, in the first place for M^r Cralle to come out in a temperate article denying that the Reformer has gone one inch beyond the defensive, and stating at the same time that he fully understands the real object of the Telescope, and his determination not to afford it the pretext[t] for its insidious and indirect attack on me through the Reformer. I have written him to this effect. In the next place, it does seem to me, that you ought at an early day to announce your withdrawal from the editorial department entirely, and that the establishment has been transfered to trustees. I think it due to yourself and M^r Cralle both, that the responsibility of the editorial department should be clearly understood. Any confusion on that point, must be unpleasant to you both and injurious to the establishment, by giving an unfair advantage to its enemies, as in the case of the Telescope; and I feel convinced, that both you and M^r Cralle must desire, that whatever may be the merit, or demerit of any article, which may appear in the paper, should be attributed to the proper source. I do hope that you have been able to make some arrangement that will free you from all future charges on account of the paper, and leave you to attend exclusively to your domestick

¹Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

concerns. The times, I think, must improve, and the completion of the canal to Cumberland will give you a fair prospect, if you should succeed in making the arrangement you contemplated, when I left Washington. Your property must be invaluable, if you can only hold out; and your activity and experience, if directed exclusively to your private interest, ought soon to put you at your ease.

We have had more sickness than ever has been known on the place; but all are well, or on the recovery now. Andrew, Margret and the child have had uninterrupted health throughout. The child has grown much in my absence and is really a fine boy.

All join their love to you, M^{rs} Green, M^{rs} Reed and the family.

*To Henry Baldwin.*¹

Fort Hill 2nd Dec. 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I am under great obligation to you for the volume on constitutional Views etc. which you were so kind as to transmit to me.

I have read it with very great satisfaction. Your exposition of the origin, the nature and character of our system is demonstrated very clear; so much so as to place them beyond the sphere of controversy.

Fortunate would it have been for our country, if they had always prevailed. Under no other view, can the system be preserved. As explained by you, it is one of great beauty and harmony.

Regarded in any other light it becomes the mere outgrown system of the numerical majority, which has been so often tried and condemned. It is in fact but one of the forms of despotism.

As far as you have carried your conclusions there are but very few points, in which I do not fully concur.

There are important questions lying beyond, which I could wish you had discussed in the same masterly manner. Having

¹ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mr. Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia. Henry Baldwin, of Pennsylvania, was a Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1830 to 1844. The book here referred to is his *General View of the Origin and Nature of the Constitution and Government of the United States* (Phila., 1837.)

clearly shown what the system is, that its component parts are states, that the two the General and state Governments were created and adopted by the same authority, the one by each state separately for itself, and the other conjointly with its confederates for federal purposes, the two in fact making but one government, it appears to me, the right of state interposition follows as a necessary consequence and is indispensable to make the action and the theory of the system conform. Without it, be the theory what it may, practically it must be a consolidated government and work precisely as if it was made by the people of the United States in the aggregate, which you have so clearly shown not to be a fact. It seems to me that this is the great question, on which the true character of the system must practically depend, and on which I would be happy to exchange ideas when we meet.

For what you have done you will please accept my thanks,—the thanks of one who has the profoundest attachment to our admirable system, and whose first and highest desire is, to aid to contribute in transmitting our free institutions to the latest generations.

To James Edward Calhoun.

c. c.

Columbia 10th Dec^r 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I find the resolution of the company is to purchase and complete the Hamburgh road, to unite with the Athens and to unite finally with the Georgia state road to the Suck. They will extend the road this way to this place, and whether it shall go farther is to depend on circumstances. No instalment will be immediately called for. I speak on the authority of Gen^l Hamilton. Publick sentiment is very sound here. My course will be sustained by a triumphant majority say 3 or 4 to 1. This speaks well for the intelligence and patriotism of the state.

I hope you will be able to let me have the salt I wrote about when my negroes are down at Christmas.

Tennessee has granted the rail road a bank charter.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 20th Dec^r 1837

MY DEAR SIR, I arrived here on Saturday night after a safe, but rather cold and uncomfortable journey. We had a heavy fall of snow between Raleigh and the Roanoke, which retained us one day on the rail road.

I took my seat on Monday, and the time of the Senate has ever since been mainly occupied with abolitionism. Yesterday we had a string of resolutions from the Vermont Legislature, to abolish Slavery in the District, to prevent the Slave trade between the States and against the annexation of Texas on the ground of Slavery.¹ This is a new and bold step, and from a higher quarter. Believing that the subject has now assumed an aspect, in which it must be met by the South, I moved to lay the question of receiving the resolutions on the table, with the express view to afford time on our part for reflection and consultation, what to do. It ended in the withdrawal of the resolutions by the Vermont Senator with notice, that they would again be presented on the 26th Ins^d, when, no doubt, the whole question must assume to us a new and momentous form. I think the sooner the issue is made the better for us and the country; but how it is to be brought on, I am not prepared to say. I think a Southern Convention at the earliest period that the South can be brought act indispensable.

Knowing the interest you take in whatever relates to the history of this continent, I enclose some papers in reference to its early discovery which I find in the Post office here on my arrival.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 24th Dec^r 1837

MY DEAR SIR, . . . We are here on our oars and shall do nothing till after the first of Jan^r. In the mean time the abolitionists are active. The Vermont resolutions to abolish Slavery in this District and the Territories, to prevent the Sales and transfer of slaves from State to State and

¹ Memorial offered to be presented December 19 by Senator Swift, of Vermont.

against the annexation of Texas are to be presented on the 3^d Jan^y. It is the first move from a state, and I am now preparing resolutions to meet it, directly and fully, to be laid on the table in advance.¹ It is time the issue should be made and it shall not be my fault, if it is not.

The action of our Legislature on the divorce² has made a deep impression, and added much to my strength here. The whole South I doubt not will rally on our position. There is more union on the slave question than heretofore.

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 24th Dec^r 1837

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . The action of our state on the Divorce has made a deep impression out of the state, and will do much to rally the South on our position. It has added much to my strength, and means of serving the country.

We are on our oars here. Nothing will be acted on till after 1st January. The Vermont resolutions to abolish Slavery in this District and the Territories; to prevent the Sales and removal of slaves from State to State, and against the annexation of Texas, will be presented on the 3^d Jan^y. This is the first move [of] the kind, and I am preparing to meet it by drawing up a series of resolutions to be placed before the Senate in advance, intended to cover the whole ground on our side. It is time the issue should be made, and it shall not be my fault, if it be not. Say to Francis,³ if he has not left, that he must be here as soon as possible. His presence is much needed.

I am in my quarters at M^{rs} Pages on the avenue, nearly opposite to the central market. The House promises well; the furniture, rooms and table good, but my mess is not yet formed.

I miss you and Maria much. You must both come on in the spring and have our old family Mess reconstituted. It was the most pleasant I ever had. . . .

¹ The famous resolutions offered December 27, 1837, for which, and for Calhoun's remarks on them, see Works, III, 140-202.

² Of the Federal Government from banking

³ Calhoun's relative Francis W. Pickens, M. C.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 8th Jan^r 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I enclose you some Siberian spring wheat, which I received a few days since. I would advise the Sowing of it, in our climate, early in March, and would put it in, as well as the parcel I ordered down from Fort Hill, in the red land, in some good spot well prepared and carefully drilled, up at the Plantation, and not near your house, where, I think, it would be more liable to the rust. If they should succeed it will be a great acquisition.

My resolutions are progressing well through the Senate. The three first have been passed by large majorities, and, I think, I shall get the three last through by strong votes. Every effort has been made to defeat or elude them but in vain. My colleague you will see has given me a very doubtful support. The great point is to carry the war into the non slave holding states. The disease originated there, and there it ought to be met. The resolutions will have a powerful tendency to bring the democratick party in these states into conflict with the abolition and consolidation parties.

There is great excitement on the Lake frontier,¹ but I trust there is no danger of our peace being disturbed. A War with Great Britain would indeed be a calamity, the end of which no one could see.

This I think is my third letter to you since my arrival here. I hope you have received all.

What has your brother done about the Ferry place. I am anxious to know, and must ask you to inform me as early as you can.

To Armistead Burt.²

Washington 24th Jan^r 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I intended writing to you long since, but such have been my engagements since my resolutions³ were taken up, between defending them in the Senate and the still

¹ Over the affair of the steamer *Caroline*.

² Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C

³ The famous resolutions of December 27, 1837, on State rights and slavery. Works, III, 140-142.

more laborious task of correcting and writing out from the most infamous notes what I said, and which I have just completed, that I have been compelled to suspend almost entirely my private correspondence.

The debate was close and animated throughout, with crowded galleries from morn to night. From the beginning, every effort was made to evade or defeat the resolutions, but I succeed[ed] in breaking down every combination for the purpose and car[ry]ing them successfully till I came to the 5th Resolution, when I was overpowered, by adverse feelings growing mainly out of the presidential controversy. The two prominent candidates M^r Van Buren and M^r Clay naturally come together on all questions on which the North and South come into conflict. One is a Southern man relying on the North for support, and the other a Northern relying on the South. They of course dread all conflicting questions between the two Sections, and do their best to prevent them from coming up, or when up to evade them. Their hostility prevented their early Union against my resolutions; but they gradually gravitated together in the course of the discussion, which will explain the fate of the 5th and 6th Resolutions.

A few first gave away, from the South, which of necessity compelled the whole north to do so. My colleague acted with Clay throughout, and made a very ungenerous and unpatriotick opposition, which I bore with perfect patience. No act of his shall force me so far to forget my own dignity, or what is due to the State, as to exhibit the Spectacle of her two Representatives in the Senate quarreling with each other. He is totally alienated, without any act of mine to justify it. I received him kindly on my arrival, and had resolved to treat him with the utmost courtesy. I know not how to account for it, unless indeed he has made up his mind to share the fate of Clay, and thinks that opposition to me is the most effectual mode to secure his favour. He (M^r Clay) and the whole national party are as bitter as gall. Their hired scribes and press are daily misrepresenting in the grossest manner every thing I say or do. Thompson acts quite as bad as his friend Preston. I am told that he is very busy in his District and I dare say distorting and misrepresenting every

thing. This, however, is *inter nos*; for I may possibly be doing him injustice.

As to the Presidential question, I can say but little. I act as if it did not exist, moving directly forward on my objects; but as far as I hear there is a state of great distraction, and bitterness. The four candidates it is said hold on, and are all said to be weak. The administration is clearly at present in a minority, but the opposition is divided into three parts, which makes them very weak, and in no event can the South and northern divisions go together. The fate of the divorce question is doubtful in both houses. The question comes up this day week and the debate will be warm and angry. In the midst of this distraction and uncertainty, the times are not unpropitious to the principles and interest of the South. The very uncertainty and distraction are awaking enquiry, and doing much to advance our doctrines, which our Union at home is greatly aiding. It is in this point, that the course of my colleague and Representative is so much to be regretted. Were it not for them the State would present an undivided front.

Write me fully and early, and let me in particular know how brother Patrick is, as well William and James. My love to Martha and the rest of the family and believe me to be. . . .

[P. S.] The debate on my resolutions will be corrected and printed in pamphlet form.¹ It will do much good. Gen^l Green has sold the Reformer. It will appear this week under the name of the Wash^t. Chronicle. I hope it will be well supported in the South. Mr. Cralle is sole Editor. Show this letter to Mr. D. Wardlaw and John A. They will of course understand that I am not to be referred to for any thing in it personal in its character.

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

c. c.

Washington 25th Jan^y 1838.

MY DEAR ANNA, I shall I fear lose the character of punctuality for which you so much laud me, as a correspondent, but when I tell you, I had fallen in the rear of my corre-

¹ Works, III, 140-202.

spondence, some twenty or thirty letters, which I had to bring up in the midst of other engagements, I am sure you will excuse me.

All is, and has for some days been quiet and dull in the Senate. Neither abolition, nor currency for a week has disturbed the repose; but next week the Subtreasury comes up when I anticipate, from indications in advance, we shall have a warm and angry debate.

I[n] speaking of abolition, you say it is better to part peaceably at once, than to live in the state of indecision we do. That is a natural and common conclusion, but those, who make it up, do not think of the difficulty involved in the word; how many bleeding pours must be taken up in passing the knife of seperation through a body politick, (in order to make two of one) which has been so long bound together by so many ties, political, social and commercial. We cannot and ought not to live together as we are at present, exposed to the continual attacks and assaults of the other portion of the Union; but we must act throughout on the defensive, resort to every probable means of arresting the evil, and only act, when all has been done, that can be, and when we shall stand justified before God and man in taking the final step. Any other course would fail in its object, and ruin those, who may attempt it. We must remember, it is the most difficult process in the world to make two people of one; and that there is no example of it, if we except the Jews; I mean by interior cause of complaint, as in our case, tho I do not doubt, if the evil be not arrested at the North, we shall add another example.

I have given you but very little of what may be called news, and will to compensate make up the remaining part of this letter with it.

To begin at home, I mean the mess.

Our Mess consists of M^r Campbell of our state, M^{rs} Campbell, her sister, and Miss Lee, of Leesburgh (you saw her last winter with M^{rs} Gen^l Campbell) who has come to spend the season in Washington. The Mess is rather dull, but quiet, which suits me. The board very good; and the landlady obliging. The servants excellent.

There are very few strangers in the city. Society I would say is rather dull. I do not go out, and speak from what I hear. The only party, I have been to, was M^{rs} Hagues. and that from old acquaintance. . . .

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 7th Feb 1838.

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . I am much engaged at this time. The Divorce question is up, and I will have to take a prominent part. The debate will be warm and protracted. I propose not to speak till late. I see my way clearly and shall be able to occupy new and strong ground—as much so as any, which I have yet done. M^r Clay is very impudent, and I expect to have a round with him. . . .

To Miss Anna Maria Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 24th Feb 1838

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, I received three days since yours of the 10th Inst; and have taken the first leisure moment to reply, so you see what a punctual correspondent I am.

You know it is much more easy to make a speech to the Senate, than to the country. The former may be delivered in two or three hours, but the latter requires several days to prepare it before it can reach the auditory through the channel of the press. Between drawing off, correcting the manuscript, and the proof sheet, all my leisure hours have been completely engrossed for the last four or five days. I enclose you the result. I do not know how it will appear in print. My friends thought highly of it when delivered. It was condensed in the delivery, but is still more so in print; for I find, that I can crowd more ideas together on paper, than I can in debate in the same space.

My correspondence has fallen so much in the rear in consequence of my engagements, that you must be content with a short letter; particularly, as I shall have to begin forthwith to prepare for a general reply, as I find that I am the general

object of attack from the side of those opposed to the bill. Mr Clay made a very long reply, but in the main very feeble and personal. I intend to give him, as good as he sent, and so informed him on the conclusion of his speech.¹ . . .

*To Andrew Pickens Culhoun.*² P. AND M. C.

Washington 5th April 1838

MY DEAR SON, I am glad to learn by yours of the 23^d April, that you are so deeply impressed with the importance of caution in all your money movements. I feared, in your great anxiety to settle yourself, that you would be induced to give more for the lands where you are planting than the future prospect would justify. I feel confident, that lands must fall in the West; and that there is no danger in delay in making a purchase. Under this impression I wrote you not to be in haste, and to be on your guard, so soon as I learned by your letters, that you had given up the idea of a settlement in Texas, and contemplated a purchase where you are.³ I hope you have got my letters. From all I can hear, I am of the impression, that the product of Alabama and Mississippi are overestimated. I wrote you, what was the estimate of Mr Scott of Alabama. Gen^l Hunt, the Texan minister,⁴ who plants in Mississippi told me yesterday that he did not think the average yield of Madison county was more than 1000 pounds of seed cotton to the acre. He puts the bottom lands of the Mississippi much higher. If you should conclude to purchase, where you are, and could make it provisional, I would think it very advisable. It would be important to see, what the effect of the next four months will be on the price of lands. Alabama and Mississippi are both in a very artificial state in relation to their currency; and it is hard to say what is to take place. I consider the whole question of the currency as unsettled now, as it ever was. Gold and silver are flowing in and must continue to do so, for some time, and a partial

¹ The first speech on the Independent Treasury bill and the replies to Clay and Webster, February 15, March 10, March 22, are in Works, III, 202-330.

² Calhoun's eldest son. He married Margaret, daughter of General Duff Green.

³ Andrew Calhoun finally settled in Marengo County, Alabama.

⁴ Memucan Hunt.

resumption must at least follow; but unless something is done, they will become the means of new expansion, to be followed by a shock more terrific than that, which we have lately experienced. A national bank is wholly out of the question, and the separation is the only practicable remedy against the return of the shock, but instead of adopting it, there is reason to fear, that as the banks resume the Government will again become connected with them, without adopting any measure to guard against another shock.

It is altogether uncertain when Congress will adjourn, but I think it will be early in July, or the last of June I will write you the moment I can ascertain.

Margaret is in good health, and writes you constantly and is much surprised, that you have not received her letters. The Physicians have a good deal of hope of restoring Cornelia. I think a good deal can be done, but I fear nothing like a complete restoration. She is very comfortably fixed at Gen^l Green's. Anna's health is not robust. She has had a severe cold, which has been common here, that has left her quite thin. She joins her love to you. My health is good.

I am glad to learn, that the crop has started fairly and hope your expectation may be fully realized. Agriculture is a delightful pursuit. . . .

To James H. Hammond.¹

Washington 18th April 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I am very glad to learn, that your health has improved so much since your return, and I hope that it will be so perfectly restored, as to permit you to return in a short time to political life. No one of your talents and capacity for serving the publick ought to think of retiring, unless compelled by bad health, or some other imperious cause. It is in vain to think of getting clear of politics. However we may desire to free ourselves from it, we may be assured that it will not permit the separation to take place. If the capable and worthy retire, the designing, or worthless will take their place. Our destiny, and that of our posterity

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

is involved in our political institutions and the conduct of the Government; and if we do not attend to them chains and servitude will be our fate. Their is no section of our country, in which the duty imposed on the enlightened and patriotick to devote their time and talents to the country is so imperious as in ours. We are surrounded by invisible dangers, against which nothing can protect us, but our foresight and energy. We must be the first people of modern time, or the basest and most wretched. Our state has ever had its full share of talents and virtue and patriotism in the publick councils of the Union, and we must not in this crisis of our fate permit any diminution to take place.

As to myself, I would most gladly retire. My service has been long and full of labour; my family is large and my means moderate, and I wait with impatience for the moment when I can retire consistently with honor and duty. It would be to me a day of joy; and I hope that it is not far off.

I send you my reply to M^r Webster, with the copy of his speech to which it is an answer. I have not a copy of Clay's speech, but I will endeavour to get one at the Senate and, if I should, will enclose it.

The fate of the divorce in the House is doubtful. The friends of the measure there will stake its fate on the specie section, and sink, or swim with it, which will place me on high grounds. The vote will be very close.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 21st April 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I am very happy to find from the letters of your sister, that she is spending her time so agreeably at Millwood. She is delighted with the place.

She writes me that she is desirous to commence an addition to our House for[th]with on her return to Pendleton. I think it would not be advisable on many accounts, till after my return. I cannot obtain Andrew's carpenter till after my return, and I have long since learned by sad experience, what it is to build in my absence. It would cost me twice as much and the

work then will not be half as well done. By getting Andrews carpenter after my return, and throwing in with him Mr Stevens and Daniel, so soon as the crop is finished, I could build at comparatively small expense, and have it well done under my own eye. I wish you to add your weight to mine to reconcile her to the course I suggest. I have written her fully on the subject.

I will attend to all your requests before I leave this. I have been exceedingly engaged for the last 2 months. The whole weight of the opposition was directed against me. The papers will show you how I sustained it. I think I may say, that Clay and Webster do not feel that they have gained anything by their attacks.

The fate of the question is still doubtful. The House will take up its own bill, and stake its fate on the specie section, which by sustaining the position I took in the Senate, will place me on high ground. The vote will be very close. Should the bill pass the House, it will pass the Senate, the specie portion and all.

There is a fierce war sprung up between Philadelphia and N. York, that will do us no harm. I think, Mr Biddle is in rather a bad way. In fact, if I mistake not, there is much discord in embryo in the North, political and otherwise. Now is our time. What a misfortune, that we are divided among ourselves. Preston and Thompson have done much mischief—more than they ever can repair, if they were to live 100 years.

I gave a letter to a Mr Hastings of Philadelphia to you some time since. He came well recommended to me as a man of strict integrity, and thoroughly skilled in the cotton business, both as a superintendent and mechanician. He goes South to make an establishment, if he should be pleased. If you are disposed to look that way, I have no doubt, but now is the time, and that you cannot get a man that would better suit you. If I were in your situation I would not hesitate. You could commence almost for nothing, and make your women and children your most valuable hands. Many causes conspire to make this a very favourable moment.

Anna joins her love to you.

*To Joel R. Poinsett.*¹

Fort Hill 4th July 1838

MY DEAR SIR, General Gadsden declines the place of commissioner which, he says, will not suit him. He informs me that he has written to Cap^t Cooper on the subject and, I suppose, has assigned his reasons to him. I regret that his experience and fidelity could not be commanded. He would have been of great service to you. I am glad to inform you that there is opposition in this District to General Thompson.² Mr Walker of Greenville is the candidate. From all I can learn he will run the best of those whose services could be commanded.³ In Anderson and Pickens, he will, I think, unite the great body in favour of the separation of the Government and the banks; and will secure a decided majority in the two Districts, so that the election will depend on Greenville. I am not so well informed as to the state of public sentiment there; but understand that a portion of those who differed from Mr Walker on a former occasion are indisposed to support him. I hope it is not so, and would regret it exceedingly, if it shall be the case. From what I hear, Mr Walker has been taken up without the least regard to former political divisions, solely because he was believed to be the only available candidate, or, at least, the strongest of them; and I feel confident that if Greenville had presented any respectable name, the people in this quarter would have rallied around it, without regard to differences heretofore. They only look to the great question of the day, and this I believe to be true of both the former parties in these two Districts; and I trust it will be found to be the case with Greenville. If so, the election will be certain; but if not, General Thompson may succeed, which the Nationals everywhere will consider a great triumph. You can do much to prevent the possibility of such an event. If the Mountaineers (?) should take a decided stand, all will be right and no one can do so much to effect this as yourself. It is also important that

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original. Poinsett was Secretary of War in Van Buren's cabinet.

² Gen. Waddy Thompson, a Whig M. C. from South Carolina from 1835 to 1841, was afterwards (1842-1844) minister to Mexico, on which country he wrote a book of some importance.

³ General Thompson was re-elected.

Colonel Gresham and Colonel Norton of Pickens should go right. They have not yet announced themselves. The former has in a great measure withdrawn from politicks, but still has influence. If your relation with them is such that you could communicate with one or both, it might do much good. Whatever is to be done, should be without delay. The campaign will open at Anderson next Monday (Sale day) when the two candidates will meet, and I suppose will be kept up with spirit till the election. I hear of no opposition in Charleston. It would be a great misfortune if the commercial metropolis of the state should be misrepresented on a question and at a time when she has so much at stake. I had supposed there would be no doubt of opposition to the present incumbent there. Can you say what is intended?

I hope your health is fully restored. You will need all your health and strength to go through your highly responsible and laborious duties. I had the pleasure of finding all well on my return, with the prospect of a good crop. I would be glad to hear from you at your early convenience. With my best respects to M^{rs} Poinsett believe me to be

*To Duff Green.*¹

10th Aug^t. 1838

. . . The Preston dinner is considered a great failure. Gen^l Thompson has opposition, M^r Walker of Greenville. The district is very sound on the great question, but still he may not be defeated. He and his opponent met monday last, at Anderson, and the General declared himself against M^r Clay, and a national bank, and decidedly in my favour, and resorted to to all kind of artifice to mystify the subject, in a speech of near three hours. Whether his art and duplicity will save him remains to be seen. His opponent is sensible; but not his match on the stump. I was not present of course, and have my information from others. Walker will probably be elected, but the result is not certain. If the issue was fairly made up, he would beat three to one.

¹Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

To Robert Barnwell Rhett.¹

C. C.

Fort Hill Sept. 13th 1838

MY DEAR SIR, All of your friends are exceedingly gratified by your cordial welcome by your constituents. Their good opinion is worth possessing for it is a district which does not readily withdraw confidence when once bestowed. I have read the account of the dinner given to you with much interest. The toasts are strong and well expressed but I cannot but think that some of them indicated too strong a leaning towards the administration at this early stage. It seems to me that our true course is to occupy the old and independent ground on which we have stood for so many years holding our principles and policy above the Presidential election and giving a cordial support to the administration just as far as they support them without farther commitment or identification. By thus acting we will command the respect of all parties and retain the attachment of most of our old friends whose just aversion to the late administration and the means by which the present came into power has been so great as to drive them for a time from adopting the proper course. If we act properly the great body will ultimately join us. But there is still a higher inducement. It seems to me to be the only course calculated to control those in power and ultimately to give a triumph to our cherished principles and policy. If we commit ourselves in advance the danger is that they will shape their course to gain the support of other interests and we may thus be betrayed on the great measure in relation to which we have assumed so much responsibility and all other measures naturally connected with it without the possibility of extricating ourselves without loss of character and influence. In this connection I must say I object to the name of democrat as applied to us or our party. It has been more particularly appropriated to those who have adhered to the administration while we have assumed the name of State rights and Republican party. In truth the word democrat better applies to the north than the South and as usually understood means

¹ From a copy found among the Calhoun Papers. R. B. Rhett (1800-1876), afterwards a leader among the South Carolina secessionists, and a member of the Confederate Congress, was member of Congress from South Carolina from 1837 to 1849.

those who are in favour of the government of the absolute numerical majority to which I am utterly opposed and the prevalence of which would destroy our system and destroy the South. Thus thinking I have regretted to see the Chronicle in the absence of Crallé and the Mercury¹ I think leaning a little too much in the same direction. I would write forthwith to Cralle in relation to it but it is uncertain where a letter would reach him. When I last heard from him he was at the White Sulphur Springs and as soon as I can learn where a letter would find him I will write to him.

I would also write to Stuart but I think a letter from you to put him on his guard would be more delicate and I do hope if you concur in these views you will write him without delay. I have long since learned that *position* is everything in politics as well as war and as we are volunteers and not mercenaries looking to a cause and not pay it is to us all important.

Mr Whitner announced himself yesterday at Pickens Court House as a candidate in opposition to Gen. Thompson so we shall have a fair contest. The Gen. has the advantage in the start and in being in possession but Mr W. in the cause and having the intelligence of the district with him. They both addressed the people about 500 present and Whitner was certainly well received. The Gen. is giving ground daily. He said in the alternative between the bank and the constitutional treasury he would support the latter. He also repudiates the pet bank system and goes for special deposits without seeming to have any distinct ideas about it.

Let me hear from you as early as convenient.

Anna joins her best respects to Mrs Rhett and yourself.

To Henry Vethake.²

C. C.

Fort Hill 11th Oct^r 1838

DEAR SIR, I owe you an apology for not acknowledging at an earlier period, the obligation I am under to you for

¹ The Charleston Mercury, edited by J. A. Stuart.

² From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. Henry Vethake, a native of British Guiana, was successively professor in Rutgers, Princeton, and Dickinson colleges, the University of the City of New York, Washington College, Virginia (where he was at the time of this letter), the University of Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphia Polytechnic College. His *Principles of Political Economy* was published in 1838.

your volume on the principles of political economy. The truth is, I was so much occupied with my publick duties, during the late session, that I had but little time for reading, and since then, an unexpected delay in receiving my papers and books from Washington, has deprived me of the pleasure of reading your treatise till within the last few days.

I read it with much pleasure, not that I agree with all your positions, for there are several and those important ones, to which I cannot give my full assent, but it contains much in which I heartily concur, and the whole is written in a spirit of truth and candour worthy of all commendation. I am particularly pleased, that you have brought your enquiries down to the present time, and have touched on the leading questions of the day, with all the coolness and impartiality, that usually belongs to abstract philosophical disquisitions.

Among the positions, in which I do not concur, is the one, that duties on imports in all cases fall on the consumer and which you apply to the late Tariff. I must think that you have not read the discussion on that important question, as fully and attentively as it merits. It is not possible for me to do justice to the opposite side in the limited space of a letter, but as the question is one of deep importance in its political bearing, I propose to suggest a few ideas for your reflection. It seems to me, that in all questions of the kind, there is an important General principle entirely overlooked; that the effect of taxes of any description, viewed in the abstract, is to depress, and not to raise prices, as is generally supposed. I say viewed in the abstract, for it is clear, that the necessary effect of a tax is to raise the value of money, by creating a new demand for it, and which, abstractly considered, without taking into consideration any counteracting cause, which may accompany it, must necessarily depress prices. To illustrate the principle, suppose a country having a circulation of ten millions of dollars, which can be neither increased, nor diminished, and suppose a tax to be laid of any description, that will have the effect of abstracting habitually from the ordinary use to which it has been applied, two millions, in collecting, and paying away its proceeds, it is clear, that the ordinary business of the country must now be transacted with eight instead of ten millions, and that prices must fall pro-

portionally, that is one fifth. It is also clear, in the case supposed, that the producer could not transfer the burthen of the tax, be it what it may, from himself to the consumer. The fall of prices would fall on his products, as well as every other article, which would be a clear loss to him, in addition to the portion of the tax he might pay as his share, while it is equally clear that the consumer would gain by the fall of prices.

It is not less clear, that so long as the quantity of money remained the same, this state of things would continue, and that the only counteracting cause, that can be imagined, would be an increase of the quantity of money in circulation, and that the increase, to enable the producing class to shift the burthen, must be so great, as not only to replace the two millions abstracted by supposition from circulation, but to raise prices so far above their former level, as to return the amount of the tax, that might fall to their share.

The next consideration is, what sum that would require, and on whom the expense of its introduction must fall, which I leave to your investigation, with the simple expression of an opinion, without assigning the reasons, that it would fall wholly on the producing class. I have left the consideration of a paper circulation to supply the deficit out of view, as my object is merely to present the subject in its most simple form.

But I do not rest the operation of the tariff on this general abstract position. There is another not less important, which bears more directly on the point of view in which I am considering it, which has been as completely overlooked.

I lay it down as a principle, that to determine where a tax ultimately falls, we must look not only to the tax, but to its disbursement. To separate them is but to take a half way view. The one implies the other, and is but its counterpart. A tax is but a mode of taking away property, and the appropriation, or disbursement, but a mode of giving it. The sum abstracted by the tax is not lost, and to ascertain where the burthen falls, we must not only ascertain from whom it is taken *but also* to whom it is given. They form parts of one and the same process, and cannot be regarded separately without falling into great and dangerous errors. The complaint of the South was not, that the planters (the producers

of our staples) bore all of the burthen of the Tariff, but that it was a tax on their foreign exchange, which in combination with a system of partial and unequal disbursements transferred annually a large and exhausting amount of the proceeds of their labour to other sections of the Union. To understand the force of this complaint, it is necessary to look to the state of the facts.

The Tariff of '28 exacted 32 millions out of an importation of 64 millions; that is it passed into the treasury one half of the value of the whole of the imports estimated at the invoice price adding thereto ten per cent. The staple states which constitute about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population of the Union furnished about 42 millions of the means by which the imports were paid for, that is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population furnished about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the means by which our foreign exchanges were carried on. Now I hold it certain, that if the staple states had a separate custom House of their own, the same duties, with the same amount of exports, and of course imports, would have passed into their custom House at least 21 millions. I say at least, for it is manifest they would have yielded much more, as they would gain a proportional amount on the vast exchanges between them and the other states. I make the statement merely for illustration. No one would be more opposed to any thing of the kind than myself. I am for reform, but not for revolution, nor ever have been.

Nor is it less clear, that they would have got their supplies as low, or nearly so, under the same rates of duties through their own separate custom House, as they did through that of the Union. The other states would have been compelled to compete with the rest of the world, and sell as low, or have lost our market.

It is not less clear, that this vast amount appropriated to the various objects of improvements in those states, and giving employment to a corresponding amount of labour, would have diffused industry and prosperity in every direction. Now what was the fact? Out of the 32 millions collected, not more than 4 millions at the out side was disbursed in the Staple States, the residue (17 mil) was added to the 11 millions, exacted out of the foreign exchanges of the other states, which raised their disbursements to 28 millions. The 17 millions

was in fact lost to our consumption and added to theirs. We made no complaint that we were taxed for what we consumed, but that we were not permitted to consume the products of our own labour.

This will be still more manifest if possible, if we suppose the duties were paid in kind, and that the planters were their own s[h]ippers, which is taking it in the most simple form free from all complication. Suppose then a Carolina planter raised 100 bales of cotton, and shipped it to Liverpool and received in exchange one hundred pieces of goods, and he had to deliver 50 pieces at the custom House of Charleston for the liberty of introducing the residue. Suppose the 50 left at the custom House to be appropriated to the benefit of the non staple growing States, is it not clear, that it would deprive us of the consumption of the 50, and would add that to their consumption, and that the amount consumed, so far from being the measure of the burthen imposed, in fact is the measure of our loss and their gain. Nor would the result be varied, if money instead of goods be paid for the duties, and if a factor, or a merchant instead of the planter should make the shipment, as I could most clearly show. I would go through the process, but it would extend this letter to an unreasonable length, and I feel confident, your clear understanding will be able to trace it through without my aid.

These views have been often presented, but never met. One of the ablest of the Senators in opposition, acknowledged that he could not answer them, tho' he would not yield his assent, and Mr Clay signally failed in his attempt to meet them. I have never had but one answer attempted, that was even plausible, except indeed, that the appropriations or disbursements were not gifts, but payments for publick services rendered, or supposed to be; as if the vast increase of employment which follows the disbursement of so large a sum was not the most effectual mode of increasing the population and wealth of the favoured portion far more so than a mere donation could possibly be.

I have presented these views to you in this most imperfect manner, under the belief that your object is truth. If they be true, they have a most important bearing, that ought to be known and respected; but if not, their error ought to be

clearly and explicitly pointed out. Many resist the conclusion to which they lead because they believe it to be unfavourable to the duration of the Union, which appears to me the extreme of folly. Our belief cannot alter the nature of things; and if it be true, the only mode of preserving our Union, at least in peace and harmony, is to moderate the fiscal action of the General Government. I have touched on this important point in my report on executive patronage in the session of 35, 36 and which I would be much gratified for you to cast your eyes over, if you should have an opportunity.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 11th Oct^r 1838

DEAR SIR, I learn from your letter to Andrew, that you and M^{rs} Green expect to be in Augusta about the 10th of next month, on your way to Florida, with a part of your family. Anna will be married on the 13th of that month,² and it will afford her and M^{rs} Calhoun and myself much pleasure, if yourself and M^{rs} Green, with such portion of your family, as may accompany you should be present on the occasion. It would delay you but a short time, and we must insist, that you will not permit any supposed urgency of your business to deprive us of the pleasure of your company. Anna wrote to Eliza by yesterday's mail. I hope she has received her letter.

Andrew left this morning for Alabama; and expects to meet you on his return in Augusta.

I am much gratified to learn, that you have so far closed your arrangements in relation to your Cumberland property; and hope you may realize your most sanguine anticipations.

The election in this District has terminated in the election of Thompson by a very large majority. A variety of causes has contributed to the result. Among others, his opponent came out too late. Thompson had canvassed the District thoroughly before he started. He is the Gen^l of the Brigade, and had gone round all the musters and told his own story

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Washington.

² Anna Maria Calhoun was married to Thomas G. Clemson, who after Calhoun's death lived at Fort Hill, and who by his will founded there the Clemson Agricultural College. He died in or about 1888.

without opposition, or contradiction. The boldness of his denials and contradictions is almost without example. He denied, that he was for a national bank, declared himself opposed to the pet banks, and the use of the publick funds to bank on, and avowed, that he had no political connection with the national party or their leaders. He declared he was for the special deposit system, which he made to mean anything that suited his purpose, and cried out dictation and persecution. These are some of the arts by which he has for a time deluded the people.

I would be glad to hear from you at your early convenience, and to learn whether we may anticipate the pleasure of your company.

Tell Cornelia that we are all well, and are happy to hear she is so much better.

*To Dr. Danall(?)*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 26th Oct^r 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I received by the mail of yesterday your letter of the 14th Ins^t; and so far from requiring an apology for the liberty which you have taken, I am much obliged to you for the course, which you have pursued. I only wish that all my political friends would take the same candid and friendly course to ascertain the facts and views on which I act, before they undertake to disapprove.

You are right in supposing that I have nothing to conceal. It is my consolation, and it has sustained me in all the difficult scenes through which I have passed, that I have never done a publick act, but under the solemn sense of duty, and have never abstained from performing any which I believed my duty required me to do, be the danger and difficulty what they may; and so far from desiring concealment, I only wish, that all the world could see the motives that govern me, in all of my publick acts. But enough of this.

I saw the article in the Mercury to which you refer, and saw it with regret; not that there was anything wrong in the affair to which it relates, but because I saw at once, that it was

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting.

calculated to make an erroneous impression, and would give those who were so disposed, an opportunity to pervert and misrepresent my motives. But since it has been the incident by which a correspondence has been opened between us, and thereby has afforded me an opportunity to give to one, for whom I have so much respect, not only the information desired, but a general exposition of my position and views, in relation to the two contending parties in the Union.

In answer then to your question, whether "I have entered into consultation with the friends of M^r Van Buren, as to any means to be devised to sustain him," my reply is no, not in a single instance; but nevertheless the statement of M^r Poinsett is substantially correct. M^r Legare was elected, as the friend of the administration, but had decidedly opposed its leading measure, and it was natural, that M^r Poinsett, as a member of the administration, should desire to see him succeeded by another favourable to the measure, on which he and his associates in power had staked themselves. Agreeing with the administration in the measure, and believing it to be indispensable to effect the great objects for which we of the state rights party had so long contended, I concurred in the desire to see M^r Legare succeeded by another,¹ who might agree with me in the measure. In fact, I thought it almost indispensable, that the commercial metropolis of the State should be correctly represented on a question, in which it had so much at stake. Having thus a common desire, as far as the Charleston election was concerned, it followed as a consequence, that there should be some understanding in relation to it to prevent conflict of action, and in a casual interview the conversation took place which he states in his letter; but I certainly never expected, that my name should ever be connected with any communication he might make to his friends. The whole amount was that our friends in the District, would support any sound and competent individual, whom he and his friends should start as a candidate, and who entertained correct views in relation to the subject in question, without reference to pas[t] political differences in the State.

¹ Hugh S. Legaré represented Charleston in the 25th Congress (1837-1839), but was not re-elected.

Here let me remark, that in thus acting, I only conformed to a principle which I had laid down for myself, so soon as we got through the great contest in reference to nullification. Foreseeing that other questions would arise in a short time, such as abolition and that which now agitates the country, in which this State and all the South would have a deep stake, and which would require our united exertions to carry through successfully, I advised all of my friends to terminate our controversy at the earliest period, and restore Union and harmony to the State as soon as possible. We are now enjoying the benefit of so liberal and prudent a course, by being more united than the State has ever been on any other great question. Would to God that the whole South (the weak and exposed portion of the Union) had adopted the same course, and merged all of their local, and passed differences in one general effort for their common interest. Had they so acted how different would be our condition and influence at this day.

Having now answered your question, I now turn to define my own position, and that, which in my opinion, the whole state rights party and the entire south ought to take at this most important juncture of our affairs.

I then have abandoned not a single principle, changed no opinion, or any of my political relations. I stand, as I have long stood, disconnected from all parties, except the old state rights party of '99 to which I cordially belong, and in whose ranks, with the blessing of God, I intend to die. My whole nature, and system of thinking must undergo a complete and entire revolution, before I can change. Even my personal relation with Mr Van Buren remains unchanged. I have not been in the Presidents House nor have had any intercourse with him directly or indirectly in eight years. In taking the course I did in relation to the Constitutional treasury, and on every other question since, I have acted in strict conformity to principles avowed years before, and yet there has been an organized movement through news papers, letter writers and, I fear, private correspondence, to hold me up as an apostate, in which papers professing to be Republican (the Richmond Whig, the Telescope and the Augusta Chronicle and some others) have joined. But while I have thus continued to occupy immovably my old position, I have deemed it my duty

to give the administration an honest and sincere support, as far as the Constitutional treasury is concerned, and all other measures according with our principles and policy. I have even felt it my duty to go farther, and to use the influence, which my position gives me to control their movement, so as to bring them into the support of our principles and policy. As much as the party has strayed from the true principles and policy of the Republican party, I believe that our only recruiting ground is in their ranks. We can have no hopes from that of the Nationals, or Northern Whigs. Not only their acts, but their principles are opposed to us. They are consolidationists by profession—sincerely so, and cannot be brought into our ranks, without a complete conversion; while on the contrary, the great body of the administration, or democratick party, profess for the most part our principles, while they were diverting from them in practice. In addition, there is a natural conflict in the non slave holding states, which tends to throw the democratick party on our side and the nationals against us, of which we see strong proof on the abolition question. It would have been impossible to have got a single man of the latter, in either House, to subscribe to the principles in relation to abolition, to which the whole body of the former agreed.

Thus thinking, I have felt it to be also my duty, not only to use my position to bring them to our views, but to treat them with kindness and conciliation, and I would ask our friends, how else can we expect union among ourselves at the South? if any other course should be pursued, we would but perpetuate the present unfortunate difference among ourselves. But, while acting on these views, I have never left it to be doubted by words, or acts, but that I occupied a distinct and separte position and would oppose any act of the party that did not accord with our principles and policy; as much so as if it came from the Nationals.

As to the Presidential contest, I do not permit myself to look to it. There is time enough to decide on our course in relation to it. As no consideration on earth would induce me to sacrifice my principles for my own advancement even to that highest office (of which I have given ample proof) none certainly can induce me to sacrifice them for the advancement

of others, who have no claims on me whatever. The moment we enter into the presidential canvas, for a candidate, whose principles and policy do not accord with ours, our influence and control would be lost; but if we stand fast on our own ground, with the understanding, that we shall either take no part at all, or throw our weight, where it will be the most effective to advance our own interests, our control will be felt to the last with powerful effect.

From what I have stated, it will be easy to conjecture, what, in my opinion, ought to be the course of our party; and, if they could be induced to act on it, I would underwrite (?) for the final triumph of our principles, and with them, the establishment of our security and prosperity.

Let me say in conclusion, that nothing has given me more pain than the separation of so many of my friends from me on the great question of the day; and nothing would give more pleasure than the complete restoration of harmony in our ranks. To effect this, no act of conciliation shall be wanting on my part. I shall remember those who stood by us in the great conflict with the General Government with kindness to my last moment; tho' many of them, I think, have not done me justice. After so many sacrifices, and so many proofs of indifference to myself and devotion to the South and our free institutions, it is hard to have my motives called in question, and that for acting in strict conformity to principles, which I had avowed and supported years before. But I am prepared to forget all for the common good.

Now let me say, before I close, that I have given you my views fully and explicitly; and I hope, satisfactorily. But if there be any point omitted, or which you, or any other friend may think require[s] further explanation, I hope you will not fail to communicate it to me. Nothing is more gratifying to me, than to lay open the motives and reasons for my publick acts, to those who have any right to know them.

You will, of course, understand that what I have written is not for the papers; but I can have no possible objection to your showing this to such friends, as you may think proper.

I would be glad to have the acknowledgement of the receipt of this, so that I may know that you have received it and to hear from you frequently.

*To Robert Y. Hayne.*¹

c. c.

Fort Hill Oct. 28th 1838

MY DEAR SIR, Enclosed you have my resignation of my place in the direction of the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail Road Company.

In addition to the reason² which I have assigned in my letter of resignation, and which of itself is ample, I feel bound to say to you in candour, that there is another and decided reason with me. I see by the last report enough to satisfy me that it is resolved to carry the road through by the French Broad route. I have no doubt of your sincere and deep conviction in its favour, but as deep as yours is for it, mine is no less deep and sincere against it. The more I reflect, the more thorough is my conviction of its complete and disastrous failure, should it be attempted; and, thus thinking, I cannot bring my mind to continue to occupy a place in the direction, and share in the responsibility of a measure which my judgment cannot approve.

But at the same time, as the route is resolved on, you have my best wishes for its success. No one would rejoice more than myself to find in the end that you were right, and that I was mistaken. I believe the success of a connection of the West is of the last importance to us politically and commercially. I, as you know, was among the first to suggest and second it with all my zeal, and my opinion remains unchanged. But as important as I consider the successful execution of the project, in the same degree do I consider its failure as disastrous every way to the State. I do verily believe, that Charleston has more advantages in her position for the Western trade, than any city on the Atlantic, but to develop them, we ought to look to the Tennessee instead of the Ohio, and much farther to the West than Cincinnati or Lexington. With all the lights I have, there are two routes by all comparison superior to all others; the one through Georgia to Ross' landing, or thereabouts, and the other by Savannah river from Hamburg to the head of steam boat navigation on

¹ From a copy found among the Calhoun Papers Robert Y. Hayne (1791-1839) the celebrated Senator and governor of South Carolina, was at this time president of the Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. See O'Neill, Bench and Bar of South Carolina, II. 11-83.

² The pressure of other duties.

the Little Tennessee. If I am not mistaken, steam navigation might be brought by the latter within 100 miles, or much less, between the Eastern and Western waters, for the fourth part the expense which the projected route by the French Broad would cost; and that it would not cost half the sum to bring a ton weight by that route to Charleston, even from Cincinnati or Pittsburg, as it will by the French Broad rail way, if the navigation of the Tennessee should be improved as it will be for steam navigation.

I throw out these suggestions, not of course to influence your judgment, which seems to be deliberately made up in favour of the French Broad route, but simply as indicating the state of my own mind; and from which you will see it would be doing injustice to myself to remain longer in the direction.

Let me say to you in conclusion, both as a friend to yourself and the Road, not to move beyond Columbia till it is ascertained what is the result of the Georgia route.

*To Robert Y. Hayne.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill Nov. 17th 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your two letters in answer to mine covering my resignation in the direction of the Charleston and Cincinnati rail road company.

In resigning, it was no part of my intention to embarrass the work, or weaken the publick confidence in the direction; to avoid the possibility of which I abstained from assigning one of the reasons which governed me in my note of resignation. Before the publick my resignation will stand exactly where you express a desire it should; but at the same time I thought it due both to you and myself, that I should assign the other, which had great weight with me; and such is still my opinion. Either seperately is sufficient, and the two taken in conjunction, appear to my mind irresistible; nor can I see in any of the considerations you suggest, reasons to change my opinion. My conviction of the failure of the enterprise is deep,

¹ From a copy found among the Calhoun Papers.

accompanied by the belief, that every foot the road may progress beyond the point now arrived at, in that direction, will but increase the embarrassment.

You ask, what is to be done? That is a serious question, which I am not prepared to answer, but I would say, without hesitation, that neither the charter of the bank, nor the road ought to be forfeited, nor any understanding, or pledge to other States violated, if it be possible to avoid it without disastrous consequences. Thus thinking, I would certainly say, that, if the other States would complete the work within their respective limits, or progress proportionally with us toward such completion, we ought in good faith meet them on our borders, though I believe that the work if completed throughout, would not give an income that would keep it up. Other routes in my opinion having far greater natural advantages would supercede it. I am aware of the commitments in favour of the route (for I have read attentively everything that has been published in relation to it) and know that it would be embarrassing to make a change. It is far from my wish to increase the embarrassments, but personally, I feel none of them. I have been from the first opposed to the route. In reply to a letter from Mr Williams, who first proposed a connection between Charleston and Cincinnati, I stated, that we must turn the Alleghany to the South West, as New York had to the North East, and the Tennessee river was to us, what the North river was to New York. With this view, I proposed to aim at a point on that river above the Muscle Shoals and below the Suck. Learning afterwards that the Alleghany chain terminated farther east than I had supposed, and that the Tennessee might be struck at a near point, higher up and on a shorter route, passing through a more level country, I opened a correspondence with some influential citizens of Georgia, proposing that route, as the line of communication between the ports of the two States and the Western Waters, to be opened by the joint efforts of the two. With this view, in part, I took Columbia on my way to Washington at the next session, when as you will remember, I proposed it to both you and Hamilton, but without success. That route, Georgia has since adopted, but with a direction looking wholly to her

own interests, and not to that of the two States jointly, as might at that early stage have been easily effected.

Finding so strong an aversion to co-operate with Georgia, and believing that the success of the work depended on leaning as far to the West as possible, and striking the Tennessee river instead of the Ohio, I next endeavoured to find a route over the mountains at some point as far West as possible, without touching Georgia, to meet these views. At one time, I hoped I had succeeded but having failed on that my next hope was that time or experience before it was too late would effect a change in public opinion in favour of the views I entertained. With this hope, I assented cheerfully to the proposition to purchase the Hamburg road, as it looked in the right direction, and would afford an opportunity to unite our system of improvement with that of Georgia, to which we must look ultimately, in my opinion, for the completion of the great object we have in view. But inferring from the last report, that it is intended to persist in carrying through the enterprise by the route of the French Broad, I felt that a period had been reached, when with my opinion, I could no longer continue, with propriety, a member of the direction. How could I, when I believe to go beyond Columbia unless with a full understanding that the other States will do their share will but add to our embarrassment, and that, if the road was finished, it would be superceded by the one through Georgia. In confirmation of this, I will state a few facts. I learn from one of the Engineers of that road, that the whole road from the Chattahoochie to the Tennessee, which comprehends the entire mountain chain, will be either graded, or under contract, in the Spring, and that the entire distance from Milledgeville (to which it is now contemplated to take the road) will not cost more than \$15,000 per mile, say 200 miles, including the mountain chain. I also learn that the Knoxville and Hiwassee rail-road is under active execution, and will soon join this road; such is the great facility the route affords. The fact is, that the whole road will be executed and the connection with the West completed, before we are fairly under way, and long before we have encountered our main difficulties. Now, when we take into consideration, the greater cheapness; the far more favourable grade; the vast amount of

business and travelling, which the Tennessee river and the numerous branches which will fall in, will throw into the road, with the superior fertility and population of the country through which it will pass, can it be doubted, but that the rate of transportation, may be and will be, so reduced on it, compared with ours, that the trade of Knoxville itself will pass through it to Charleston, in preference to ours, even if it was completed.

But you say, that no other route could have secured the passage of the rail road bank charter, or commanded a majority of our Legislature in its favour. Taking the view that you do of the bank, that certainly is a strong consideration, but here again it has been our misfortune to differ. One of my objections to the route was, that it could not sustain itself by its own advantages, without the artificial aid of the bank, to which I was opposed, among other grounds, because the union of the two powers in the same company, that over the currency and intercourse of the country, would be dangerous to our free institutions, in which, I pray, I may be deceived. But having been over-ruled, I acquiesced, and wish the institution every success, and I trust that it may prove as you suggest, the antagonist of a national bank. I fear that your impression, that no other route could have got the support of the State is but too true, and, I apprehend, that it will add another instance to the many others, of important undertakings defeated through selfish and local feelings. But, I hope, in all this I may be in error. I have not stated my views in a spirit of opposition, but simply to place before you the grounds on which I act, and to free myself from all responsibility where I cannot have confidence. Should the work go on, I shall wish both you and it great success. We are all in the same ship, and must share alike in the good or bad fortune of the State; and, let me add, in conclusion, that you cannot possibly feel more pain in differing from me, than I do in differing from you. I shall ever remember the important scenes in which we have acted together with pleasure and the important service which you have rendered the State and the Union. I hope that our differences shall never effect our personal relations, and that those that are passed, are the last we shall ever experience.

As to what you say of the abolition question, we do not differ. The danger is great and menacing, and I have long thought, and still think, that the South ought to meet in Convention, in relation to it. You know, that such was my opinion years ago. Had my counsel prevailed, the question would have been met decidedly, as soon as it was ascertained that the non-slave holding states declined putting it down themselves, as every Southern State was pledged to do. *That was the time.* We shall never have so good an opportunity again. You will recollect, I so expressed myself to you Hamilton and McDuffie at Columbia, in our consultation on the subject, at the time. Finding different views were taken, I resolved to do my best in Congress to guard against the danger and to rouse the South to a sense of its danger. My first effort was to unite both parties at the North against the abolitionists, but when I found that to be impossible, my next was to force a conflict between them, so as to throw the sounder on our side, in their political struggles at home. With this view, I moved the resolutions of last winter, which have, in a great measure, effected the object I had in view. Should it finally accomplish what was intended, it may prevent for the present a conflict, but I look only to ourselves for permanent security. I, for one, am prepared at the earliest period to go into Convention, and bring the question to an issue. The sooner the better for all parties and I will add, that the quicker the issue is made up and the bolder the measures adopted, the better for all parties.

I have written you a long and I fear a tedious letter, but I have not said half I desired to do. I expect to leave for Washington about the 24th and shall probably take Charleston in my way, and stay a day. Should you be in the City I shall be glad to see you and converse fully on other subjects.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Fort Hill 17th Nov^r 1838.

MY DEAR SIR, M^r. Bowman [?], my factor in Charleston writes me, that he has received the Portrait from M^r. Peile,²

¹ Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

² Doubtless Rembrandt Peale.

and that the cost including the difference of exchange is \$103,100, which you will please pay my brother William on my account. I hope you will be pleased with it.

I would have been very glad to have had an opportunity of conversing with you before I went on to Washington, but apprehend I shall not, as it is my intention to take the Wilmington route. I suppose you will have a quiet session at Columbia. As [at] present advised, I think no movement ought to be made at Columbia on the great question of the day. I regard the publick mind as fully settled down in the State in relation to it, and that the fall of Clay, which seems almost certain, is the Signal for the complete prostration of Preston, Thompson and others of his active and leading partisans in this State and the South generally. In the event of his fall, there is no person, nor any ground on which they can rally, and it would seem good policy to be quiet, where victory is secure without additional effort. I am even of the impression, that the true course in Congress at the next Session in relation to the question for the friends of the measure is inaction. The nationals and their allies are in a majority in relation to it, and after their victory at the last and the regular session the responsibility ought to be on them. These, however, are but impressions. The real state of things, both at Columbia and Washington, may be such, as to compel the opposite course, of which those on the spot must judge.

I am also of the impression, that our true line of policy at Washington at the next session is to shape our course in reference to the finances of the country, which, if I do not mistake are reaching an interesting crisis. Revenue, under the compromise, has been regularly falling off for some time, while the expenditures have been increasing, till we have reached a point where the latter greatly exceed the former, with an increasing diminution on its part, which must continue till the year 1842. It follows, that one of three things must speedily take place; the Tariff must be renewed; a new debt contracted, or the expenditures be reduced fully one half and that without delay. Our policy is clear, to adhere to the compromise; keep down the Tariff; prevent the creation of another debt; to sustain those, who sustain our policy and oppose those who oppose it, be it the administration or the Whigs, without regard to

the presidential election or the party politicks of the day. This line of policy is important to give an ascendancy to our principles and policy, and, if I do not greatly mistake, the times are highly favourable to its success. Should we succeed all at which we have ever aimed, may be fully accomplished. I hope you will write me fully and keep me acquainted with all that it may be important for me to know during the Session. I rely on you for correct and full intelligence. I shall leave about the 24th and expect to be at Washington by the commencement of the Session.

To _____¹

C. C.

Fort Hill Nov. 18th 1838

DEAR SIR, Your letter presents many interesting facts and views. I have never doubted but that our success depended on the co-operation with Georgia and have throughout acted on that belief. I believe I was the first to bring to the public attention the great advantages of the route which Georgia has adopted and I exerted myself to bring about a co-operation between the two States to undertake it with their joint means and counsel but was over-ruled. Next to that route and superior to it in some respects is the one by the Savannah river and the Rabun Gap. The road should proceed directly up the River from Hamburgh and should be attended either by canal or slack water navigation to the foot of the mountains. The route is eminently favourable for a road canal or slack water navigation the whole way. The distance is about 146 miles which would leave an interval of about 76 miles to steam navigation on [the] Little Tennessee which might be filled by rail-road or canal or both. I am rather inclined to think that this in time will be the *great route*. Towards its undertaking and completion the charter to which you refer is of vast importance but I fear it is yet a little too soon to agitate the subject in this State. The infatuation in favour of the French Broad route is yet too strong but is daily giving way and I hope in a year the move that you desire may be

¹ From a fragmentary copy among the Calhoun Papers.

made with advantage. I think it probable our project will halt at Columbia. The rapid execution of the road through Georgia compared with the slow and difficult progress of ours will open the eyes of thousands and compel M^r Blanding and his associates to reflect on the consequences of going farther with their mad project.

In the mean time much may be done by correspondence and the company to which you refer *must not permit their charter to be forfeited*. It is vastly important to keep it alive and await events without discouragement.

*To A. H. Pendleton.*¹

Fort Hill 19th Nov^r 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote you some time since, and enclosed a copy of a letter to D^r Danall which I hope you have received. I now write to acknowledge yours of the first instan[t], and to make some suggestions on the points on which you desire my opinion.

You are decidedly right in supposing you ought at this early stage to be cautious in interfering with local questions.

I am decidedly of the opinion, that the true policy at this time in our local affairs is, to be as still and quiet as possible. Our whole weight and influence will be required to carry through the great reform, for which we have so long contended in the General Government. *Now is our time to complete the work*. Everything is propitious, even the run of the late elections. We must now press forward to seize the prise, beginning with a thorough reform in the fiscal action of the Government, both in the revenue and disbursements. The State is now almost unanimous; at least as much so as we can hope; and our great object should be to keep it so. Any movement of the kind you suggest in the Legislature would, to say nothing of their merit, distract the state to the center. All the discontented would seize on the occasion with the view to recover their lost cast.

But this is a mere consideration of policy. My objection lies far deeper; to the proposed changes themselves. If I

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting.

understand their nature as contemplated by some of our friends, I am decidedly of the opinion they would make a fatal revolution in the admirable institutions of our State.

The tendency of our state Government, as it now stands, is to Union among ourselves, as experience amply proves. We are almost entirely free from party politicks, as far as our State Legislation is concerned. All of our party divisions have reference to the action of the General Government. This results from our peculiar political institutions, which from the admirable adjustment of the conflicting political elements of the State, prevents any one from gaining the ascendancy and oppressing the other; and thus preserves harmony, and produces that tendency to Union, which so strongly characterizes our State, and gives it that disproportioned weight in the Union, compared to its population and wealth.

I cannot in the short space of a letter go into the peculiar organization that produces this result, but will when we meet go over the whole with you in conversation. But I see, as clearly as I do the sheet before me, that if we should change our constitution, so as to give the election of the Governor to the people, and increase his pay and patronage by conferring on him the appointing power, the action of our state Gov^t will be entirely reversed. Instead of producing unanimity at home, as is now the case, two violent parties would spring up, which would nearly equally divide the State. The great point of contest would be the gubernatorial election. To carry the Governor would be deemed by both sides more important than to control the action of the General Government, or resist its abuses and usurpations, and each party will be ready to seek federal aid and patronage, and to sell the State to purchase it. Instead of increasing our capacity to resist the General Government, as is intended, it would utterly destroy it. From the day that the change is made, we would become the mere appendage of that Government, and we should hear no more of the nullification or the treason of South Carolina. There would always be a powerful local minority in the State, *ready to become the Union party*, should the majority attempt any movement of the kind against the General Government, which minority would be sure to receive its countenance and patronage, and

through them become the majority, just as in the case of Georgia. There would be no need of a force bill to assert federal supremacy among us thereafter. Our own mercenary divisions and factions would be effectual for that purpose. These remarks do not half exhaust the subject. I might go on to show that an immediate conflict would spring up between the upper and lower country under the change; and that the power and influence of the latter would be prostrated, and that our state Government, from being a beautiful and well adjusted Republick, protecting the interest of all, and uttering the voice of the whole Community, would become a wild factious and despotick Democracy under the control of the dominant interest; but, I trust, I have said enough to satisfy you, without going farther into the subject. I do hope the contemplated change will not be attempted. It would place me in a painful situation. Come from what quarter it may, I would feel myself compelled by the highest sense of duty both to the State and Union to oppose it, with all my might. I say Union; for I verily believe, that there is no State in all the Union that has strength enough within itself to nullify an act of Congress of a general nature, without having a peculiar local oppression, but this State and Mass^{ts}, and if we make the change the only effectual barrier to federal usurpation in the South will give away which would be alike fatal to the Union and ourselves. This is a strong assertion, but it is nevertheless true. Make the change and I would no longer feel that I had a place to stand on in the great struggle, which I have so long maintained against the encroachments and oppression of the General Gov^t.

I noticed an article not long since in the Carolinian, which I laid aside, but cannot lay my hand on at this time, in which you made some remarks touching the removal of the deposits, M^r Clay's resolutions in relation to them and the President's protest on their passage, from which I infer that you had fallen into one or two important errors in reference to that portion of our political history, which has given you an erroneous impression of the transactions of that period. I know of no period of equal length, that involved more important constitutional questions, the discussion of which threw much light on the nature of our political system, but which

unaccountably excited but little publick attention. I cannot go over the ground in the compass of a letter, but when we next meet, I hope you will remind me of these remarks, as I am desirous of explaining the history of that period to you.

You would be of great service at Washington this winter to the cause, and I think, if you can go on without too much expense and inconvenience to yourself you ought. I would be much gratified to have you there and hope if you should come, you will quarter within convenient distance of me. I do not think your difficulty of hearing makes any serious objection. The session will be a highly important one. The future will greatly depend on the movements of the session. We shall either gain all, or lose all for which we have contended in the next 3 years.

I expect to leave about the 24th, and be in Edgefield about the 27th and to take the Charleston and Wilmington route.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Washington 24th Dec^r 1838

MY DEAR SIR, I received your three letters from Columbia, and am under obligation to you for keeping me so fully and correctly informed as to the true state of things in that quarter.

My great solicitude at present is, to keep the State as united as possible. As one of the small States our importance in the Union must depend much on union among ourselves, and there are many reasons, which render such Union particularly important at this time. We have reached the period at which we must reap, or lose the fruits of our past efforts for the last 14 years. M^r Clay's American system, which poured countless millions into the treasury, taken from one section and given to another, was the source of all our oppression, disorder, and corruption. That had to be overthrown before reformation could possibly take place. Nullification and the deposite act effected that. They have between them dried up the source of corruption, patronage and power, and put an end for the present both to Congressional and Executive usurpation. The Government is now poor, and will be much

¹ Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

more so before '42, when the compromise act will take off all duties above 20 per cent ad. Val.

The great point at present is, to bring down the expenditures to the revenue and keep them there; and to prevent the renewal of the Tariff or the creation of a new debt; to effect which will require the United efforts of our State and the South. The work must [be] begun this session of cutting down the expenditures, and of rall[y]ing the South to meet the crisis. I have already taken my position in debate. Our ultimate hope is to reduce the power and patronage of this government—to keep it poor and hold it strictly to its delegated powers; and now is our time. Reduce its expenditures and income to its legitimate wants and separate it from the monied institutions of the States, and all will be well. If this can be effected abolition itself will become manageable.

It is generally believed here, even by his friends, that Mr Clay's prospect is overshadowed. His position was bad; and as a man of sense, he ought to have seen that it was impossible for him to take middle ground on the abolition question. The effect of his altered position is favourable to our policy. To save themselves he and his friends will be compelled to take high grounds on the abolition question, and other measures favourable to the South, of which we already have evidence, and will no doubt have still stronger.

As to the divorce, I have no doubt some of the leaders of the admⁿ party are inclined to give ground, but as far as I can yet judge the rank and file are sound. Mr Cambreling has reported a bill, which has not yet been published, in reference to it; but which I understand will not be satisfactory to many of the party. . . .

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Washington 17th Feb 1839

MY DEAR SIR, I have been so much engaged and have had so little to communicate since I received your last after you returned home, that I have delayed the acknowledgement of it till this time; and now the time is so short, before I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you, that you must excuse the brevity of my answer.

¹ Original lent by J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville. S. C.

The only political movement of any importance since I last wrote you was Mr Clay's on the abolition question. He has chopped round on it. He had no choice. His own position and that of his Southern allies made it absolutely necessary to save both them and him. His speech is far from being sound on many points, but he has said enough to offend mortally the abolitionists, which will do much to divide the north and consolidate us.

You will see my remarks on the occasion both in the *Globe* and the *Mercury*. The *Intelligencer* has not thought proper to publish them although it, as well as all the Whig papers has been very willing to claim my endorsement. The truth is, that they were felt to cut deep, but policy prevailed over resentment. I take it, that all of Clay's Southern Allies will take the opportunity offered by his Speech to come out only for him; but, I think it doubtful, whether it will not rather weaken, than strengthen his chance.

The prospect is, that nothing will be done at this session on the currency question. I do not think the administration leaders are sound; at least a portion of them, though I believe the rank and file are generally.

There will, I think, be a great reduction in the appropriation—a most material point at this time; and, from present prospects I would say, that a satisfactory readjustment of the Tariff will take place between this and '42.

On the whole, I think, the prospect is good, and that prudence, energy and perseverance on our part will accomplish all for which we ever contended. We are all well; and expect to leave this on the 4th March and to pass through Abbeville between the 11th and 15th when we hope to see you. In the meantime all join their love to you and Martha.

*To Joel R. Poinsett.*¹

Fort Hill 28th April 1839.

MY DEAR SIR, A friend from Western Virginia writes that Judge Caldwell of the District Court is dead and that David McComas would be a highly acceptable successor if appointed.

¹ Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who possess the original.

I am acquainted with Mr. McComas and regard him as a man of talents and worth. His reputation is high in his profession; and, if the President has no particular preference for any other individual, I would be gratified with his appointment. His connections are numerous and respectable, and, as he has always belonged to the State rights party, and, I believe, supports the administration on the great question of the day, I should suppose that his appointment at this time would have a happy effect on the politics of Virginia.¹

I am rejoiced to perceive that the indications for the continuance of peace are so favourable by the late arrivals. I had never doubted but that the British Government and people would be adverse to war with this country at present; but yet, I apprehend it will be almost impossible to settle the Maine question without a compromise. It is, however, fortunate that the character of the boundary in question is such, that one may be made mutually advantageous to both parties.

I do hope that the questions growing out of the seizure of our slaves in the Bahama Islands may at the same time be adjusted.² Our right is beyond all question, and the principle involved is one that the slave-holding states can never yield. I had intended to bring up the question at the last session, but abstained on account of the Maine question. If nothing should be done, I shall feel myself compelled to call the attention of the country to it at the next session. The adjustment of the two at the same time would be a great achievement that would ensure a durable peace between the two countries.

*To Thomas G. Clemson.*³

C. C.

Fort Hill 30th April 1839.

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received a letter from Anna, which says, that you may possibly be compelled to visit Philadelphia in order to attend to our note in bank, as the pressure on the money market has been so great, that you had found some difficulty in raising the funds necessary to meet

¹ I. S. Pennybacker was appointed.

² Cases of the *Comet*, the *Encomium*, and the *Enterprise*.

³ Thomas G. Clemson had on November 13, 1838, married Calhoun's eldest daughter, Anna. He inherited the estate of Fort Hill, preserved the main mass of these papers, and by his will founded the Clemson Agricultural College.

our note. I hope, that the news from England, with the rise of cotton and the prospect of peace, will have such effect on the money market, that all difficulty will have vanished. I write now to say, what I know you feel as sensibly as I do, that it is of the utmost importance, that the note should not be protested. My publick station, and the relation I bear to the banking question, much more than even my private credit, make it essential, that our engagement should be met; and I would rather submit to any sacrifice, than to fail to take up the note. I do hope, that, if you should find any difficulty in raise the funds from the sources you expected, that you will not hesitate to raise it, be the sacrifice what it may, within any reasonable scope; and I will divide it with you, or assume the whole, rather, than fail to raise the means. You, of course, in such an event would use every exertion to make it small as practicable. If there should be no accidents, I shall be in possession of ample means by the end of the year to meet any engagements that may be necessary to meet the note. In the meantime, I fear, it will not be in my power to make any advance, as I have found it difficult to obtain what is due to me in the west and our banks have, I see by the papers almost stopped discounting.

I have had but little to do with banks and have always met my engagements to the day, and it is doubly important, that I should do so on this occasion.

I trust, however, and believe, you will find no difficulty in raising the necessary funds; and I have written what I have only from my extreme solicitude.

Andrew continues to write in fine sperits and is every way delighted with our purchase.¹ When he wrote his last his crop was planted to his entire satisfaction. He has purchased one of the small tracks (160 acres) that hemmed us in. He does not say at what price, but says, that he gives us the option to join in the purchase if we should think proper to do so.

The season here is fine, and my crop has a good start. We are all well and all join their love to you.

In my next to Anna, I will write in relation to the purchase of the negroes, on which you desire my opinion. We will expect you as early as you can make it convenient to come.

¹ In Marengo County, Alabama

*To Druff Green.*¹

Fort Hill May 1839

DEAR SIR, You have no friend, who more sincerely rejoices, that you have been able to surmount the difficulties you have had to encounter, or wishes you better success in the final completion of your speculation. You have in my opinion concluded wisely, in determining to sell for whatever you can realize. Besides the uncertainty of the times, as to money affairs, it requires much capital to hold on to such a speculation, for any considerable length of time.

I am glad, that there is a prospect of reviving the Chronicle,² especially under the auspices of Cralle. Few men write as well, or better understand the politicks of the country, to which he adds high integrity. An honest and intelligent organ at the seat of Government is always necessary to the support of correct principles, and may be said emphatically to be so at this juncture; and, yet, such is its peculiar character, that one at this time, unless conducted with extreme discretion would do more harm, than good.

I hold it as certain, that the Whig party is destined to be defeated, and that the defeat must be followed by a dissolution. It is too heterogeneous to hold together under the shock of defeat. The great question is how its elements will resolve themselves; and what will be the character of the new combinations, that will be formed. That will depend much on the intermediate course of events, and especially on the course of our friends. If ours shall combine conciliation with an honest and firm adherence to principles and the general interests of the Union, a vast portion, especially the younger, will fall into our ranks. Such a course must command the respect of the honest and intelligent of all parties, while the Presidential conflict must engender and keep up the most bitter animosity between the Whigs and the dominant party, down to the hour of defeat. In the meantime, if our course shall be moderate, patriotick and firm, both sides will be compelled to approximate to our principles and policy, which will place us and our doctrines in the most commanding posi-

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

² Of Washington, D. C.

tion at the termination of the contest. It is the good fortune of our position, that the more disinterested and honest our course, the more politick and certain of success.

As to the banks my course has long been fixed, and cannot be changed. I believe that the system as it exists with us is radically and essentially wrong, and that it must end in its destruction, through its own inherent defects. *Self slaughter* must be its fate. It can fall by no exterior cause. It is too strong to be resisted from without. One object has steadily guided me from the removal of the deposits till this time; and that is to pursue such a course, that the present system may come to an end, and a better one grow up gradually in its place, with as little shock as possible to the politicks and business of the country. If I had been sustained by the banking interest in 1834, when the deposits were removed, or in 1837, when specie payments were suspended, this desirable object would have been accomplished; but as it is, things must now take their own course, till another shock occurs, which must be followed by the speedy overthrow of the system. As things now stand, they are far worse, than before the late suspension, and I want some fair opportunity to express myself fully on that point. For the present state I hold both parties Whig and administration responsible. It is hard to say which is most to blame. I would have given my views fully on Rives¹ resolutions had the debate continued, which I believe both parties were desirous to prevent; and hence the question was not again called up.

I think, with you, the question is doubtful in Virginia, and looking to the future, it is hard to say, on which side we ought to desire the scales to turn. If the administration should carry the state by a decided vote, and that be followed by Victory in N. York, there is great danger, or rather there is almost a certainty, they would again become a spoil party, and would at the same time make war on us, and court the other, Whig, party, under the command of Webster; but on the other hand, if they should be defeated, in both states, the result might be the triumph of the Whigs, and with that, an equal ascendancy of the spoil principle, united with consolida-

¹ Resolutions offered December 19, 1839, by Senator Wm. C. Rives of Virginia, calling for information on the payment of the bonds of the U. S. Bank and on the deposits in the "pet banks." Senate Journal, p. 60

tion. A doubtful conflict is the most desirable, as far as our principles and doctrines are concerned. It would make our position a most commanding one. I cannot think, with you, that M^r Rives would be strong in either event. His position is weak essentially. Nor do I think you are more correct as to M^r Kendall.¹ His office gives him much patronage, but he has too many powerful aspirants in the party to convert it into an instrument of personal aggrandizement to any great extent, *at present*. Your admonitions in regard to him, though kindly intended, were wholly unnecessary. I understand the object, at which I aim and the means of accomplishing it too well to be entangled by any one. Having no personal wish, but what is strictly subordinate to my principles and duty, and having defined my course rigidly in reference to them, it is not in the power of man to divert me, of which, I think, I have given ample proof within the last two years. If the errors and misconceptions of M^c Duffie, Hamilton, Hayne and others, who have so much of my confidence and so much influence in the state could not divert me, I think there can be but little fear, that any man, or any party hereafter can. I hold office of no value, but as the means of more enlarged usefulness, by carrying out correct principles more efficiently, and giving that ascendancy due to intelligence, patriotism and virtue. But, still I am obliged always to my friends for their admonition and advice even on points, where I deem myself most securely guarded.

I have written to you fully, having entire confidence in your long tried friendship. Should Cralle be in Washington, I would be glad you would show him this, as explanatory of my views, and say to him, that I would be glad to hear from him. Write me on the receipt of this, and before you set out for Europe. I would be glad to hear from you while there, as frequently as you can make it convenient to write. The mail before the last brought the gratifying intelligence of the safe delivery of Margaret,² of which, of course, you have been advised.

We are all well and M^{rs} Calhoun and Cornelia join their love to you M^{rs} Green and your family.

¹ Amos Kendall, Postmaster-General

² General Green's daughter, who had married Calhoun's eldest son, Andrew

*To Sidney Breese.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 27th July 1839

DEAR SIR, I have received yours' of the 29th June and am gratified that the proceedings of the direct trade convention merits your approbation. I entirely concur with you, that Charleston possesses far greater advantages for the trade of all the central portion of the West, than N. York or any other place to the North of it, and that not only in winter, but summer also; but I am decidedly of the opinion, that the line of communication must be through the Tennessee River. Already a system of rail roads is filling up the space from Charleston to Rosse's landing on the Tennessee link by link. It is all finished, or under way with the exception of some 70 miles or so, which is said to present no serious obstacle. When completed the distance between the two points will not exceed 400 miles by the rail route, with no rise, it is said, exceeding 35 feet to the mile. Between Augusta or Macon, the head of steam navigation on the Savannah and Ocmulgee Rivers, and Rosse's landing, the distance will not much exceed 250 miles; and the intelligent Engineer at the head of the Athens and Augusta rail road (a part of the route) estimates, that a ton of goods can be transported from Philadelphia to Rosse's landing, when the route is completed, for a less sum, than from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. With these facts, it is obvious, that nothing remains to place that route above all others, but the improvement of the Tennessee River, which is said to be a better Stream than the Ohio for Steam navigation, with the exception of Colvert and the Muscle Shoals. In this great improvement, all the Central and the Western portions of your great Valley has the deepest interest. It would open to them the cheapest and safest route at all seasons, not only to the Atlantick portion of the Union, but also to the general Market of the world. To accomplish it nothing is wanting but the joint efforts of the parties interested, and there is no portion of the whole that has a greater interest, or that could with more propriety take the lead in the move than the State of Illinois. I have long had the com-

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. Sidney Breese was a circuit judge in Illinois, afterwards Senator and chief justice.

pletion of this great line of intercommunication much at heart, and have been surprised, when I reflected on the vast results depending on its completion, commercially, socially, and the immense and important portion of the Union interested, that it has attracted so little attention.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Carters near Fort Hill 5th Oct^r 1839

MY DEAR SIR, The death of Gen^l. Hayne and Co^l Blanding are really surprising events, under the circumstances under which they occurred; and are destined to effect a great change in the system with which they were so closely identified.¹

I agree with you, that our course, and mine in particular, should be cautious and mute.

My impression is decidedly, that the stockholders ought to place Co^l Gadsden at the head of their affairs, which I understand are in a deplorable condition. I infer the road cannot reach Even Columbia, without the aid of the state to the amount of nearly a million. The true policy of the company it seems to me at this juncture is to stop all operations forthwith, beyond Columbia, and to reduce their operations even to that point, for the present, to the smallest scale. If this should be done, and I think necessity must enforce it, it seems to me clear, that for the present at least the two presidencies, that of the bank and road, ought to be united in the same individual. I feel confident a man of business, such as Co^l Gadsden, could easily perform both, and that their Union, would not only be a great saving, but would in the deranged state of the affairs of the company be the most effectual step to restore order and give a new energy to its action. He unites the requisite qualities for each; and is the only individual that I know that does.

The election to fill Blanding's place will, I suppose, first come on; it would be best to say nothing about that of Haynes till after that is over. When that comes on, which, I suppose,

¹ Robert Y. Hayne, president of the South Carolina Railroad, and Col. Abram Blanding, president of the Southwestern Railroad Bank, both died in September, 1839. See O'Neall, II, 18, 240-242 The two organizations were closely connected.

will not [be] till the convention meets at Columbia, there will not I think be any difficulty to elect him to fill it.

The main point is to get a full proxy from Abbeville and Edgefield to be placed in safe hands. The latter should be carefully guarded and you can do much to effect both. No one could represent the interests of the two Districts better than yourself. The only objection, I see, is your near connection with myself, but I do not know, that it ought to have much weight.

Now is the time to put the affairs of the company right.

We are all deeply distressed to hear of the low condition of Eliza. Her death would be a calamitous event to her family and husband.

We are all well except Anna who is slightly only (I hope) indisposed and all join in their love to you and Maria.

The weather is so dry, that I fear our journey to Alabama will have to be postponed longer than we desired. We intended to start by the 10th. I will probably return through Abbeville, and, if I cannot pass by Millwood will endeavour to make arrangement to meet you as I pass through.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 2^d Nov. 1839

DEAR SIR, The last mail brought me your two letters; one from New York the other from Baltimore.

I do hope you may succeed in making a successful arrangement of your Cumberland interest. I am exceedingly desirous to see you placed on solid ground, in these critical times, as to pecuniary affairs. But let me advise you, as a friend, not to think of the step, which you suggest. It would lead you back into all the turmoil of Washington politicks, with their vexation and uncertainty, of which you have had such abundant experience, and which you owe it to yourself, with your large family, to shun the repetition. As to myself, I have too little solicitude for anything the government, or people can bestow, to desire to see any friend expose himself to the hazard, which you would do in taking the step in ques-

¹ Original lent by Mr Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

tion. But a single desire remains to me; an honest and faithful discharge of duty, so long as any portion of the publick authority is confided to me. I look on political power, as a sacred trust, full of responsibility and burthensome in its discharge, and rather to be shunned, than sought at my time of life.

I foresee great confusion and disorder, in the pecuniary affairs of the country, which the conflict among the banks themselves will greatly increase. To me, it is not unexpected. I have held for years, that the alternative, as to our banks was, reformation or revolution; and it is because, I desire the former, that I have taken the course I have. Nothing but a radical change, promptly commenced, and steadily, but gradually pressed, can save them from going down in convulsions; and nothing but the cooperation of the banks themselves, in effecting such a change, can make it moderate and gradual. Heretofore they have listened only to the clamorous political partisans, who looked to their own interests, and not to that of the country; and such, I apprehend, will be their course to the end of the chapter.

Andrew and Margret left us for Alabama on the 20th last month; and as the weather has been fine for travelling, I suppose have arrived some days since at the point of destination. I intended to accompany them to look at my interest in that quarter, but the weather remained too warm and dry till it was too late to make the visit in time to return and be at my post at Washington at the commencement of the session, when I hope to meet you.

M^{rs} Calhoun and family join in affectionate regard to yourself and family.

*To Druff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 17th Nov^r 1839

DEAR SIR, I cannot possibly be at Washington before the day preceeding the session. I propose to leave this on the 23^d, taking the route by Charleston where I must spend 2 or 3 days on business which will leave me barely time to reach Washington the time I stated.

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

Should you not have sailed for Europe, I would be happy to see you and converse freely on all points connected with the present difficulties; but it is due to candour to state, that my impression is against all of the schemes, which you state are in agitation, in reference to the state debts, both on the score of constitutionality and general expediency.

No one foresaw the present embarrassment earlier than I did, or has been more anxious to avert it, than myself; nor is there any one more desirous of passing through it with the least possible derangement to the business of the country and existing monied relations of society, consistently with the constitution and sound measures of general policy. But as I hope to see you shortly, I do not deem it necessary to say more at present.

M^{rs} Calhoun and family join their kind regards to yourself and family.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Washington 7th Dec^r 1839

MY DEAR ANDREW, On my arrival here, I received your letter of the 14th Nov^r, and am gratified that you are getting on so well, in getting in the crop of cotton and that it continues to turn out so well. So far from exaggerating, your estimates have always been exceeded by the result. In fact, I think you carry your caution to an extreme; for I cannot but infer from all your letters, that our crop will equal, or exceed a bale to the acre, if you should be able to harvest in time. I have enquired from all the members from the South West, with whom I have conversed, and find our yield will be equal to any; even the best alluvia of the Mississippi.

I hope the negroes arrived shortly after the date of your last, and that they have been sensibly felt in getting out our crop.

There is not, I understand, the least chance of getting negroes here. They are fully as high here as with us; but, I think, will probably be lower the next season. My impression is that the fall of prices will be nearly universal.

The Liverpool has just arrived. I understand that she

brings intelligence that commerce is improving, and that cotton is on the rise. Should it go up, it will, I think, be but temporary. You must watch and sell as soon as it rises; at least that is my impression.

The House has not, and, I fear, will not shortly, decide the N. Jersey case.¹

The political prospect I think good. I never was stronger; or stood on more solid ground. We have the control in the House, and shall use it for the good of the country. It is said, and I believe it, that the Message will be thoroughly state rights. If so, the remaining work to be done to restore the constitution will be easy. I now begin to feel confident, that our principles and doctrines are destined to gain a permanent ascendancy.

My love to Margeret. Write often.

[P. S.] Co^l Pickens would certainly have been speaker had he been here earlier.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 8th Dec^r 1839

MY DEAR SIR, I enclose two letters received this morning under cover from Pendleton.

The House has not yet organized and it is doubtful when it will. The control of the elections and the votes of the House is in the hands of the State rights party, and we intend to use it for the advance of our principles. Our position was never more powerful and, as far as I can judge, there is a very good feeling towards us on the part of the friends of the Administration. M^r Pickens would certainly have been the Speaker had he arrived in time. Others had forestalled him, and Jones of Virginia will probably run as the Republican candidate.²

Harrison is nominated at Harrisburgh, as the Whig candidate. It will, I think, throw off the Southern division of the party.

The Message it is said will be thoroughly States rights; and if so, it will make the Session easy on our part. . . .

¹ The "Broad Seal War." See Von Holst's Constitutional History of the U. S., II, 337-340.

² R. M. T. Hunter was elected.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 18th Dec^r 1839

MY DEAR ANNA, I am gratified to learn, that you are all so content and pleased with Millwood; and regret, that I cannot add one to your happy circle, at least during the holydays. My life is quite a contrast to yours. I have much company, but very little society. I am left alone of the Southern men in the Mess. Mr Pickens, Mr Rhett and Mr Hunter left some time ago, under the plea of rooms in the third story; but, I believe, because they were not entirely satisfied with the fair, or rather as I inclined to think, because it was a temperance Mess, which, strange to tell, coming from Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi and Maryland, drink neither Whiskey nor wine. It suits me in that respect very well, for I have little relish for either except claret, and in the winter but little for that.

Speaking of Mr Hunter, what a strange run of luck he has had, if I may so express myself, in speaking of the incidents of political life. You know, that he was State rights and Subtreasury. Well, that well near overthrew him in his last election. He had been elected by the whigs at his first election. They became exasperated at his course, which was so far from conciliating his old opponents that they started a strong opposition to him, because he would not say, that he would support M^r Van Buren at the next election. His prospect was, of course, very gloomy for reelection; but, as the whigs were determined to oppose the Van Buren party, they gave M^r Hunter a cold support, which with the support of personal friends elected him by a small majority. He returned here quite disheartened, and determined to retire from another canvass. But the tide turned, and he is now speaker of the House, which but a few days since no one dreamed of. I know, you will ask how all this occurred. I must go back a little to explain so strange a result.

It was the wish of a large majority of the Democrats to make M^r Pickens the Speaker; but, fortunately, or unfortunately, I am not certain which, he was not here in time. Mr Lewis, of Alabama, was pushed forward in the mean time, to the offence of some of Mr Pickens' friend; and, when the party met in caucus, he lost the nomination by one vote. Mr

Jones of Virginia received it. This offended some of Mr Lewis' friends. The two parties in the House, opposition and Republican, are nearly equal and when they came to vote for speaker a few scattering votes of those offended, prevented the election, of either of the regular candidates, Bell and Jones. It was soon found, that neither could succeed, and Lewis was taken up by the administration party; but this offended some of Jones' friends, which prevented his election. The opposition, seeing they had no chance to elect a candidate of their own, finally ran on Hunter, as the least objectionable among their opponents, which enabled the State rights party to elect him by throwing their vote in his favour.

Thus he has passed in a few days from a position weak and precarious to one of great strength and control, which, if he should turn its advantages to account, may make him prominent and influential. I have great confidence in his good sense and discretion, and, if he should act as well as I think he will, it will do much to advance our principles and doctrines.

I had no idea, that the narrative, I undertook, would have taken up so much of my sheet, or I would not have ventured on it. To compensate for its length, I must cut short my letter.

I wrote to your mother some time since, and expressed my fear from Patrick's letter, he would not be able to go through with his class, from the loss of time and the weakness of his eyes. I addressed a letter to the superintendent on the subject and desired his candid opinion in relation to it. His answer is very satisfactory. He thinks there is no fear and represents his standing as very satisfactory.

Say to Mr Clemson, that I got his letter to day, and will write him shortly. I wrote him since my arrival here.

My health is good, with the exception, as usual, of a cold, which has been very common here.

My love to all.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Washington 20th Dec^r 1839

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . The nomination of Harrison will not, I take it, be well received in the South. Mr Clay has

backed it as well as he could, but it is thought both he and his Southern friends take it badly at heart. It will tend, like almost all other causes now in active operation, to impel our Government in the direction of state rights, and to give an ascendancy to our principles and doctrines. In fact, with prudence and firmness, we have a decided control over coming events. . . .

*To Duff Green.*¹

Washington 17th Jan^r 1840

DEAR SIR, When I took my seat in the Senate this morning, I found on my table your letter of this instant, the contents of which not a little surprised me.

Before I proceed to comply with your request, I must premise, that there is much in the tone and substance of your letter, which coming from almost any one else, would have been construed into menace; and would, of course, have imposed silence on me; but coming from you, feelings belonging to our past and present relations outweigh any considerations of the kind.

Your request is for me to state, the considerations, which induced me to advise my friends to vote against you as printer to the House.² In reply, I state, that I had very little conversation with my friends in relation to it. I came to the city, under the impression, that our principles and the policy on which we acted, would compel us to act with the administration, if they should adhere to the course, which they have taken, and that our proper course would be, to let them elect their own officers, including the printer to the House, in order, that we might with greater propriety and effect insist on that course of measures, which we believed to be essential to the interests of the country. I expressed these views freely to my friends and applied them generally, both to you and others. But I stated to none so fully and strongly, as I did to yourself, the reasons, why I could not support you for

¹ Original lent by Mr Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

² The controversy over the election of the printer to the House and the statements made by Fisher, of North Carolina, may be followed in Niles's Register, LVII, especially pp. 348, 349. Blair and Rives were elected January 30.

the printing, in a conversation shortly after the commencement of the session, when you informed me, that the Whigs, finding that they could not elect Gales and Seaton, would support you, and that you could be elected, if my friends would vote for you. I had supposed, from what afterwards occurred, that you had acquiesced in my views, till I was informed by Mr Fisher, that one of the members had made you a large offer in behalf of Gales and Seaton, for the use of your name. I refused to have anything to do with the subject, expressing at the same time my objections to the proposal in strong terms, but without intending, what I said to go farther.

Having given you the statement you request, let me now say, on my part, I am at a loss to know on what authority you speak, when you talk of my participating in a heartless conspiracy against your reputation, and of Mr Pickens acting under my advice, or to imagine how you could suppose, that there could be the least reluctance on my part, in any possible case, to do you justice. Why should I or any friend I have conspire against you? Or why should I in any case, hesitate to do you full justice. Every feeling of my bosom and every consideration that could act on me forbid the supposition, that either is possible.

Nor are you less mistaken in supposing, that Mr Pickens acted under my control or for me, or that I advised him to do any act intended to do you the smallest harm. During the whole time, that this painful affair was in agitation, I never spoke to one of my friends in relation to it, nor one of them to me, but Co^l Pickens, and that on a single point. He called to consult with me, whether it would be proper for him to repel the charge of the Madisonian, as far as he and others who acted with him might be concerned. I said to him, I did not see how it could well be avoided, suggesting at the same time that it would be preferable to do it in his place as a member of the House. As to what he said it is his own. Nothing passed between us as to that; nor was there the indication of any unkind feelings towards you. Now I would submit it to your own judgement, whether a denial could have been avoided with justice to himself and others. It is obvious, that the article in the Madisonian was intended to bear on Co^l Pickens with others. It was charged, if not expressly, at

least by inference, that there was an understanding between Blair and Rives and you, as to the printing, and that you had received a large sum already, as a consideration for those gentlemen to vote for them, as printers. It was believed they intended to vote for them. Now I ask you, whether under this state of things they could remain silent? If they had and should hereafter vote, as it is said they intend, would not suspicion have attached to their motives? It is true the *Globe* had denied, that there was any understanding; but their silence would have outweighed its denial, in the opinion of many.

I also submit, whether, if Co^l Pickens used expressions too strong, in disclaiming any connection with you, as a candidate for the printing, it may not be more rationally attributed to the circumstances of the case, than any disposition to wound your feelings? I am satisfied that such is the true explanation, if in what he said, viewed simply in reference to yourself, he went too far. Nor am I less satisfied that you have done him great injustice in supposing that he had the least to do with the publication in the *Globe*. I say this without any knowledge, how the facts stated in the *Globe* came to the knowledge of its editors. I know nothing at all about it.

I have been compelled to notice the portions of your letter to which these remarks apply, as silence on my part might be misconstrued.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Private

18th Jan^y. 1840.

DEAR SIR, You will see by the date of your letter that it was commenced yesterday. The discussion and long sitting of the Senate, with company in the evening, prevented me from finishing and mailing it till to day.

It may be proper to say, that it was written without seeing any friend, or any one knowing, that I had received the letter to which it is a reply.

Were I not apprehensive, that you would misconstrue my motives, I would say to you, that you would make a great mistake to attack personally any one in your vindication. As far

¹Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

as I can judge, there is no unkind feelings towards you, and that which has been said has been defensively, but probably without reflecting on its bearings on you. Men are but too apt to overlook the feelings of others, in such cases, as your letter proves. An attack would be but to convert friends into enemies. It seems to me, if you come out, as I suppose you will, after what you have said feel yourself in some degree compelled to do, your better course would be to state in moderate language, the circumstances, which induced you to view the proposal as you did.

You must not think that in making these suggestions, I intend to deprecate a personal attack on myself. Although, coming from you, it would be exceedingly painful, as much so as anything that has ever occurred to me, yet I feel strong in conscious rectitude; that I never did in my life an unfriendly act towards you, or ever entertained a wish but for your welfare. I trust you will receive this in the spirit in which it [is] written.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 25th Jan^y 1840

MY DEAR SIR, I do not feel myself sufficiently possessed of all the facts and circumstances to offer an opinion at present on the question, in relation to which, you desire my opinion in your last. As far as the consulate at Havannah may bear on your decision, it is proper to remark, that I regard the contingency as a remote one. I am of the impression that Mr Trist¹ will not be removed unless the case against him is irresistably strong; and that if it should be such as cannot be got over, no step will be taken for some time; probably not during the present year, for reasons which will probably occur to you.

I do not think, then, as far as that is concerned, you need hasten the decision of the question of a permanent arrangement. The immediate necessity being out of the way, it strikes me, that it would be better on both sides, that your

¹ Nicholas P. Trist, afterward peace commissioner in Mexico. As consul at Havana he was accused of aiding the slavetrade. Alexander H. Everett was sent to investigate, and reported against him. He was finally recalled.

arrangement should for the present be temporary. It would give time to both to reflect, and to come to the conclusion, after a year's experience, that would probably be more satisfactory to both. I have no doubt you could be mutually useful to each other, and could contribute much to the happiness of each other, as well as to that of Anna and Maria. But the greater the prospect of mutual benefit, the greater the necessity, that your permanent arrangement should be entered into, if at all, after due reflection and with all the lights, which the experience of a temporary arrangement might afford.

The subtreasury passed the Senate, as you will have seen, by a strong vote. There was but little debate. Some of the Senators apprehended instructions and were desirous of hastening the passage, and there was but little disposition to discuss on the side of the opposition. I had prepared to take part in the discussion had it gone on, but was unwilling to delay the passage. I wished to present one or two important views, not yet touched on. The fate of the bill in the House is not certain. In fact it is difficult to say what can or cannot pass there, so equal is the division of parties, and so completely is the body disorganized. In the Senate the condition of things is better. I never saw it in sounder state, as far as I can yet judge.

Say to Anna and the Co^l that I have received their letters and will answer them shortly.

I enclose you a pamphlet I received last evening from Mr Binney, as I know you take an interest in all that concerns Philadelphia. It is exceedingly well written; and does him much credit.

My love to all.

To James H. Hammond.¹

Washington 25th Jan^y 1840

MY DEAR SIR, You must not suppose, in taking the course I have, that I am governed by confidence in the men or party with which we are acting. There is, indeed, but little room for confidence at such a period as this, when a corrupt and mer-

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

cenary spirit, spreading far and wide has left few untouched. My reliance is on the power, which circumstances has placed in our control, and to maintain it, the most potent means is to keep the Government poor. An exhausted treasury is the most effective remedy for the deep seated disease, which has so long afflicted the body politic; and to it we owe whatever symptoms there are of returning health. With a full treasury, the Democratic party ever will become, as it lately was, a spoil party; but empty the treasury, and withhold the means of rewarding partisan services, and you force them to return to principles. It is that, or defeat, as the banks and the wealth of the country at the North are on the side of their opponents. The treasury is now empty, and, if we can keep it so, reformation is certain.

Very different is the case with the opposite party. They are and ever have been incorrigibly wrong from the beginning. Individually it is highly respectable for the most part; but as a party, we can hope for nothing from it, unless indeed a long continued exclusion from power, should reform it. As yet, it has had but little influence that way.

As to myself, I look exclusively to the end I have in view; the thorough reform of the Government, and the restoration of the Constitution to its original purity and every move I take has reference to it. To that great task, I stand pledged, and nothing can deflect me an inch from my course. If it is ever to be accomplished, now is the time. If not now done, it never will be. Powerful causes are now in operation tending to give a wrong direction, and among the strongest is the deep indebtedness of many of the States; but on the other hand there are powerful means of resistance. Much will depend on the result of the approaching election, which gives the only interest I feel in it.

The subtreasury passed by a large majority after a feeble resistance. I regret that the debate did not continue, as I was prepared to speak and to enter on grounds on which I have not heretofore touched; but the impatience of some of the Senators to vote before they might be instructed to vote against their inclination and the little disposition of the opposition to discuss the bill, induced me to decline speaking.

I shall at all times be glad to hear from you.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 1st Feb: 1840

MY DEAR SIR, . . . As to the State of things here, politically, it is about as good, as could be expected. The House has refused *to receive* abolition petitions; the strongest measure yet taken and which must be productive of good consequences. Every Whig out of the Slave states, but one, voted against, and four in the Slave states and a sufficient number of Republicans out of them, voted for it to make a majority. We are not troubled with their petitions in the Senate, but if we should be, I doubt not, the same vote can be had there. As to the general tone of feeling on the part of the supporters of the administration, I think it good. They seem to me to be much inclined to support our doctrines and measures. In fact, they act under a sort of necessity, as it is by them only they can stand.

A change, you will have seen by the papers has taken place in the personal relations between the President and myself. I had all along seen it would be necessary, if measures went in the direction I desired. My position towards him placed me in a situation to be a subject of jealousy among his friends, and speculation among that of his adversaries, which tended greatly to weaken me in my efforts to carry out my views. The portion of his friends, favourable to me, had expressed great anxiety, that our relations should be changed and one of them (M^r Roane of Virginia) informed me, that it was much desired at Richmond among the leading friends of the administration there. He also said, that M^r Van Buren had said to him, that it was his determination, if we ever met, to make the first advance. We came in the same car from Richmond, and he wished me to leave my card, when I arrived. I declined and said to him, that I had always intended to restore our personal relations, if he persisted in the course he had taken, but that I must be the judge of the time and mode, but when it came, I should be happy to have him, as the medium. I had determined to wait the developement of the message, and, if satisfactory, to carry my intention into effect, by making my personal, conform to my political relations. Finding it, as far as it went, satisfactory, I, accordingly, in con-

formity to previous arrangement^t called; and all that passed between us in regard to the subject was simply that, "I said to him that by his course as chief Magistrate he had removed the difference in our political relations and that I called to remove that in our personal." In doing so, I still regarded both him and myself, in our official character, and simply intended to remove the awkwardness of defending the political measures and course of one, with whom I was not on speaking terms, and the weakening effects resulting from such a state. Thus acting I, of course, required no preliminary personal explanation, as the act overlooked and turned on different considerations. I, in fact, have changed no opinion, as to his course towards me, out of which our former personal alienation grew; nor can I; but, I did not think it of sufficient magnitude to influence my course, where the publick has so much at stake. The present is pregnant with a long train of important events. The election is narrowed down to M^r Van Buren and Gen^l Harrison. If the latter prevails, a national Bank and Tariff certainly follow, with all the train of disasters, redoubled, from which we are just escaping; but if the former, the prospect is fair to carry out successfully the great object for which I have so long contended, the thorough reform of the Government and the complete restoration of the constitution. Keep this, and read it two years hence, when you will fully appreciate the wisdom and patriotism of my course. I give it, that you may have wherewith to judge of me, in the difficult and complicated scenes through which I have to pass.

My love to all.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 12th Feb. 1840

MY DEAR SIR, Since I wrote to you last, I have received the enclosed from Robert Anderson, which will require early attention.

We are now in the midst of an exciting question, the assumption of state debts. I enclose my speech in pamphlet form on the subject.¹ It has been exceedingly well received

¹ See Works, III, 407-438.

here by the administration party, which I regard as a most favourable symptom. The whole democratic party of N. York and New England, as far as I can learn will decidedly maintain the doctrines. What a change, and what powerful evidence of the force of truth, if boldly and intelligently maintained! It is thought to be the most popular speech I ever delivered, and will receive a very wide circulation.

I make a short letter, as I write Anna by the same mail that takes this.

My love to all.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 13th Feb. 1840

So far from being offended, my dear daughter, the sentiments you have expressed but elevates you, if possible, in my estimation. With the limited view you had of the reasons, which governed me, they are natural to one, who is so sensitive where my character and standing are concerned. With a full knowledge of all the complicated circumstances under which I acted, you would take a very different view. The course I ought to take involved not only a question of self respect, but public duty, and, of course, placed my private relation in a great degree under my public, or political relations. Regarded in connection, you will see, that if the course of the administration, should coincide with my political principles and doctrines, there must of course be a point of time, when I could not consistently, either with duty or propriety, refuse to restore my personal relation. To do so, would weaken me and in a great measure destroy that control over events, which I had obtained by a firm adherence to principle and fearless discharge of duty, while it would detract from that elevated standing I had acquired personally, by refusing to restore our private relations, at first, while Mr Van Buren's course was uncertain, and my motive might be suspected, by making the impression, that personal pique, or mere fastidiousness controlled me.

If this view be true, the only questions were, as to the time and mode, admitting his course to be as it has been in the

main, satisfactory. There could be but little doubt as to the time. It must be done, if at all, before the election is over. If delayed till after he was reelected, it would have lost all dignity on my part and exposed me to very improper imputations. But if done before, it must be at some period during this session, and none could be so suitable, as after the Message, supposing it to be satisfactory, as it proved in the main to be.

Nor could there be much doubt as to the mode. It was not a mere private act. On the contrary it was much more governed by publick, than private considerations. To have it forced by personal explanations would not have been in keeping, nor could it possibly be, for I cannot change my opinion as to the cause, which effected our seperation. The restoration of our personal relation was independent of that, and turned on considerations above it. It was much more with the President, than M^r Van Buren. My private relation followed and was governed by my political and publick. M^r V. B. as Chief Magistrate had restored the latter, it remained for me (it was my act not his) to restore the former.

Thus regarding it, I did not hesitate to call with a mutual friend, who had expressed much desire to see our relations restored, having previously fixed on an hour. The only thing that passed relating to the object of the call was, I said, M^r President, by your course as Chief Magistrate you have removed the difference in our political relations; I have called to remove that in our personal.

My political position remains of course just where it was; ready to sustain the administration, when right and oppose them when wrong, and on all occasions to express my opinions freely. In fact, I am more fully at liberty, because I can go farther in consequence of a change of personal relations, in expressing my sentiments, without causing suspicion and jealousy with those with whom I am acting, or becoming the subject of speculation on the other side.

I transmit by the mail that takes this, a copy of my speech on the assumption of state debts, for yourself and M^r Clemson. I enclosed one for your Uncle James in a letter to him of this date.

It has been exceedingly well received, by the Northern Democrats and the admⁿ party generally. I expect it will be fiercely assailed by M^r Clay and M^r Webster. As yet the attack on it has 'een very feeble.

My health still remains good.

My love to all.

To Andrew Pickens Culhoun. P. AND M. C.

Washington 14th Feb 1840

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . I send you in pamphlet form my speech on the assumption of the State debts. You will see what bold grounds I took, and will be surprised, when I tell you, that it has been received, as far as I have heard, well by the whole administration party, including the North. Many think it my best effort. It has not been yet replied to, though I expect to be fiercely assailed by Clay and Webster, whose systems so it decidedly assails. The tone of the administration party is, I think, generally good, as may be inferred by the vote on the abolition question or the course of M^r Tappan in the Senate;¹ but I have great apprehension from the indebtedness of the States. It will prove a sore disease in the body politick; and disturb the general course of our politicks for years, if it does not in the end permanently impair the constitution. But for that, I would look forward to a permanent reform with certainty, but it casts doubts on the future. . . .

*To James H. Hammond.*²

Washington 23^d Feb: 1840

MY DEAR SIR, If you had been here the whole period since you left us, instead of being absent and abroad, you could not have taken a more correct view than you have of our true position. Without approving the course of either side entirely, we had no alternative, but to act with the party in power, simply because their measures, since the suspension,

¹ On February 4 Benjamin Tappan, Senator from Ohio, describing certain anti-slavery petitions sent to him from his State, declined to present them. Senator Preston thanked him in the name of the South.

² Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

and still more their principles, accord more nearly with our own, than the opposite side. By acting with them, we have some prospect, to say the least, to arrive at the end, we propose, while the opposite course could not fail in terminating in all we have a right to dread, as fatal to us and our institutions. I do not act on confidence. I look to the position of parties and their leaders, and the grounds on which they are compelled to place their hope of success; and from these I determine my course in reference to my end. I well know that with the leaders the ultimatum is the Presidential election. To that they attempt to bend everything; but they are compelled to conform more or less to circumstances; to the doctrines of the party, and those, who for the time may be acting with them and the honest and sincere of their own party who constitute the great mass of their followers. With a full knowledge of all the elements, which must control their movements, my means of control is to march directly forward, fearless of consequences, and to seize every question presented, from whatever side, to develop our doctrines and views with the intention of forcing them on those, with whom I act, by controlling publick sentiment. I took, for instance, the opportunity afforded by Mr Grundy's report to go pretty fully into the protective system (I sent you a copy of my speech)¹ in advance of the revision of the tariff, which must take place at the next session; and when I tell you, that my views have been well received by the whole body of the party at the North, as far as I have heard, you will, I think, agree with me, that it indicates a great and salutary change of opinion in that quarter.

Whether we shall ultimately be able to effect a reform may be doubted; but it seems to me, that our strength depends much more on the goodness of our cause, and the correctness of our course, and less from our accidental position at this time, than you suppose. Should the election terminate in the decided triumph of the administration, I doubt much, whether it would weaken us. If they be sincere, it would only enable them to carry out more effectively the measures they profess, and for which we contend; but, if not, and they should

¹ Speech on the assumption of the State debts, February 5, 1840. Works, III, 407-489.

endeavour to govern on the spoil principles, the great body of the Whigs would be compelled to rally on us, with no small division of the administration party. In either event, if true to our principles, we would be strong. Nor would the success of the Whigs in the election weaken us. In that case, the whole body of the administration party, with the discontented portion of the Whigs (it would be a large part) would join our Standard. But enough of these general speculations. I come nearer home. I see with regret, that we are to have a good deal of division and distraction in our own State; but I do hope, that it will be conducted on both sides, or rather all sides, in the tone and character becoming Carolinians. As to myself, so little had I interfered with the local politicks of the State (for reasons which I am sure you will readily understand and appreciate) that I did not know, the question who should be the next Governor had been agitated, or that either you or Mr Richardson desired the place, or were thought of by your friends, till I saw his name announced. I would have been well plesed with either of you. He had acted well, as a member of Congress, and did much service to the cause, by cooperating with us on all leading questions. As to yourself, the occasion, I trust, will justify the declaration, that there is no one in the State, that I would have preferred to you, or on whose friendship, I place a higher value. With these views and feelings, the only position I can take is one of strict neutrality. I have authorized all my friends here to say so, and, I do trust, my name will not be drawn into the canvass. I regarded with decided disapprobation the article in the Mercury, which drew in my name gratuitously, and I desired a friend of the editor to say so to him. I hope it will not be repeated. I trust, you will place a just estimate on my motives in taking the course I have prescribed to myself on the occasion. My strength here depends on the union at home, as far as I am concerned, and my usefulness, while I remain, depends on my strength. My health is remarkably good—never better. The fever went off without leaving any bad effect. I have, if anything, been better since than before.

I shall, at all times, be happy to hear from you, and to have your suggestions on any point.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 24th March 1840

MY DEAR ANNA, Since I received your's of the 1st March, I have been so constantly engaged that I have not had leisure to answer it till now. Among my other engagements, I have had a subject on hand of not a little interest to the South; I mean the case of the *Enterprise*, one of the three Brigs. which have been so long in negotiation between our Government and that of Great Britain. She was forced into Port Hamilton, Bermuda, by stress of weather, where the negroes on board were forcible seized and detained by the local authority, for which the British Government has refused compensation. It took me some time to give the case a thorough examination, and then to present it fairly and finally to prepare for the press. It will be out on Tuesday next in the *Globe*.¹

I presented the principles of the case in a series of resolutions. The discussion came up unexpectedly, with a thin House and nearly empty Gallery, and I had hardly got under way, before there was a cry of fire in the Capitol. I stopt a few minutes, till the confusion was over. The Galleries were soon crowded, and the Chamber filled. My friends think, that the speech made a strong impression.

I did not expect to say so much of myself, when I commenced assigning a reason, why I had been so tardy in acknowledging your letter, but as it is said, it may go, though you may think, that it has some what the air of Egotism. . . .

*To James H. Hammond.*²

Washington 2^d April 1840

MY DEAR SIR, I enclose a copy of my speech on my resolutions.³ You will see, that there is involved a principle of deep importance to us. I hope that the Committee on Foreign relations will report favorably, and that the resolutions will receive the unanimous support of the Senate.

¹ See Works, III, 462-487.

² Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

³ On the *Enterprise*.

I do not think that the influence of our party depends so exclusively on the equilibrium of the other two parties as you seem to do. There is a real and reliable accession in the ranks of the administration to our principles and doctrines, which is still on the increase, and will continue to increase so long as the Treasury is low. With a full treasury the worst portion of the party is sure to gain the ascendancy, and to convert the party into the Spoil party, while the reverse almost necessarily follows from an empty treasury. Should the Tariff be satisfactorily adjusted, of which there is a fair prospect, the reformation of the party in power will follow almost as a matter of course.

Our true rule is to enter into an alliance with no party, but to act with any for the time moving in the same direction, without deflecting in the least from our principles, or doctrines. Such has been my rule, and, it seems to me, to be the only one consistent with sound policy and political integrity.

I am much gratified to learn, that the course I have prescribed to myself, in the pending canvass, meets with your approbation. With my views and feelings, I could pursue no other.¹

You must permit me to say, in candour and friendship, that my views of parties, as it relates to our State does not accord with yours. I think our natural political condition is the absence of local parties, and that past experience for the last thirty years shows it. It results from a fortunate political organization of the State Government, and is the real cause of our great relative ascendancy and influence in the Union. Our divisions all refer to the action of the Federal Government; and it is because there is no powerful local party in the State, through which to act, and by which the State might be controlled, that we are enable[d] to interpose and nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress, which no other state can do, except on some local question.

It belongs to the nature of our party divisions to die away, when the questions which caused them cease; and it is fortunate that it is so. Otherwise, we would be in a state of per-

¹ A course of neutrality. See Hammond's letters, the letters of February 23, *supra*, and of February 9, April 29, *post*.

petual distraction and weakness. That our late divisions have substantially subsided, I do not doubt. Nor do I doubt, that there is a real and sincere Union in the State in reference to the course, that ought to be pursued by the general government at this time; and that what division there may be in the State is more in the ranks of the old nullification party, than the old Union, owing to the unfortunate course of Col Preston, Gen^l Thompson and some other prominent members of the former. I think it important to preserve that Union, especially at this moment, when we are carrying out the fruits of our noble achievement in thirty two-three; and thus thinking, I should regret the restoration of the party lines of that day. It would weaken us greatly both here and at home. I do think harmony as to the measures of the day, of pressing importance at this time, is the one thing needful, however much we may divide as to men at home.

That there are individuals belonging to the old Union party, who would use power if put into their hands, as you suggest, I do not doubt; but I must say, I have seen nothing in the course of Col Richardson, that would induce me to think that he would do so. While here, he acted decidedly with us, and exerted all his influence, as far as I could see, to give that direction to events, which we desired.

With these impressions, and regarding you both as friends, I do hope, that the canvass may be free from personalities as possible. Let it be, if possible, a generous competition for the honor of serving the state in the highest office, a state worthy of the devotion of her sons. My time must soon be through, and there is nothing I would regret more, than to see you and others on whom the hope of the state must rest, waste your talents and usefulness in party struggles at home instead of uniting to maintain the ascendancy of our principles and doctrines in the Union, and with them our influence and glory. That one of the small states of the confederacy should rank with the largest and proudest in weight and renown is an object worthy of ambition. I am sure you will not think, that I intend in the remotest manner to express any disapprobation as it relates to yourself and friends in reference to the existing canvass. I regret, that there should be any conflict;

and think it has been badly managed to permit it all; but how it has happened, or who is to blame, or whether any one, I have formed, and intend to form no opinion.

There is a good deal of apprehension of war here, growing out of the Maine question; but I cannot bring myself to believe that there is any serious danger. Both countries need peace, and both I believe desire it, and when that is the case it is hard to make war.

We have the Cumberland road bill up in the Senate.¹ There is a fair prospect of its receiving a death blow; and with it the remnant of the American system. The passage of the Subtreasury is considered certain.

The Presidential question is causing deep excitement in most of the states. Both parties are sanguine, but I think the Whigs as usual will be disappointed.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 29th April 1840

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . The Presidential race is going to be a close one. Preston, Thompson, and Dawson have come out boldly, after all their denials, on the side of the bank tariff, abolition [*illegible*] and consolidation party. They can no longer dodge. In the midst of the confusion I hope that the cause of sound principles and truth and justice will prevail. My only hope is through the weakness and poverty of the Government. The weaker it is and the lower its revenue the better for us. There is a fair prospect, that it will be reduced low enough. If such should be the case, let events turn as they may, the prospect will not be bad for us. Should the party in power keep their place we would be able to control events, and if their opponents (consisting of every hue and colour) come in, their expulsion from power will not be difficult, when a radical reform would follow. . . .

¹ See Works, III, 488-494.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 16th May 1840

MY DEAR SIR, I have read your two last letters with much interest.² They show much reflection and deep devotion to the great cause, which has shed glory on the name of Carolina, and which is destined to save the country, if, indeed, it should be its destiny to be saved. Time and reflection have but strengthened my devotion to the cause, to advance which, and at the same time to raise the name of our State, to defend the South and preserve our free institutions, are the sole motives, I have to remain a day in publick life.

While I accord in most of your views and sentiments, you must permit me to say, that there are considerations, which, it seems to me, you leave out of the estimate, in coming to the conclusion, that the old party lines, which divided the State in the great contest of 1832 should be drawn and maintained in the approaching Gubernatorial election. I doubt the practicability, and, if practicable, the expediency. Other questions have risen of deep importance in reference to which both of the old parties have divided. Among these, the great question in reference to the currency, which in fact will be found at the very bottom of almost all the questions, which have divided parties under our government from the beginning to the present day. I do not hesitate to say, if Gen^l. Hamilton had not issued his circular directing bank notes to be received as gold and silver in the publick dues, and if the bank of the United States had not been created, the whole course of politics under our system would have been entirely different. At the extra session, when the question of seperation was first agitated, I was desirous that it should make no serious division in our ranks, though I saw from the great depth of the question, that it would be difficult to prevent it. In spite of the most forbearing course on my part, every state rights man in Congress, who differed from me, became alienated and formed opposing political relations, which, in progress, has united them with all, the most opposed to our principles, policy and interests. The same took place in the ranks of the Union

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

² Letters of April 29 and May 4, printed in Part II, *post*.

party; and the alienation has become so complete, that friendship has been turned into the bitterest hatred, and enmities into friendship. Look around in our own and the neighboring States, and you will see the truth of what I have stated fully established. If to this we add, what was impossible to prevent, that both sides have rallied in the pending presidential contest with the party with which their course on the currency question naturally threw them, and that that contest has for the present absorbed nearly all other questions, you will, I think, agree with me, that it would be difficult to rally either side at present on the ground that divided them in '32.

Nor can I think, it would be advisable, if it were practicable. The effect would be to isolate the State, and make her neutral in the present struggle; and the result, to throw [on us] the responsibility of bringing the Whigs into power, should they be victorious, to be followed by indifference towards us on their part, and deep indignation on the part of the defeated party; with the indifference of both, should the Whigs be defeated. We would in a word lose our weight, and be regarded as mere impracticables, governed by abstract notions, without regard to consequences. This might, indeed, be of but little importance, if there were not questions pending of the greatest possible magnitude, in which our fate and that of the whole South is involved, and which cannot be controlled by our separate action, like the Tariff. Such, among others, are the abolition and the currency questions. We have met and can meet again the Tariff single-handed; but not so either of these; and, I must say, as far as I can judge, we have less to fear, at present, from the Tariff, than either of the others, though it is not free from danger. Union among ourselves is desirable in reference to all; and it seems to me, that the true point of policy, at this time, is so to act, as to keep, as far as may be practicable the State United on these and all other interesting questions likely to spring out of our federal relations, at this deeply important juncture, without weakening ourselves elsewhere; and that a liberal course of policy towards all, who may in the main concur with us in the new state of things, without a too exclusive regard to the old lines, is indispensable to that object. But, in thinking thus, you must not suppose, that I surrender a particle of our prin-

ciples, or doctrines, or am disposed to merge in the ranks of the two great parties of the day. I am, and shall remain a state rights nullifier, and as such place my hopes, not in confidence in any man, or party, that does not accord in our own doctrines; but in the force of our position and the goodness of our cause. We have done much and can do more by firmness and sagacity. The election will be close and the contest severe, which is nothing the worse for the country. Should Mr Van Buren be elected, it will be impossible for him to sustain himself without sustaining in the main our policy. His chief support must be from the South. But, if Gen^l Harrison should succeed, his speedy defeat would be inevitable. The resistance would be mainly from the South and on Southern ground; and the triumph our triumph. Let us do our duty; adhere to our principles, conciliate the South, and support all, who support our measures, and oppose those, who oppose them, and to us will be the glory of saving the country and our institutions, if they are to be saved.

As to yourself, you have no friend, who wishes you better, than I do. I look to you, as one of the few, who must sustain the honour of the State and preserve, in their purity, her principles and doctrines. I would speak freely on the portion of your last letter which relates more particularly to yourself; but do not feel sufficiently master of the whole ground to offer an opinion. I think it desirable, if it can be honourably brought about, to the mutual satisfaction of both sides, that there should be no division in the State at this time, in reference to the Governor's election; but know not whether it can be done, or not. I hope, however, that things will be kept quiet for the present, on both sides. If my position in the State and the confidence reposed in me, can be of any avail in preventing a contest and bring about an honourable and fair reconciliation of differences among those I regard as friends I would be happy to call them into service. Great events are before us. The country and Government cannot go along as it is now going. Revolution or reform must take place, and the next four or five years must decide. Which of the two it will be, depends much on our State and party.

I must see you on my return. I have a great deal more to say, than can be put into a letter.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 30th May 1840

MY DEAR ANNA, I have not heard from you for a long time, excepting a short note covering a letter to M^{rs} Washington, which I forwarded as soon as it was received. I had received your letter referred to in the note and answered it some time before. I hope you got my letter. Since then, I received and answered M^r Clemson's, so that you see I do not stand debtor in the account current of my correspondence with Millwood.

Francis¹ arrived here with his family about a week since. He has taken his lodgings with us at M^r Hill's. Eliza had improved a good deal by the journey, but I am sorry to say, that she is not so well again. She looks exceedingly delicate. The children are all well.

I was distressed to hear through Francis, that your health was not good, and could not but feel somewhat mortified, that you had not mentioned, or hinted at your indisposition, in any of your letters to me, nor had M^r Clemson. I know the omission could not have been caused by any supposed indifference on my part to the state of your health. On the contrary I cannot doubt that it originated in the opposite state of feelings, but, I must think mistaken one. Devoted attachment claims to know the condition of the object of its affection, whether it be good, or bad, to rejoice with the former and sympathize with the latter, and is ever pained, when either is concealed. Such is the law of our nature, though it may appear in some respects contradictory. Besides, if it be admitted that one in whom we take a deep interest may be silent when absent in his correspondence as to ill health or other misfortune more than half the pleasure of correspondence would be lost, which consists in being assured, that, though absent, we know the condition of our friend, for good or evil. Just so in your case will be the effect. Unless you expressly inform me hereafter, as to the state of your health by your letters, I shall infer, that it is not good.

You must not suppose from what I have said, that M^r Pickens represented you as seriously indisposed; but I infer

¹ Pickens

from what he understood, that your health is something more than merely indifferent. If such be the case, let me entreat you, my dear Daughter, to take immediate steps for the restoration of your health. Avoid medicine, except the most simple kind, and rely on diet and proper exercise, with cheerfulness and amusement, and change of scene. Take a visit to Fort Hill by gentle stages, where they will all be so glad to see you. The change of air, and the exercise will be of great service.

You know how deeply I am impressed with the total neglect of health and constitution in the education of females, as well as in their mode of life. I regard it as one of the greatest calamities of the age. If not corrected, our whole race is destined to degenerate. The accomplishments acquired at school are nothing to be compared to the loss of a robust constitution and good health. I think you have never realized the truth of what I have so often said on the subject; but let me beseech you hereafter for your good and the good of those, who take such deep interest in you, to put a higher estimate on those great laws of our physical nature, the observance of which is as indispensable to health, as proper cultivation is to a good crop.

My time has been and is still much engrossed by my many engagements, of which a pretty heavy correspondence is not the least. I am now turning my attention to the subject of bankruptcy, which is before the Senate. It is comparatively new to me. I find it to be a subject of great difficulty and danger. I will speak on it at length before the debate closes; and decidedly in opposition on all points.¹ I do not think the bill will pass.

I sent M^r Clemson and your Uncle the report on my land bill.² I suppose you will not be much at a loss in tracing the style and turn of thoughts to its author. I hope they received their copies.

The Session I fear will be very long. I have little hope of getting off before the warm weather drives off the Northern members.

¹ See Works, III, 506-531.

² Bill for the cession to the new States, on certain conditions, of the public lands within their borders. Printed in Works, V, 242-248. The report upon it, presented by Senator Norvell, is printed in Calhoun's Works, V, 208-242.

It will be too late to go [by] way [of] Charleston so that I cannot take with me the pigs of the fine breed of hogs, I was so desirous of obtaining. Mr Clemson had better write to his sister and say to her, that I shall have no way of taking them with me. I am under great obligation to her for the offer, and had I returned sooner would gladly have accepted them.

My health remains good. My love to all.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Senate Chamber 8th June 1840

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . As to the Presidential election, my impression remains unchanged; that Gen^l. Harrison will be defeated, and such, I think, begins to be the prevailing opinion here.

As far as I am concerned I think the indications are very favourable. I certainly never had more control over measures, and I think the publick opinion is gradually coming round to our principles and policy. I keep one great object in view, to which I make every move subordinate; to expelling the whole system of federal consolidation measures, and to give the government a fresh start, in the state rights direction. If it can be accomplished, it would be one of the most remarkable revolutions ever effected without force and would give the Government a new lease for its existence. As far as I can learn, publick opinion remains sound and undisturbed in our state. . . .

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 5th July 1840

MY DEAR SIR, I have been so much occupied one way and another for the last few weeks, that I have got quite in the rear of my correspondence, which, I find, has so accumulated, that it will require a good deal of brevity in my answers to bring it up prior to the period fixed for an adjournment.

¹ Original lent by Mr Edward Spunn Hammond, of Blackville, S C

It always gives me pleasure to hear the views of my friends, even when we do not entirely concur, and so far from being fatigued with what you call long letters, but which do not appear so to me, that I have read all of yours with pleasure.¹ It is difficult to compare views on great points in the form of a correspondence, as one question runs into another, so that it is impossible to take a correct view of any one point, without embracing the whole field of politicks. This is particularly true at the present juncture, which, if I do not mistake, is one of the most remarkable in our political history. It is the great turn of events, and the direction, which they may take in the next 5 or 6 years, will in my opinion in a great measure decide the future destiny of our country. I would be glad to go over the whole ground with you, and do hope, you will make us a visit next fall, among other things to compare our views and talk over the points, on which we have touched on in our correspondence, and others immediately connected.

I send you a copy of my remarks on the bankrupt bill. I hope you received a copy of the report on my bill in reference to the publick lands in the new states, which I sent you some time since.

You will have seen, that the Constitutional treasury has become a law. It is a great step, and if executed and carried out in its true spirit, will effect a great, permanent and salutary change in the moral, social and political condition of the country.

Among other things, it will prove to have a direct and favourable bearing on the Tariff question, which runs far deeper into the currency question, than is generally supposed. You ask my opinion as to the principle, on which it ought to be adjusted. My aim shall be, to bring the whole duties, as far as I possibly can, to one uniform ad. val: as low as the economical wants of the treasury will permit; say about 10 per cent. It will probably be found that some relaxation will be necessary; that is some articles to be admitted lower and some higher, but they ought to be made on proper reasons, founded on fiscal considerations.

¹ See Hammond's letter of May 81, in Part II, *post*.

I am not prepared to say, what is the prospect of a satisfactory adjustment. There will doubtless be strong resistance to a fair adjustment; but I should think the Tariff party is much weaker now, than it has been at any period, since the late war, and I have no idea, that they dare venture to claim farther protection, than what may result from the adjustment of the duties, within the revenue limits, say 20 per cent, as the extreme, favourably to the manufacturers.

I shall take much pleasure in rendering all the aid I can, in conjunction with your member, to obtain a midshipman's warrant for M^r Patterson's son; but I fear, it cannot be done this session, as our state, I understand, has more than its complement at present. It is possible at the next session, should we have no vacancy, that some one of the Western States may permit his name to be charged to them, as is sometimes done.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 5th August 1840

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . I find the state very quite. In this District there are four candidates for Congress, Co^l Norris, M^r Powell, Co^l Doyley and D^r. Butler; the three former opposed and the latter in favour of Harrison. It is thought that the Doctor, though in a minority may succeed, unless there should be a concentration on one of his opponents.¹ Co^l Calhoun and Bayley Barton are opponents for the State Senate.

Co^l Pickens has no opponents, but I was surprised to learn, that there is so much Harrisonism in Abbeville. I heard more of it there than from N. Carolina there; and I would not be surprised if they got up an opposition to Co^l Pickens, who is absent at the Virginia Springs, before the election comes on.

Your reflections on the presidential canvas are perfectly just. It is disreputable to the country, and reflects disgrace on its intelligence and morals. . . .

¹ Dr William Butler was in fact elected.

To Andrew Pickens Culhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 10th Aug^t 1840

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . This state is relatively quiet, though there is a sprinkle of Harrisonism, more or less, all over the state. In this District it is pretty strong, as far as I can learn, but in a decided minority. There is a good deal in Abbeville to my surprise. The party had a meeting last Sale day at Abbeville and nominated a full ticket for the Legislature and Starks of Hamburg as the opponent of Co^l Pickens. They had, I understand, the folly, after several speeches on their side, to invite discussion, and report says that they were completely put down by Wardlaw and Burt. Dr. Arnold is the soul [of] the party.

I enclose a copy of my answer¹ to the request of the Democratick Republican party of New York to deliver the address at the late anniversary, in which I give, what I conceive is, or ought to be, the true issue before the country at this time. You may form some opinion of the principles of the party there, when I tell you, that they so approved of my answer, as to publish 10,000 copies. This speaks well. . . .

*To Armistead Burt.*²

Fort Hill 20th Aug^t 1840

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I am glad, that the Harrison convention had the folly to invite discussion. All accounts concur in representing your's and Wardlaw's replies as triumphant. The effects must be happy, and will, I doubt not, stay the spread of Harrisonism, which is neither more nor less than old federalism, tainted with anti mason and abolition, and turned demagogue of the lowest order.

I would not be surprised, if the effect of your replies should prevent the intended attendance of Thompson, and Preston, to address the party on Sale day. I know his feelings against me are as bitter as they can be; and the more so, because I have given him no cause of offence and have neglected to

¹ Printed separately, and also in Works, VI, 313-318.

² Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

notice him. He has carried his enmity so far, that he does not recognize me, and would no doubt feel compensated for the trouble of attending and making a Speech, if he thought it could in the least injure me. Should he attend and speak, it will be altogether in the ranting, declamatory and denunciatory style. He ought certainly to be replied to, and, I hope, yourself and Wardlaw will be present and meet him. No man is more easily refuted, as his arguments are loose and assertions bold and unguarded. Be well prepared as to facts, cool, strong and decisive, and a victory over him will be easily achieved, while it would be worth achieving, for his party has given him high reputation, for effect. I would not be surprised, if he should strike at M^dDuffie, should he not be present. Would it not be well to give him a hint, so that he might be on the ground, ready to take a part, if necessary?

Everything seems quiet in this quarter. There is but little excitement, and it seems to be considered as certain, that D^r Butler is in a decided minority, though he may be elected, in consequence of the division on the other side.

We are all well, and M^{rs}. C joins her kind regards to yourself and Martha.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 25th Sep^r 1840.

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . Co^l Gadsden is with me, on his return from a meeting at Ashville of the direction of the rail road. Not a sufficient number attended to do business. They adjourned to meet in November in Charleston. Tennessee has withdrawn by mutual consent, from those concerned, and all idea of going beyond Columbia openly abandoned. Thus ends the humbug, with a debt of several millions on the state, great loss to those concerned, and the loss of credit and mortification to the projectors. If I could triumph, when state and friends have suffered, what a triumph I would have!

The Co^l is getting along well. The road to Columbia will be finished next year, and, he thinks, will pay; and the stock of the company, now that common sense and honesty have the direction, is on the rise; and will probably be at, or above par in a few years, notwithstanding all the losses.

As to the election, I should say from all indications N. York will decide the contest, which ever way she may vote. It is certain, that let who may come in, the administration will be weak, which is perhaps the best result for our principles and interest. I would fear a decided victory and a strong administration either way, under existing circumstances.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 1st Nov^r 1840

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . We have nothing new. The state has gone with great unanimity against Harrison, though from every appearance he will succeed. It will bring in its train, a great change in the political condition of the country; and give great importance to the next session. The unanimity of this State will give it great weight; and it is not at all improbable, a reaction may take place, that will result in a more complete restoration of the constitution and reform of the government, than could be effected by any other course of events. In the midst of many discouraging circumstances, there are not wanting some that are not a little encouraging. . . .

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Fort Hill 2^d Nov^r 1840

MY DEAR SIR, I had hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you ere this, and of conversing with you fully in reference to many questions connected with the present crisis; but as I now have but little prospect of meeting you, I write to touch on one, or two, that will soon call for action.

It is probable, that Harrison will succeed, and he even may by a large vote, but with powerful minorities in all the states that vote for him. I see that there are already some Speculations as to our vote. It seems to me, if we should stand alone, as some absurdly think possible, we ought to vote for Van Buren; not that he is, or ought to be a favourite, but that it has become a point of honor and expediency, and the

¹Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

greater the minority, the stronger both. The case, I think, different as to the V. P. It seems to me, that in no event ought we to vote for Johnson,¹ unless our vote should be the casting vote; but in that case, we ought, as bitter as would be the pill. It would not do to vote for Tyler. It would confound our position, and destroy our influence. Nor to throw away our vote, or vote for a third individual, in the case supposed. It would greatly weaken the state and throw the whole responsibility on me, as the Senate, in that case, would have to choose between the two highest.

In any other event, it strikes me, that the state ought to vote for Polk, or Tazewell;² and of the two the former, were he a candidate, but I understand, from an authentick source, he is not, and that he is a candidate for reelection, as governor, and that the state will probably vote for Johnson, should the Republican party succeed. Under that view, I should think it best to give our vote to Tazewell, as evidence of our high regard for his character and devotion to the principles we hold in common. If such should be our vote, it would be well, that an article should appear in the Carolinian placing the vote on its true ground, a regard for the man and his principles, but without reflection on Johnson.

I hope that everything will be done to avoid distraction and to keep the state quiet and united. If Harrison should succeed Union at home may be necessary, not only for the Safety of the South, but of our free institutions. It would be better for the South to have a monarch at once, than a \$50,000,000 bank located in Philadelphia, or New York. It would be to create a master, under existing circumstances—a master without interest in us, or regard, or sympathy for us, and which would look to us exclusively as a subject of plunder.

I would be glad to hear from you before the meeting of the Legislature, and frequently during the Session.

M^{rs}. C joins in affectionate regard to yourself and Martha. How is the health of Brother William?³ I have not heard from him for some time.

¹ Col R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

² Littleton W Tazewell, of Virginia.

³ Mrs. Burt's father.

To Andrew Pickens Culhoun. P. AND M. C.

Fort Hill 22^d Nov^r 1840

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . The utter overthrow of the administration will give deep interest to the approaching session. The Whigs are shouting and rejoicing over their brilliant victory, as they call it; but, if I do not greatly mistake, it will prove the cause, among other things, of their speedy and utter overthrow. It will be hard to divide the spoils among such a host.

I regard the fall of those in power, as the result of a deep principle of retributive justice. All the old sins of Jackson's time have come back on them; and, although I deplore the mode, in which they have been put down, and the immediate grounds on which it was done, I am not prepared to say, but what it will, in the end, contribute to a more thorough reform than could have been effected by the opposite result. Individually, I have nothing to regret. Their fall illustrates the truth and correctness of my course, for the last 15 years. Had the party followed my advise, they would not have experienced their present defeat, and they can only retrieve their loss, by coming to my ground. I shall go into no contest, that has not for its object, the thorough reform of the Government and the restoration of the Constitution, according to the old Republican principles and doctrines; and such is the unanimity of the State and the force of her moral character and position, that no opposition can be successful, in which she does not take a prominent part. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

c. c.

Washington 13th Dec^r 1840

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received yours of the 6th and am not at all surprised, that you found things so much out of order. Stevens had totally neglected everything, so much so, that I could not take the least pleasure in going over the place on my return last summer. Whatever may be necessary for the place, you will get. I wish everything to be put and kept in good order,

I am glad that you found it so little troublesome to mend the breach in the embankment. It rained all night and day where I was on the road and I felt fearful, as it was the first heavy rain after the water was let in, that there would be some giving away. I think it would be advisable to continue on the embankment, till it is made secure.

The weather has been so bad, that I fear the out door work has been much interrupted. It is now raining and thawing, with very sloppy streets.

I arrived here on the 9th and wrote M^{rs} Calhoun the next day. I hope she has received my letter.

The political world is calm, as it usually is after a warm contest. There is much speculation in reference to the Cabinet of the new administration, but no certainty as to who will compose it. The impression is, that the influence of M^r Clay will prevail. From all appearance, the session will be a very quiet one. The finances are in a better state, than was anticipated, which is an important point. It will embarrass the Whigs, as they hoped to have a publick debt, on which to build a bank.

I had a letter from Andrew since my arrival. His cotton will not equal expectation, which I find is turning out generally to be the case. I wish the little I make to be ginned and baled and put away safely. I do not intend to sell till after my return. . . .

*To A. D. Wallace.*¹

Washington, 17th Dec^r. 1840

D^r SIR, You ask me a question not easy to answer. There is no satisfactory work extant on our system of government. The Federalist is the fullest and, in many respects, the best, but it takes many false views and by no means goes to the bottom of the system. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and the report to the Virginia Legislature by Mr. Madison on the Alien and Sedition Acts take far deeper and more correct views, but are less full. The South Carolina controversy with the General Government develops and carries out

¹ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mr. Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia.

those views more fully, but have never been collected and can only be found in scattered pamphlets and essays. I regard Story's Commentaries as essentially false and dangerous.

I would advise a young man with your views to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the history of the free States of antiquity and the history of England and our Country, and to read the best elementary treatises on Government, including Aristotle's, which I regard as among the best. To this must be added a thorough knowledge of political economy, and of his Country in all its relations, external and internal, including its resources and the character of the people. But all this leaves much that can only be acquired by actual experience. Let me add that all other acquirements are of little avail, without the power of speaking and writing well, both of which, in free communities like ours, are indispensable to success.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Washington 26th Dec^r 1840

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter gave me the first intimation I had, that the Whigs contemplated taking up the individual you refer to for the Senate. I had supposed, after what had occurred, he would be to them the most obnoxious man in the Union, and the very last they would select. But there is no knowing what sudden and unexpected changes may be made in such corrupt times. It is not much less surprising, they should select the man they have to fill the collector's place.

As to the subtreasury, you will have seen, that M^r Clay has already moved its repeal, and the part I took in the debate, which is fairly reported in the Globe, but infavourably, as usual, as far as I am concerned, in the Intelligencer. I had the good fortune, in my remarks, to obtain the approbation of all sides, even Clay's friends. I disagree with you, that we ought to agree to the repeal. I do not despair, (if we can preserve it,) of defeating the National bank. There will be found great difficulty in getting one. We must run the hazard of the bad management of the Subtreasury to defeat the bank. That is all important.

It seems to be agreed, that Webster is to take the State Department, Ewing of Ohio, the Post Office, Crittenden to be attor^y Gen^l, and Seargent probably the Treasury and Bell the War Dep^t.¹ It is also thought, Clay assents to the arrangement, with the understanding, that he is to have the succession.

The policy of the party is clearly to create a national debt, and, out of the stock, to make a bank, and, with the two, establish a tariff. Nothing can be done in reference to the last this session.

I will always be glad to hear from you. What did you do in reference to the rail road?

My love to Maria and Eliza and family.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill [Washington] 3^d Jan^y 1841²

You need never fear, my dear daughter, that I would ever think you egotistical, should you speak ever so much of yourself. There is nothing, that concerns you, that is indifferent to me, or in which I would not take more interest, than if it concerned myself individually. I regret deeply to learn, that you do not consider yourself better; and, although I know with what fortitude you bear affliction, I cannot but hope, the weariness from long confinement within doors, which must more or less effect the sperits of those of the greatest fortitude, has made you regard your case less favourably than it really is. Nature is always at work to repair derangements in our system, and, although the process may be slow, with youth and a good constitution on your side, there is much to hope, where the disease does not prove to be so strong as to gain ground.

Without any knowledge of medicine or treatment that would be proper in your case, I would say, that strict care in regard to diet, eating sufficient and no more, of what is nutritious and easy of digestion, combined with as much exercise, as is consistent with the case, and agreeable and cheerful society are of great importance.

¹ Ewing was made Secretary of the Treasury; Sargent was not in the cabinet.

² Though dated "Fort Hill," this letter was evidently written at Washington.

You must not read too much, or do that, which tires, or worries you, and as highly, my dear Anna, as I prize a letter from you, you must abstain from writing to me, till your health improves; as I cannot doubt from the posture, in which you are compelled to write, it must be very fatiguing. You must get Mr Clemson and your mother, when they write, to put in a paragraph for you.

I am glad the boys are sent to the dancing school, that is, if the master is a competent teacher. It is a desirable accomplishment, and an almost indispensable appendix to the social intercourse of the two sexes in early life, so necessary for the happiness and accomplishment of both. Tell James, that he must not despair of contracting graceful accomplishments. All he wants is to try. Mr Clemson's full and satisfactory communication and his devoted attention to the place, puts me entirely at my ease, as far as my business is concerned. I have no doubt he will do better, than I would, if present.

The weather is exceedingly sharp and clear today, and I think it is the best sleighing I ever saw. The snow is perfectly dry and the surface very smooth.

New Year's day was exceedingly inclement. It blew and snowed the whole day. I attended notwithstanding the levee, a thing I would not have done in such weather, had not the incumbent been defeated. Many, I suppose, attended from the same consideration. It was, however, but thinly attended, and, I must say, dull. There were no refreshments; the omission of which, I regard, as a great want of taste, as the day was bad, and it was the last occasion during this administration.

I do not go to any parties at all, and can give you but little news of the gay world; but I understand, that the city is very dull, and that there are but few ladies from abroad.

Our Mess this year is small, but agreeable. We have but one lady, Mrs Starkweather, the wife of a member of that name from Ohio. She is a native of Providence, Rhode Island, and is quite an agreeable woman. Thus far, the session has been very quiet, and I think is like to continue so.

I am glad to learn from Co^l Pickens, that Eliza is about to pay you a visit. It will add much to your society, and, I hope, she will remain with you during the winter. I look forward with pleasure to the time, when I shall return and

join you all. These annual absences from those most dear to me are great drawbacks, which nothing, but a deep sense of duty could make tolerable to me.

My love to all.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Washington 24th Jan^y 1841

MY DEAR SIR, . . . We are getting along slowly with business, but I am inclined to think, the better for being slow. As there will be a change of administration, it seems to me, all that can be properly postponed ought to be, in deference to the popular will, which has decreed the change. Under this impression, I had hoped, that we should have a quiet Session; but the Harrison leaders in the Senate seem determined that his administration should commence before his inauguration. They are pushing forward most of their leading measures in order to prepare the way for a national bank; the repeal of the Subtreasury, the distribution of the proceeds of the publick lands, bankruptcy &c. We are now engaged in a warm discussion of the distribution scheme. I spoke yesterday against the unconstitutional and iniquitous measure at large,² and was replied to by Mr Webster. The debate is like to become very warm. Mr Webster took the bold ground of the right and expediency of raising revenue from impost to distribute among the States, and proposed with that view to lay duties on Wines Silks and the like! I regard the fate of the coming administration as staked on the question; and, wonderful as it would seem, Preston, Thompson, Dawson³ and others appear to be disposed to support it. If it should succeed, it would be fatal. There is no end to the extent of plunder which would grow out of it.

I am in the midst of a great pressure of business and you must excuse a short letter. My love to Martha and all relatives.

¹ Original lent by Mr J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

² Speech on the Land Distribution Bill Works, III, 560-583.

³ William C. Dawson, of Georgia, Member of Congress, 1836-1841, Senator, 1849-1855.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 26th Jan^y 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I find, I am quite in arrears with you in our correspondence; your last three letters remaining to be acknowledged, which you must attribute to my many engagements and, among them, a heavy correspondence. You have kept me so fully informed on all points connected with the plantation operations, that I seem to myself to understand what is going on almost as well, as if I was at home. It is a great relief to me.

You must, indeed, have had much trouble and great delay with the breaches in the embankment, the heavy rains and the deranged condition of the plantation, and must have exercised great vigilance to get along as well as you have.

I am happy to hear, that you think Anna something better. I have been exceedingly uneasy about her, but still hoped, that with her good constitution, if she got no worse, a favourable turn would take place, which I am happy to think may be the case.

We are in the midst of a very exciting debate. The immediate question is the proposition to divide the revenue from the lands among the states. I spoke on Saturday to a very crowded house,¹ and was replied to by Mr Webster. He took the broad ground of the right to assume the state debts, and to charge the assumption on the impost; that is, to compel the states out of debt to pay the states in debt, and charge it on the foreign exchanges of the country, or, what is the same, the export states. I regard the proposition as the most wicked and unconstitutional ever made; and that if it should succeed, the Government would be subverted; and yet it is the measure on which the new administration has staked itself, if we may judge of its course by those who one would suppose have a right to speak for it in the Senate. The battle will be severe, but I do not despair of defeating it, especially if the new states do their duty manfully. The final question will be between this profligate scheme, and the measure I have proposed. If we defeat it, the administration of Harri-

¹ See Works, III, 560-582.

son will be defeated, and, if not, the Government will be, as far as the great objects for which it was created is concerned. . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 17th Feb 1841

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, I have been much-longer delayed in answering your last letter, than I intended, owing to the active part I had to take in the land question. I had to make three speeches;¹ all of them with considerable preparation in advance, and after delivered, I had to draw out from imperfect notes. That, with a continual run of visitors and attention to the ordinary business of the session, has left me few spare moments, for the last three weeks, which will account for my falling so much in arrears with my home correspondence. But, I delivered the last of my speeches to the printer yesterday, and have just commenced with bringing up my back correspondence, begining with yourself. By the time that is done, I shall have to take up the Odious business of directing franking and sending out speeches and documents, which will take two or three days, when I hope to have leisure for the residue of the Session, to attend to my preparations to return home and be with you all, which I so ardently desire. I am so retired from the world of fashion and amusement here, that you will not expect a newful letter from me; and I am glad to find you have another correspondent here (Co¹ Pickens) who will supply my deficiency in that respect. The debates in Congress have flaged for the last five or six days, and, I suppose, will continue dull the rest of the Session. As the time approaches, the office seekers begin to flock to the city and set seige to Gen¹ Harrison; who I understand is profuse of promises. It is almost distressing to see him. He is now in his 69th year, with the full share of infirmity belonging to that age, and very little of even the physical strength necessary to encounter the heavy responsibility belonging to his station; yet, as unconscious as a child of his difficulties and those of his country, he seems to enjoy his elevation as a

¹ Works, III, 532-615.

mere affair for personal vanity. I called on him, and he received me, as I understand he receives everybody, with all familiarity, as if we had been old cronies. I staid but a few minutes. Day before yesterday, he came into the Senate Chamber, while the body was in session. I did not see him when he came in, nor did I know that he was in the Chamber. I was sitting in my seat (the one I occupied when you were here) with my face towards the front entrance into the Chamber, and the Gn^l was in the lobby behind the V. P. chair. I had my back toward him. I felt some one tap me on the shoulder, and turning round, low and behold it was the President elect. I felt the awkwardness of the situation to both him and myself, and rose and led the way to the lobby to avoid standing up on the floor of the Senate conversing with him and attracting the eyes of all. He followed and immediately began the most familiar kind of conversation, as to the course he intended to take, which, however, was soon interrupted by others coming up. I have given the circumstances of this little incident, as characteristick of the man. They keep him in one perpetual round of visiting and speaking. When I compare all this to the imminently critical condition of the country in many respects, I am at a loss to anticipate what may come. The only hope is that he may be perfectly passive and leave it to the strongest about him to take the control. As bad as it may be, it cannot be as bad as the absence of all control. I hope, my dear Anna, your health is at least not worse than it has been, though I cannot, but fear, from the tone of your letter to Co^l Pickens and the silence of your mother and M^r Clemson in relation to it, that it is not as good as it was; but I trust my fears are not well founded. I hope soon to be with you and to aid in keeping up your sperits. I think, if there should be no decided improvement, and if it should be possible for your strength to bear it, you ought to visit Charleston with the view to the best medical advice, and the benefit of seabathing, which is said to be excellent, as soon as the season would admit of moving. I send you by the mail that takes this two numbers of different periodicals, in which I hope you may find something to amuse you and to pass away the time. I have not read either. When you are done, put them aside for me to read on my return. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d Feb. 1841

MY DEAR SIR, . . . As to politicks we have little beyond what you will see in the papers. The enthusiasm of log Cabin is abating and in its place discord begins to show itself in the ranks of the Whigs. The Senate will be nearly equally divided, so much so, that it is not improbable, that Preston will have the casting vote on the bank, and, if so, I fear it will be carried. We shall, I think defeat distribution. I had no idea of carrying the cession at this time. It had to compete both with Distribution and Benton's preemption scheme; but when the vote comes to be between it and distribution, it has a fair prospect of success. I sent you my three speeches on the subject of the publick lands which I hope you have received; and now send by the mail, that takes this, a document giving the loss by the banks to the Government and the Community. . . .

To Frederick II. Sanford and others.¹

Washington, 23^d Feb, 1841.

DEAR SIR, I have been honored with your communication of the 15th inst. covering resolutions of the Democratic Republican party, and inviting me in behalf of the committee, and the young men of the State, to address the Convention, to be held at Milledgeville on the first Monday in May. I cannot but be highly gratified with this testimony of regard, coming from a quarter so respectable, and regret that I am compelled to decline the invitation, as I expect to have an engagement at the time, which will not permit my attendance.

Standing as we do on the old Republican ground of opposition to a National Bank, to a protective Tariff, to the dangerous scheme of distributing the revenue from the public domain, to the renewal of illegitimate connection between the Government and the Banks, and in favor of the rights of the States, and the strict construction of the constitution, there is no

¹ A letter addressed to a committee of the Democratic party of Georgia, and kindly copied from the Southern Banner, of Athens, Ga., for May 14, 1841, by Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Georgia.

cause for despair from the recent defeat. It will be but temporary, if we, as a party, shall rigidly adhere to our principles and doctrines. They lie deep in the public confidence, and cannot be permanently shaken while the people shall prove worthy of liberty; but, if we should depart from them, or give them a luke-warmed heartless support, power will permanently change hands, and our political system undergo an entire revolution.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 10th March 1841

MY DEAR SIR, The Senate has not yet adjourned. The Cabinet appointments have all been confirmed and we are now engaged in discussing the motion made by M^r Mangum to rescind the contract with Blair and Rives to do the printing. The debate to day was warm and personal between M^r King of Alabama and M^r Clay of Kentucky, so much so, that it is rumoured, that the latter has challenged the former. It is still uncertain when we shall adjourn, but I hope tomorrow or next day. I shall leave immediately after and have concluded to take the route by Charleston.

The Extra Session is not yet finally determined on.

The city is still crowded with the office seekers, most of whom must go home sadly disappointed.

I defer till I return the other subjects on which I would otherwise write you.

I am rejoiced to learn that Anna continues to be something better.

My love to all.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 13th June 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your letter of the 6th Inst. and one of a prior date and am much gratified to learn that things are going on so well at Fort Hill. The warm and moist weather must have a powerful effect on the crop, and backward as the cotton was will I hope bring it out. My last account

from Andrew was of the 23^d of May. The crop then both of corn and cotton looked well.

I enclose a letter from the Hon: M^r Anderson of Tennessee in reference to the blooded cattle he promised to send me. I wrote him soon after my arrival here requesting him, if he had not sent them to delay till fall, for fear of the distemper. I hope he may have received my letter before he started them, but I fear not, and feel greatly apprehensive that I may loose them from the great heat of the weather and change of climate. If on consulting with M^r William Sloan, or M^r Fredericks you should think that there is hazard, they ought without delay to be droved gently to the mountains and put in charge of some careful person to take care of them there. I have no doubt M^r Sloan would take charge of them with pleasure, and his place being on the summit of the range would afford perfect safety. They are too valuable to be lost.

The Federalists headed by M^r Clay are driving on desperately to effect their object, and I greatly fear will carry all their measures. They will, however, have to encounter a powerful opposition. We have the advantage of perfect concord in our ranks, while there is much dissatisfaction in theirs; but in the end they get together. Several of our Senators are absent, which greatly weakens us. The course of M^r Tyler is doubtful. He is no doubt deeply opposed to Clay, but he is essentially a man for the midle ground, and will attempt to take a midle position now when there is none. Such is my fears. If he should he will be lost.

I hope Anna is entirely recovered from her slight indisposition. My own health is good, though somewhat exhausted by the excessively warm weather.

My love to all.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 28th June 1841

MY DEAR ANNA, I have been intending to write you for some days, but am so completely overwhelmed with business that I have scarcely a moment of leisure left. We set nearly seven hours a day in the Senate, begining at 10 o'clock and

continuing till near 5; so intent are the Whigs on publick plunder. This of itself is enough to exhaust a vigorous constitution, at this hot season of the year; but when you add, the time necessarily consumed out of the Senate in preperation to meet the momentous questions, which are forced on us in such rapid succession and of consultation to produce concert of action, you will be able to form some conception how closely we are engaged, and how little time is left for relaxation, exercise and correspondence. Thus far, I have stood it well. My general health is good, although I some times feel debilitated with the heat, and incessant occupation. I hope our labour will not be in vain. The very existence of our institutions is at stake. We have brought to the ground the old compactly built system of federal measures; funded debt, national bank, Tariff, and illegal and unconstitutional appropriations. The whigs are making a desperate struggle to reconstruct the system, and we to defeat them. We have, I think, gained on them since the begining of the Session. They came here in high sperits, and commenced pushing their measures with audacity. They are now disperited and distracted; but I fear may rally and carry their measures, as they will be utterly broke, if they should not. The course of M^r Tyler is still doubtful. To day we will go on with the bank, unless the death of General McComb¹ should cause an adjournment. He died of apoplexy. It was the third attack.

Patrick has not yet arrived. One of the graduates arrived last evening. He said Patrick had gone to Albany on a visit, and would not be here for several days.

I have received M^r Clemson's letter written just before he left home, and was much gratified to learn that all were well and the crop looking well. His letters are very full and satisfactory. Tell William that I have got his letter, and will answer it the first leisure, and say to James and John, when he returns, that they must not neglect to write and to give me a full account of their studies and progress since I left home, as well as what they have read.

My last account from Alabama was of the 15th Ins^t. At that time all were well and the crop very fine.

¹ Alexander Maccomb, commander-in-chief of the United States Army, died June 25, 1841

Say to your Mother, I will write her in a few days; and that I have not received a single line from her in return to the letters, which I have written since I left home.

I do hope, my dear child, that your health continues to improve. Take every possible care of yourself, and as much gentle exercise, as you can. I do not write this with the view of getting an answer. I know how fatiguing writing must be to you, and you must not think of writing me in reply.

Give my love to all.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 11th July 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I received yours of the 4th yesterday and am happy to learn, that all are well and that the prospect is so good for a crop.

When I last heard from Alabama, the prospect there was exceedingly fine, both corn and cotton, and what is important, in reference to the corn, very early. Andrew says three weeks more so than the crop of '39, which was so fine. Should the present appearance of a good crop be realised, and the price of cotton be but ten cents, the South would be relieved from embarrassment, provided the Government should let us alone.

Whether it will or not is exceedingly doubtful. Clay and the Whigs are exerting every nerve to carry their measures, and resorting to the most despotick and unusual rules to accomplish their object, but the resistance, particularly in the Senate, is steady, concentrated and effective. It is now a question exceedingly doubtful, whether a single one of their measures will pass. It stands on the cast of a die, whether they shall lose all, or carry all. There is a good deal of giving away in their ranks, and still more distraction, which would lead to certain defeat, were it not for the shame and certain overthrow, if a session call[ed] for the purpose of passing their batch of measures, should terminate without doing anything. This and this alone holds them together, and this and this alone will carry their measures, if they should be carried at all.

We are now engaged on the bank bill in the Senate (Clays.) Its fate is doubtful. I do not think it will pass the body. The probability is, that it will be defeated by one or two votes; but that Ewing's bill will be taken up immediately in the other House, and passed through by the previous question and sent to the Senate, where, I think, it would pass and become a law by the Sanction of the President. This I fear, and it is the only thing I do. I should much rather Clay's bill should pass and be vetoed.

Our sittings are exceedingly laborious, averaging about six hours in the day and thirty six in the week. This, at this warm season, combined with a heavy correspondence, reading of documents and preparation for discussion is heavy and exhausting work. My health continues good under it, but I feel jaded; though I take regular exercise, eat and drink temperately and sleep soundly. I walk morning and evening on an average two and three miles a day. I long to be home and be quiet; but unless we can defeat the bank, which I think would defeat all the other measures and terminate the session, I fear we shall be detained here till September.

Patrick is with me. He visited Albany and Saratoga after he passed his examination, which detained him. He passed with reputation, considering his great loss of time by sickness. He looks well and intends to return home in 7 or 8 days, should he receive his commission in that time. The list has not yet been sent on from the Point, and the appointments cannot be made till it comes.¹ Say to Anna, that he will write her in a day or two.

I have in a great measure made up my mind to send John to the Virginia University, where he can select his studies. I do not think he has any taste for the classicks. I wish him to cease their study, and direct his studies to arithmetick, Geometry, English Grammer, if not already familiar with it, writing, including spelling and composition, till I return. If it does not put you to inconvenience, I would be glad you would see M^r Anderson in reference to his studies and request his particular attention to him; and do urge on John the importance of exerting himself.

Give love to all.

¹ Patrick Calhoun was appointed a second Lieutenant on December 15, 1841.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d July 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I am much gratified to learn, that the health of the family remains good and that the crop continues still so promising. I hope that the small surface exposed by the breach in the waste way will not endanger the health of the place, but if that or any other cause should make it the least hazardous to remain on the place, the family had better take rooms in the Village. I hope, however, there will be no necessity. We were 11 years on the place with the mill dam, without a case of the fever.

By the last accounts from Alabama our crop was fine, as could be.

Things here are as uncertain now, as they were when I last wrote you. The only thing, that seems settled, is, that Clay's project of a bank will either not pass, or be vetoed. My impression is, that the probability is, that no measure, for which the Session was called, will become a law except the loan bill. We have certainly gained much on the Whigs during the session. They came here in high spirits and united; but are now distracted and dispirited, while on our side there is perfect concord on all points connected with the objects of the Session.

I sent to you by the mail of yesterday two numbers of the Review, and a few days before wrote to M^{rs} Calhoun. I am astonished to learn from her letter, that she has received but one letter from me since I left home. I have wrote at least a half dozen. Andrew makes the same complaint, when I have written an equal number to him. I know not how to explain it. I hope that there is no espionage over my correspondence.

Patrick is still here waiting his commission, which I hope he and the other cadets will receive in a few days.

Give my love to all. I hope Anna gains strength.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Washington 26th July 1841

DEAR ANDREW, . . . The bank bill is now at the
ssment. We, the Republicans, proposed the question

yesterday, but the Whigs declined taking it, and moved an adjournment. The object of which was to try to obtain a compromise in order to Unite all their force. They stated they would be ready to put the question at 12 o'clock to day, when it will probably be taken. The result is doubtful. It depends on Preston, and Merrick of Maryland.¹ Had the question been put yesterday, it would have been lost; but there is no saying, what the operation of one night may effect. Should it fail to day, great confusion will be the result in the ranks of our opponents, so much so, that I would not be surprised, that the session should break up in 8 or 10 days without doing anything. It would be a most fortunate result. But whether defeated to day, or not, I do not think the bill can become a law. It would, I think, fall under the veto, in which case though the Session would be prolonged, it would end in nothing, except indeed, the contraction of a debt of \$12,000,000. Taken it altogether, the prospect is fair, that this extraordinary session will prove a failure.

I have been so busy that I have had no time to prepare speeches for the press, or send them out. Only two of mine have appeared in pamphlet form, and both of them so imperfectly prepared, that I am almost ashamed to send them out.² I enclose them in this.

I am very anxious to hear from you. Give my love to Margeret and kiss Duff for his grandfather.

*To James H. Hammond.*³

Washington 1st August 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I am truly gratified, that the late Governor's election has passed over without causing distraction in our ranks, at this most important juncture. Much is due to both sides, but especially the defeated, that good feelings and harmony should so speedily follow so sharp a struggle. It is in the spirit of our noble little state.

¹ Wm. C. Preston, senator from South Carolina, and Wm. D. Merrick, senator from Maryland.

² Speeches on McLeod's case and on the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. Works, III, 618-648.

³ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

Your claims, I trust, have only been postponed; and, I do hope, that the unanimity with which you may be elected at the next election, will be such as will more than compensate you for the loss of time. You have no friend, that will be more gratified with such a result than myself.

The state of things here have never been more uncertain, than at present. You have, of course, seen under what circumstances Clay's bill passed the Senate. Could we have got the question on the engrossment the day before, the bill would have been lost. Preston and Merrick were brought in to its support the night before the question was put. In fact the day it was put, it would have been lost, if Tennessee had been fully represented, or had Clayton, or Henderson voted on the compromise amendment. They were both against it, and its defeat would have been the defeat of the bill. The vote on the passage would have been 26 to 25 had Mr Cuthbert and Mr Clayton been present. They would have both voted against it, so that the question of engrossment and that of its passage were carried by my colleague. Such was its narrow escape in the Senate. It seems to be conceded, that should it pass the House in its present shape, it will fall under the veto. To avoid that, the only alternative seems to be, to adopt Ewing's project. Whether the House can be brought to adopt it, or if it should, whether the Senate would concur, is doubtful. Nor is it at all certain, if it should, whether it would receive the executive sanction. If it should become a law, I am of the impression, that both the Tariff and Distribution bills will probably pass; but, if not, that they will both fail, and the session come to a speedy end. The loss of the bank bill, would probably break up the Whig party, and lead to a remodeling of the Cabinet.

In the mean time I have never seen the Republican party so sound as at present—so united both on measures and principles, with so little jar about men. Whatever may be the result of the session, I cannot doubt the overthrow of the Whigs, at the next elections. Discord and division have entered their ranks. The split between Clay and Tyler cannot be healed. They are both aspirants for the next term, and it is now or never for both. Neither will yield.

I voted against Rives ammendment on several grounds. I

regarded both schemes to be equally unconstitutional and objectionable, but of the two it seemed to me that Rives was the most dangerous, because more plausible and likely to impose on the unthinking. The fact, that it would probably receive the Sanction of the President had its weight, but without it, the other consideration would have controlled me.

I shall at all times be happy to hear from you.

*To Martin Van Buren.*¹

Washington 5th Aug^t. 1841

MY DEAR SIR, The gratification I would feel, in accepting the invitation of the New York Lyceum to deliver before them an introductory Lecture, preparatory to their next winter course, would be not a little increased by meeting with your individual wishes; but it is utterly out of my power.

I have been absent, with the exception of three or four weeks, from my family and business ever since the 25th November last, and see no prospect of being released from my official duties here for some weeks to come; which would leave me but a short [period] of a few weeks to remain at home, before the next meeting of Congress. Under such circumstances, I feel it to be a duty, belonging to my domestick and private relations, not to lose a day in my return home, when released from my publick engagements here

I avail myself of the occasion to express the very high estimate I place on the object of the Lyceum. I regard the establishment of such institutions, as a step of great importance, in accelerating the march of improvement and civilization, for which the age is so distinguished.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 8th Aug^t 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, The mail of yesterday brought me yours of the 1st Ins^t and M^{rs} Calhoun's of the 31st July, and I am happy

¹ Ex-President of the United States. Text derived from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, New York. The original is in the Ford-Morgan collection in that library.

to learn that all are well and doing well. I also received a letter by the same mail from Andrew of the 20th July. There has not been a case of sickness on the place and the crop is superb. No worm up to that date, nor any other draw back. He says, if the present prospect should be realised, that it will be impossible for him to harvest his cotton crop, without additional force. I hope, that the getting in of my crop will be pushed from the first, so that my hands intended to be sent out, may go as early as possible.

M^{rs} Calhoun wrote me about M^r Miller's making my negro shoes. I made no bargain with him, but if he will make them as cheap, as I can get them in Augusta, or Charleston and equally good, I have no objection to employing him, and would willingly give him the preference. The leather must be good, and the putting together, whether it be by pegs or thread, must be effectually done. M^r Fredericks had better look at the leather before hand, and M^r Miller furnish a pair, as a specimen, so that there may be no mistake.

I wrote M^{rs} Calhoun yesterday and put under cover to you, in the hope, that it may fair better, than most of my letters to her seem to have done.

I am utterly at a loss to know, why M^r Guyer has not written either to you or myself. He must have got the papers. Judge Carter promised me to deliver them himself. I wrote to him shortly after my arrival here, but have had no answer. I shall write him again by the first private opportunity that is safe. There is something strange about it.

The Bank bill is gone to Tyler, and we shall have his response I suppose in a few days. It will, I little doubt, be a veto, but I fear will leave an opening for a bank in another form, and which will amount to little. Should such be the case, he will gain little, but if he places his veto on high ground, and will carry through his old principles and policy, he may acquire a truly enviable position.

We have got up at last the Distribution bill in the Senate. It is, if possible, worse than the bank. Its fate is doubtful.

I hope Anna may soon leave her bed with safety and that there will be an entire restoration of her health and strength. I am glad to hear, the child is doing so well, and is so quiet. My own health is good. It has been very healthy in the City.

I would, I could be at home and enjoying the fine peaches, which you say are just coming in. You say nothing of the Pears. How do they turn out?

Love to All.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 1st Sep^r. 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I write to say, that the time of adjournment is not yet fixed; but we will certainly adjourn some time next week, say a week from to day. The impatience of the members to leave is so great that they can no longer be detained.

The fiscal corporation will be taken up to day and will, I think, be sent to the President tomorrow. It will be vetoed. The loan bill, the worst of all is before him. It will probably be signed. The Tariff bill, an abominable one, will be passed.

I am overwhelmed with business and have time to add but little more. I shall leave immediately after the adjournment, and will return by Raleigh, Salisbury, and, if there be a stage line, by Lincolnton and Greenville.

I will probably not write again till I leave. I shall not have a leisure moment. I heard from Andrew as late as the 14th. All well and the prospect very good.

My love to all.

To Andrew P. Calhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Washington 12th Sep^t 1841

MY DEAR ANDREW, You will have seen ere this reaches you that the fiscal corporation has been vetoed; that the Secretaries of the Treasury, of War and the navy, with the attorney General have resigned, and that Mr Forward of Pennsylv^a, Judge McLean of Ohio, Judge Upsher of Virginia, and Mr Legare of our state have been appointed in their places. Mr Granger, the Postmaster General has it is said also resigned, but his successor is not yet nominated.

The effect of the double veto is to defeat the bank at least for the next three or four years. That is a great gain; but I

·fear it will in the end lose us as much if not more than we shall gain.

From all I can see, Mr Tyler will attempt a middle course, or rather stop where he is. In his last veto he speaks with approbation of all the measures of the Extra Session, with the single exception of the bank bill.

If he should take the course I suppose, the consequence will be, that he will draw to him all that portion of our party who were opposed to a bank, but in favor of the other measures, or at least not opposed. At the head of these, I regard the Pennsylvania interest. That state is in debt, and is inclined to the Tariff, and is not unfavorable to large appropriations and free expenditures, and I fear disposed to [] with the defeat of the bank; and such I also fear is the feeling of her prominent men in Congress, particularly Mr Buchanan. It is that interest, I am inclined to think, that has been consulted in the formation of the new Cabinet. Mr Forward is a Pennsylvanian and a tariff man, and his appointment to the Department of the Treasury must have a controlling influence over that and all connected measures.

If I am right in these impressions our situation, I mean all who are opposed to all the other measures as well as the bank, will be one of great embarrassment. Tyler will certainly be opposed by the Whigs. If we join in that opposition we shall be confounded with them; but if we oppose them, and defend Tyler and his administration, we shall sink down to the level of their principles and policy, and lose all the fruits of our passed efforts. I say lose all, for a half way victory is no victory at all over the Whigs. It would be sure to react, and draw with it another bank. The system will constantly tend to complete itself, which it cannot do without a bank. The probability of a reaction would be greater than the probability of the system maintaining itself against our attacks, had the bank not been vetoed. Our whole force, in that case, would have been united and impelled on with a zeal and energy, which would have been almost irresistible, and could hardly have failed to lead to a complete victory, a victory worth achieving. Whereas, with our force weakened by divisions, and embarrassed by the position of parties, either in opposing or defending Mr Tyler and his administration, we

have a less prospect of victory, and one less decisive, if it should be achieved.

In this embarrassed state, I see but one way to act, and that requiring great caution and prudence; to stand fast on our principles, propose but few measures, and to oppose or support the measures proposed by Whigs or administration, just as they accord with or oppose our principles and policy. Taking that course, the administration would be so weak, as to be compelled to take shelter under one or the other party, and would more probably under ours than with the Whigs. In fact, I do not see how they can get along, except we should confound ourselves with them, by an indiscriminate defense of them against the Whigs, of which they in fact constitute a part. Every member of the cabinet was a supporter of Harrison, and claims still to be whigs. I fear some of your delegates, through their connection with prominent political men of Pennsylv^a, may be somewhat warped in their feelings. I hope it may not be so, but time will disclose. The great body of the Republican party, so far as I can judge, will stand fast. I shall at least, if I should stand alone. I go for a decisive victory. It is the only one worth having. If Tyler should go with us, I shall give him a hearty support; but if not, I shall not hesitate to oppose him with like decision. Neither friendship nor enmity shall sway me, where the country and its liberty are concerned. . . .

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Oban mine Georgia 24th Sep^r. 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I received your letter just about as I was to start for this place, which has delayed my answer longer than it would otherwise have been.

It is not improbable, that there may have been a failure through the mail in our correspondence last winter. I am not certain whether I acknowledged your last letter received, but my impression is, that I did; but it is possible, that in the midst of my large correspondence your letter may have been received and laid aside among the answered by mistake.

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

Your conception of the State of things at Washington at the time of adjournment is correct. Buchanan has no substantial popularity out of Pennsylvania, and much less there in reality, than his apparent popularity would indicate. Van Buren had made no headway, nor gained anything by his tour, as far as I can learn. My own strength had gained, and was gaining, at least so thought my friends, and I saw nothing to the contrary. You did right in extending the hospitality you did to him, while he was in Columbia. He has no claims on the State, and I have no doubt, that his object was political; yet it was due to the station which he had occupied, and the rank he held, as an individual, in society. As a well bred Carolina gentleman, you could not act otherwise. While I say this, I must at the same time say, that I would regard his election again to the office he once held, a great misfortune. Experience has shown, that he has no administrative talents, which will be the one thing needful in the next presidential term, and I can hardly mistake from indications, that his restoration to power would be followed by converting the party, which is now for the most part sound, into a spoils party again. I am not certain, that it would not be the worst possible result. It would again divide and corrupt the popular party, to be followed, as may be justly feared, by the permanent ascendancy of the Whigs. I can scarcely think that Benton would under any circumstance support Clay; yet it is well known, that he intended to vote for the Tariff, and was probably prevented only by a letter, which one of [the] Virginia delegation showed him from Mr Ritchie, the morning preceeding the vote on the bill. I may also add, that there has been for some time a greatly increased intercourse between him and the Senators from Kentucky. Should he support Clay he would be lost as a publick man. The movement on Cass is mere demonstration originating with the Whigs, who are anxious to bring forward as many on the opposite side as possible, as candidates. His hold on the country is slight. Personally and politically his feelings have been kind towards me; and it would no doubt be thought a stroke of policy to play him off against me. I do not think much can be made of Johnson;¹ and it would be dangerous on the part of Van

¹ Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, Vice-President, 1837-1841.

Burens friends to give him Strength. It might embarrass him. Your remark, that the same men and the same states, that passed the Tariff of '28 passed the present, is very true and as striking as it is true. The motive of M^r Buchanan is easily explained. His state is a Tariff state, made so by the iron business, and still more by the want of decision on his part. He had to yield, or go out of publick life, and to go out in Pennsylvania is to be finally lost politically. He choosed the former. M^r Wright's¹ motives are more difficult to understand. They were probably more complex. His term expires the 4th March next and whether it will be renewed will depend on the complexion of the coming elections in the fall. It is probable, that among the motives for his vote was to save himself, as it is not improbable, that he would gain more than he would lose in the State by his vote, although I do not think it certain, from what I learn. Another motive I doubt not was to conciliate M^r Buchanan and Pennsylvania, neither of whom was favourable to M^r Van Buren or N. York. It cannot be doubted he acted in concert with him; and under his advise and influence. But be his motives what they may, it seems to me certain, that the effect of his vote must be to strengthen M^r Clay and the Tariff interest. To that extent it may be considered as weakening the South and myself, which, however, is probably more than balanced by the tendency to Union in the South, which it cannot but cause.

Your view in reference to the course proper for the State to take at this juncture is correct. Nullification is the extreme remedy of the Constitution, and ought never to be resorted to till all others have been fairly tried and failed. Such was the principle that guided me in '28 We delayed action for four years, and till the debt was paid, that all other remedies might be fairly tried, and only acted after every prospect of relief had vanished, and when the alternative was a permanent division of the surplus revenue among the States and a perpetual Tariff or Nullification. Had I not regarded the remedy, as the extreme one of the Constitution, I would more than two years ago taken my stand on the ground, that the alternative was between nullification and the observance of

¹ Silas Wright, Senator from New York.

the Compromise act. My impression is, if the South will act, as it ought, at the coming Presidential election, we shall be able certainly to repeal the act and place the Duties on satisfactory grounds. I believe four fifths of the party is sound in reference to the Tariff, and that it may easily be made a strictly party measure, if we succeed. If we should fail, and the finances should not break down the Tariff, no alternative will be left, but nullification; but which I do not doubt may then be made under circumstances that will settle the question forever.

I am happy to perceive, that you are likely to be elected Governor without opposition. My impression is, that you ought to take in your Inaugural or Message strong grounds against the Tariff; and to denounce it as unconstitutional, unjust, unequal, inexpedient, anti Republican and pernicious in its effect morally and politically; but at the same time to express your confidence that the great popular party of the country, whose only safe ground to stand on is strict adherence to the Constitution and justice and equality between citizen and citizen, state and state, and section and section, will rise in its might and put it down. It is clear, that the party cannot admit of any palpable departure from this, its great and fundamental principle, without in the end succumbing to the party, whose great aim is special privileges. It would be well, I think, to advert to the circumstances under which the bill was passed, and to express a deep regret, that any member of the great popular party should have voted, from any consideration, in its favour. I rejoice to learn, that your marling process has succeeded so well, and that your prospect of enriching your place is so good. One successful example of the kind will have a most happy effect.

I am here attending to my mining interest. I have been operating on a cheap and safe scale, with a small force. The mine has continued to yield well, but nothing like the first operation, which could not be expected to continue. I shall leave for home in two or three days.

It is only a few, to whom I write on political subjects, and to none have I written more fully than I have to you in this. You will have of course [have] regarded it as intended for yourself. Let me add in reference to myself. I found the

prospect good both in Virginia and N. Carolina. I have no doubt, but that in both States I am by far the strongest. My friends in the latter State intend to make a movement, I understand, in my favour during the next session of the Legislature. If it should be done either there, or in this State, my impression is, that it would be advisable to follow it up in our State. The state, I think, ought not to take a course, that would seem too forward, or too indifferent. It is a point, I rarely touch, in correspondence, or conversation. Apart from a sense of duty, and a desire to do all I can to carry the country and especially the South through their present difficulties I have no desire for the office.¹

*To John Van Buren and others.*²

Fort Hill, 29th Sep^r 1841

GENTLEMEN, The last mail brought me your kind and flattering invitation of the 17th Ins^t, to attend a mass convention of the Democracy of the Counties along North River and Long Island, to be held at Kingston on the 7th next month.

The great distance and the shortness of the notice, will be I hope sufficient apology for not attending.

I am much gratified with the high estimate you place on my service in the great cause of American liberty; and nothing, I assure you, has given me more pleasure, or done more to strengthen my confidence in the success of our cause, than to find, in this, the hour of its severest trial, so perfect a harmony among its friends, both as to principles and measures, over our wide spread and diversified territory. It was, indeed, cheering to behold all, in my section, in this hour of danger, when our opponents, flushed with victory in the recent presidential struggle, rushed forward to raise the fallen standard of federalism, simultaneously rally under the banner of the old Republican state rights party of '98. When I saw that glorious banner waving over our ranks, and the united enthusiasm along the whole line to uphold it, all apprehension for the result of the contest vanished.

¹ The Presidency.

² Copy kindly furnished by Mr. P. H. Hill, of Nashville, Tenn.

As numerous and bold and united as were our opponents—as confident as they were of carrying all their measures at the late session, I never doubted, if they did succeed, but that the period of their victory would be short. I could not believe, when the real issue was made, as it was, between the parties, and the people were called on to decide between Republicanism and Federalism; State Rights and Consolidation; Democracy and an artificial moneyed Aristocracy engendered and fostered by the Government, that they would not long hesitate. Already have events proved that my confidence in their intelligence and patriotism was not misplaced. The recent elections have shown a mighty change in public opinion. That change will go on, if we but prove ourselves worthy of our cause by a rigid adherence to our principles and measures, till our opponents and their cause shall be completely overwhelmed by the swelling tide.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 1st Nov^r. 1841

MY DEAR JAMES, . . . I am in correspondence with Mr King of Augusta, and Co' Gadsden on the subject of the road, with some hope of obtaining aid through Mr McQueen (the agent of the great Steam packet line about to be put into operation in England). He was in Washington last winter, and I took much pains to impress him with the vast importance both to them and us to restore the direct trade between them and the Staple states, and, also, that it could not be done unless by opening the connection between Charleston and the Valley of the Mississippi. He became fully impressed with the importance of the subject and the great advantage, which Charleston possesses from her situation over the ports to the North of her in commanding the trade of the West, at all seasons.

In consequence, I received a letter from him since his return to England on the subject, requesting farther information; to obtain which I am in correspondence with the Presidents. I feel confident, if all the advantages of the route could be fully brought out an impression may be made through Mr McQueen

on British capitalists, that would do much for it. Their trade is deeply interested in it.

Many of my friends think the time has arrived when my name ought to be presented for the next presidency. It is my own impression, that, if it is ever intended, now is the time. The Whigs are thoroughly defeated, and will dissolve, as a party, never to rise again under the same name and form; and as there will be no foe to dread, it will be impossible to prevent any longer the agitation of the subject of the next presidency. If the sound portion of the party do not move, the spoil portion—Camp followers—will select and elect their man, and the fruits of the great victory will be lost. It is impossible to prevent that result but by an early and prompt move by the sound part on their man, with the fixed resolution to stand fast by their principles and their cause. It is not improbable if their views should be concured in, but that the members of our Legislature may make a nomination at their next session. This, however, is for yourself. Personally, I feel little, or no solicitude on the subject. If I know myself I would not accept the place, if proffered by the people, except from a sense of duty. At my time of life it has few charms for me; but if it should be thought, that I can best restore the constitution and reform the Government, I would not shrink from the responsibility. . . .

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Fort Hill 28th Nov^r 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I regret that your engagements would not permit you to make me a visit. I was desirous of conversing with you on several subjects before you went to Columbia, on which we could exchange ideas more fully and satisfactorily than can be done by letter.

Among other points, I wished to have conversed on the course that ought to be taken by the state, in reference to the Distribution bill; but the publick sentiment has been so fully and satisfactorily expressed on it, that little now need be said. I

¹ Original lent by Mr. J Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

do trust, that the state will not only refuse to receive, but also to take the least control over the part allotted to it, and that an able, short, high toned and decisive report will be made on the subject. I trust it will be condemned without a dissenting voice. Such a lead would do much to destroy the measure, and add to the character and influence of the state.

Another subject was the controversy between Virginia and New York.¹ It is one in which this and all the Slave holding States have the deepest interest. Virginia has taken the true course. If she is backed in it, it will bring on an issue, in which we must triumph, if she should be backed as she ought to be by the other States interested. New York is clearly in the wrong and must give away, or be cut off from our commerce, if the ground which Virginia has assumed be carried out, which would establish a principle, that will secure us against the movements of the abolitionists, now and hereafter. It was in anticipation of this state of things, that I made my report on the circulation of incendiary publications through the mail, which I so shaped, as to meet this case, as far back as 1835. I cannot doubt, but the State will back Virginia, and I would only suggest the propriety of passing an act in exact conformity with her's, Authorizing the Governor to put it into operation by proclamation, whenever officially notified, that the Act of Virginia has gone into operation, and to communicate a copy of the act forthwith to the Executive of Virginia. I send you herewith General Bagby's² Report and Speech on the Subject. He acted in concert with me throughout. This however, for yourself.

I also desired to converse fully with you on general politics. The overthrow of the Whigs and of Whiggery itself for the present, and under its present name, marks an important epoch in our political History. We now have, for the first time, an opportunity for a thorough reformation of the Government and the restoration of the Constitution. The many and great abuses in the administration of the Government may now be corrected, and federalism and consolidation be entirely overthrown, and the old State rights Republican

¹ Over the extradition of rescuers of slaves. See Seward's Works, II, 449-518, *passim*.

² Senator from Alabama.

principles and policy established in their place. But, if the opportunity be lost, it will be lost forever, I fear; and there is no small danger, that it will be. The victory is too complete and too long in advance. It will be difficult to keep the party from discord and confusion, and still more so, to prevent the unsound portion, who look more to plunder, than principle, from controlling the presidential election, and turning the fruits of the triumph to their own mercenary purpose. There can be no thorough and radical reform, but through the executive. If an improper choice be made, all will be lost. I perceive that Mr Van Buren's friends are disposed to push him for a reelection. I think, if it should be made, it would prove fatal to the cause. I speak from no personal feelings, but from a full knowledge and due appreciation of all the causes in operation. In fact, no Northern man ever has been, or ever will be, under existing circumstances, a reformer. His position, and its bearings, in reference to the action of the Government, will not permit it. Reformation ever has and ever must come from the South, and the northern portion of the party must be carried by our movements. This cannot be explained in the short space of a letter, but such is the fact.

If my friends should think my service will ever be of importance at the head of the Executive, now is the time. It has never come before, and will pass away forever, with the occasion. I have not the least personal ambition in reference to the Subject; but I do feel a deep interest in a system, to the sustaining of which, I have devoted thirty years, and in the success of which, our safety, liberty and prosperity depends. Should my friends look to me, the great point is to prevent publick sentiment being forestalled, and this may be done, to a great extent, by an extensive correspondence among friends, in and out of the State, and through the press, that may be favourable. I leave it to them to decide what ought to be done, with no personal solicitude on my part. I write with entire confidence in your friendship and discretion.

To ——— *Nicholson.*¹

Washington 18th Dec 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I am obliged to you for the information in reference to your Senatorial election and very greatly regret, that you cannot send us two Republican senators. They would have strengthened us much in this great contest, which is not yet over. It is true, that we have won the victory, but experience has taught me, that in *politicks*, it is much more easy to gain the battle, than to reap its fruits. If I do not mistake, this will prove a much more difficult session, than the Extra. That required boldness, but this *consummate* prudence and Will, combining energy and moderation. I regret your retirement from publick life, and hope it will be temporary; and in the mean time wish you every success in your professional pursuits and happiness in your domestick circle.

It will afford me pleasure to comply with your request in reference to my speeches and documents.

I have not been here long enough to venture an opinion as to the course of events during the session. I find a holding back on all sides; and would say, that the object of the Whigs (the Clay part) is to force us into the relation of opposers, or supporters of Tyler and his administration, so as to give them the control. It is our obvious policy, that they shall not succeed; and hence the disposition on our part to stand silent and fast till they have developed their views. This is the true cause of the inaction, which has thus far characterized this session on the part of the Republicans.

As far as I have observed, the *fiscality* recommended by the Message is far from giving satisfaction to our friends, as well as the Message generally. It is in many respects a very unsound paper; and bears strong marks of the predominant influence of Mr. Webster in the Cabinet. This however, is inter nos. I do not think the President has gained any on the confidence of the party, but still there is a disposition to give him support, as far as our principles and policy will permit, but not an inch beyond. We must look to our permanent

¹ Probably Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson, Senator from Tennessee. The text is given from a copy kindly furnished by Mr. F. E. Shoup, of Columbia, Tenn.

ascendency through them, and not to the divisions, or discord of the Whigs. I shall at all times be happy to hear from you.

Presenting my best respects to M^{rs} Nicholson, . . .

To Wilson Lumpkin.¹

Washington 26th Dec^r 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I have delayed answering your letter² for a few days that I might look round and understand more fully the actual state of things here. You must have been struck with the fact that the session has commenced with great quiet. This results from the state of the parties. There are now three parties; the Administration party or Tyler party; the Whig party proper, or the Clay's; and the Republicans. Either would be glad to see the other two in conflict, and they to have the right of deciding between them; that is, for it would be so in fact, to have the control. But it is the misfortune of the administration party that they must move; and accordingly after delaying as long as it could, the annual treasury Report (the budget) and the exchequer scheme have both been presented. These in turn must be acted on, which must bring out the other two parties; and here we have the advantage. We are in a minority in the government and have the right of being the reserve, and if we act with prudence, the two sections of the Whigs will come into conflict, as it is understood that the Clay wing is deadly opposed to the scheme. This will give us the control. There is no chance of its passing. We regard it as in fact a government bank, and believe that it would terminate in being a mere paper engine as it stands. I find more discretion and harmony among the Republican party, than what I anticipated after so decisive a victory. There is indeed a good deal of eagerness to bring out presidential candidates. M^r. Van Buren's friends have put out feelers for him, and M^r. Buchanan is understood to be openly a candidate; but there is no favorable response.

¹ For a copy of this letter, owned by Governor Lumpkin's daughter, Mrs. M. A. L. Compton, of Athens, Ga., the editor is indebted to Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Georgia. Wilson Lumpkin (1783-1871) was Member of Congress from Georgia, 1815-1817, 1827-1831; governor, 1831-1835; Senator, 1837-1841.

² See Lumpkin's letter of November 15, in Part II, *post*.

The sense of the party is against agitation at present; and more disposed, as far as I can judge, to make principles and policy the controlling consideration, and to select the individual that they may believe to be the best calculated to carry those of our party successfully out in practice, than I have ever before known. It is all we can desire; and our friends have accordingly cheerfully acquiesced in what is understood to be the general sense.

I have no reason to be other than satisfied with the prospect before us. The South I think will be united, and their union cannot fail to control the other and more divided sections. Our friends are in good spirits, watchful, prudent and confident, and have little fear that the public sentiment can with vigilance be forestalled. That is the point to be guarded; and for that purpose nothing can be more efficient than a judicious and concerted correspondence. Let every one have in mind that now if ever the government must be reformed and the Constitution restored.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 31st Dec^r 1841

MY DEAR SIR, . . . We have not got more than fairly under way. In the Senate we are engaged in the discussion of the Exchequer Scheme presented by the Executive. It fares badly. No side is disposed to take it. The whigs assault it, with Tyler and the administration, especially Webster, with great bitterness. I refer to the Clay wing. Having gained the Victory, we assume a tone of moderation toward all sides, especially towards the weaker branch of the Whigs, the administration, while we firmly maintain our principles and the line of policy we have adopted. I regard the Whigs as destroyed. They can never again rise under their present name, nor on their present measures.

Their is but little open, but a good deal of under action on the presidential question. The general sense of the Republican party seems to be adverse to any movement for the present in reference to it, and my friends have acquiesced, I think, wisely in it. Buchanan is said to be openly in the field in

Pennsyl^a; but, as far as I can hear, but with a feeble response in the State and none out of it. The move is, in my opinion, unfortunate for him. I regard it the reverse, as far as I am concerned. Van Buren's friends have put out a feeler in the Albany Argus. The response has been unfavourable even in N. York. My friends are zealous and sanguine, though discreet. There appears to be little danger of forestalling publick sentiment, as I feared when you left me. The State of the country is such, as has brought the people to reflect, and they are more disposed to select in reference to fitness for the office, and less to be lead, than I have ever known them to be. On the whole the prospect is fair; even more so, than I had anticipated. From present appearance the South will be united. I am very pleasantly quartered on the Hill, near to Hills, at M^r Houston's, with an Alabama mess. The board is good, and the mess pleasant. My health is good.

Let me hear from you as often as convenient; and as much in detail about the Island and all, as your engagements will permit. What have you heard of your property at the East end of the Island?

To James H. Hammond.¹

Washington 31st Dec^r 1841

MY DEAR SIR, I am much gratified, that you have been selected, as the Candidate for the next Governor and that everything has gone off so well. It is the glory of our own little State to act with a sperit of liberality and patriotism unknown to the other states.

The course you prescribe to yourself is wise and patriotick, and I have no fear, but that you will so execute it, as to pass through your term with honour and popularity.

We are not more than fairly under way in the Senate. The Exchequer scheme is under discussion. You will see by the papers, that it fares badly. No side seems disposed to support it, at least in its present form. The Clay Whigs are very bitterly opposed to it, as well as to Tyler and his admin-

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

istration, especially Webster. We take a moderate course. The battle is over with us. Both wings of the Whigs are prostrated. They can never be reconciled, and, if they could, can never rise under their present name nor on their present measures. All that now remains for us is, to reap the fruits of our great victory; a thing in politicks much more difficult, than to beat the enemy, as experience has long since established.

There is very little open agitation of the presidential question. The sense of the party is decidedly against it; but there is not a little under action. My friends are zealous and sanguine, though discreet; and, if I may be permitted to speak, where I am personally interested, I regard the prospect as fair. The state of the country has brought the people to reflect, and they appear to me to be much less inclined to be lead and more to be governed by the qualifications requisite for the office, than I have ever seen them. The South, I think, will be united. Mr Buchanans friends have made a demonstration in his favour in Pennsylvania, but there has been but a feeble response in the State, and none out. The same may be said of an attempt in favour of Mr Van Buren in N. York.

As to myself, personally, I take but little interest. If I know myself, I would not accept the office, if profered, apart from regard to friends, and duty to the country and the cause for which I, and my friends have so long contended. I have passed the period, when it was an object of ambition; but even in my youthful day, I ever held it subordinate to the principles on which I acted.

The conduct of Great Britain is outrageous, but the Government is in no condition to make an issue of arms at this time. The finances are in a wretched condition, and the Executive as feeble as can be. We must get things right at home, and begin seriously to prepare. With energy and Wisdom on the part of the Executive, the difference might be settled without war. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 23^d Jan^y 1842

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Everything here, connected with the session, is in a state of uncertainty, except the defeat of

the whigs. They are now endeavouring to harmonize, but it matters not. Devided, or united their fate is fixed. The fate of the Bankrupt and Distribution acts is still doubtful. The loan bill has in a great measure failed; and the Whigs have been obliged to ask for an issue of treasury notes. I spoke to day at large,¹ and showed that the only remedy to meet the demands on the treasury was retrenchment and economy, for both of which there is ample scope; and yet, so infatuated is the party, that although the treasury is empty and the credit of the government down, they cannot be forced to reduce expenses.

The Presidential question begins to be a good deal talked about, but still, there appears an indisposition to any open demonstration. I think, I wrote you, that Buchanan is openly in the field, but he is making no progress. Co^l Johnson has been nominated by his friends in Kentucky, but his case is hopeless. The days of heroes are over, and available candidates too. Van Buren, it seems to be admitted, does not take, and my friends are daily become more and more sanguine. My own impression is, that events are taking the direction, they desire; and that the difficulties of the country, and the disorders of the times are turning more and more the eyes of the community on me. I regard myself, as a dispassionate judge; for, personally, I have but little desire for the office.

I shall be glad to hear from you as often and fully as you may have leisure to write. My health remains good.

To James H. Hammond.²

Washington 4th Feb 1842

MY DEAR SIR; Although you are so far from the scene of action, your views are so substantially correct on all points, that I have nothing to add to your reflections on the Presidential question. My friends are of the impression, that things are doing well in that respect; but M^r Pickens, with whom I presume you correspond, will give you fuller and more detailed account than I can.

¹ Works, IV, 44-78.

² Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

I enclose my remarks on the Treasury note bill, in which I go into the subject of the estimates and expenditures for the year.¹ You will see, that the waste of the publick funds must be enormous. I have but little hope, that much can be done to correct the abuses at present. My object is to lay a foundation for correction hereafter, when power shall have passed into the hands of the Republican party, and, with that view, to have the question of reform, to bear on the coming presidential Canvass. It is only by giving it a leading influence in the Canvass, that a thorough reform can be effected. I would be glad, if you have leisure to prepare an article, to have the speech published in the Carolinian, accompanied by appropriate remarks, calculated to call publick attention to its importance. Our hope to keep down the Tariff depends on keeping down the expenditures. The Whig party is effectually divided and distracted. Clay's Wing is much the strongest, as yet, but the force of patronage is against him, which will probably turn the scales the same way, in the end. His and Tyler's friends are exceedingly hostile to each other.

M^r Adams' movement has caused much excitement.² It is the first open development of abolition towards disunion. I have no doubt, that his object is disunion. There has always been a portion of the old federal party in favor of it in N. England.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

c. c.

Washington 20th March 1842

MY DEAR DAUGHTER, I have received since your arrival at Havannah three letters; one from Patrick, immediately after your arrival; one from yourself, about eight or ten days since, and one from M^r Clemson by yesterday's mail; and I need not say to you how happy I am to learn from each, that you and the child are well, and that your health and strength are both improving. M^r Clemson thinks you look as well as ever and speaks highly of the good health and appearance of little Calhoun.

¹ See Works, IV, 44-78.

² John Quincy Adams's action in presenting the Haverhill petition for disunion. Von Holst, II, 471-478.

I read your letter with great interest, and you must continue to give me such graphick and detailed information of all that strikes you, whether of the place, the people, or their habits or institutions.

You, of course, hear frequently from home. I received a letter day before yesterday from your mother. All are well and she is as busy as ever. I do not think, she will be able to meet you in Charleston, as M^r Clemson proposes. I had hoped you and M^r Clemson would have spent the Summer with us. It would have added much to our happiness; but if he should determine otherwise, I hope, that you will at least make a run up to Pendleton and spend some time before you turn your face to the North. It would give your mother and family and all so much happiness to see you.

I have been exceedingly engrossed with my publick duties for the last month, which will account for my not writing sooner to you; and am still so, and shall be for the next month to come. Circumstances have forced me to take a prominent stand on all the great questions, that come before the Senate. I have spoken at large on the Treasury note bill (of which I sent M^r Clemson a copy) on the Veto,¹ of which I now enclose a copy for him, and recently on M^r Clay's resolutions,² which I have now to prepare for the press.

The Speech on the veto has been received with almost universal approbation; and has had a wider circulation, than any speech for a long time. It is said that nearly 46,000 copies were circulated from here. This will surprise you, when you read it, for it comes up almost to nullification. It is in fact but the premises, from which it irresistibly follows.

My speech on M^r Clay's resolutions, took also well. Many of my friends think it the most effective I ever delivered. It was, for me, unusually long. I was two hours and a half in the delivery. I will send M^r Clemson a copy as soon as it appears, and at the same time answer his letter.

In the midst of my labours, I still continue to enjoy good health, but not without slight colds occasionally. I take good care of myself; exercise regularly when I can, and rarely go out in the evening.

¹ Works, IV, 74-99.

² Works, IV, 100-139.

I will postpone the chapter on politicks till I write to M^r Clemson.

Washington has been, I am told, rather gay during the Season. We had Lord Morpeth¹ for a while, who made some Stir. He is a quiet, gentlemanly man. He brought me letters, but I did not see much of him; nor did I desire, as he had so little feeling of propriety as to attend an abolition meeting in Boston, as it is said, and to express himself kindly of them and their movement.

You must not expect as long letters from me, as I hope to receive from you. If you saw how many I had to answer you would almost pity me. Give my love to M^r Clemson. Kiss Calhoun for his grandfather.

P. S. I omitted to mention M^r Dickens and his Lady.² He brought me letters and I saw a good deal of both of them. He is rather good looking; but not strikingly so; young, fair complexion and a pleasant countenance, with easy simple manners. Not very marked for anything, that I could see, but nothing in the slightest degree offensive. He was very politely and civilly received, but with nothing of the ridiculous parade of Boston and N. York. His Lady is quite homely and somewhat countrified in her manners, but I would say amiable and sensible, of which I think she gave proof by continuing at her needle all the time, when I visited them in the morning, except when she took part in the conversation.

*To Druff Green.*³

Washington 2^d April 1842

DEAR SIR, I have read your letter with interest, and am disposed to concur in most of the views you have expressed, as to the designs of England. It is surprising to me, that the State[s]men of the Continent do not see, that the policy of England is to get control of the commerce of the world, by controlling the labour, which produces the articles by which it is principally put in motion. Humanity is but the flimsy

¹ Afterwards Earl of Carlisle. He had been chief secretary for Ireland from 1835-1841, and was afterward, 1855-1864, lord Houtenant

² See Forster's Life; and R. C. Winthrop's A Fragment of Autobiography, pp 61-63.

³ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

pretex—too flimsy, one would suppose, to deceive any but the most shallow and inexperienced at this late day. The United States are the principal obstacle in the way of accomplishing this great scheme of ambition, and hence the hostility towards her.

My engagements are such, that it is not possible for me to prepare the Review you request of the Tariff question and the points adjusted by the Nullification controversy; but I enclose two speeches, lately delivered, which have a bearing on the subject of your request and contain part of the information desired.

On the question of War, or peace, all I can say is, if England in reality desires peace, there is no danger of War. There is a good deal of feeling of resentment at the outrages perpetrated on the rights and honor of the country; but still the deep pervailing feeling is for peace, if it can be preserved on fair terms. Of this I partake, and the more so, as I regard the period as unpropitious for the assertion of our rights. The Administration is exceedingly feeble in both Houses and not less so in the Community. M^r Clay has succeeded in keeping the great body of the Whig party together, and rallied under his banner; and M^r Tyler has not succeeded in conciliating his old friends, though they give him their support, whenever they can consistently with their principles and policy. The finances are in a wretched condition, caused almost exclusively by the fixed determination of the Northern Whigs, supported by M^r Clay, to force on the country a high protective Tariff. Hence the withdrawal of the revenue from the land from the common treasury and the refusal to restore it, even with bankruptcy staring the government in the face; hence the effort to keep up the expenditures of the government at the highest point and to increase the debt, and hence all that confusion and disorder, which has delayed or prevented Congress from promptly adopting efficient remedy for the restoration of credit and putting the finances on a solid foundation. I did not suppose it was possible for any party to act with such perfect folly or on motives so purely selfish.

It remains to be seen, what effect the withdrawal of M^r Clay from the Senate may have. I anticipate that it will remove much of the difficulties which have impeded the prog-

ress of legislation; but still I fear, that the policy of high protective duties will prevail for the present, to the ruin of our reviving Commerce, the embarrassment of the country and alienation of those, whose friendship we ought at this time to propitiate.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 3^d April 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote Anna some time since and requested her to inform you, that I had received your letter of the 6th March and would answer it in a short time. Since then, I have been much occupied with my publick duties and correspondence connected therewith, to which the delay of the fulfilment of my promise of answering your letter is to be attributed. I enclosed my letter to Anna in a package containing a letter to Patrick and my speech on the veto power to you. I hope, that the package has been received, and that it arrived before Patrick left. I am anxious that he should receive my letters. My remarks on the veto has had an unprecedented success. It has been well received by all parties; and has I think put an end to the question. Clay has left the Senate and prudently declined to put his anti Veto resolution to vote, and to call up two other connected resolutions to amend the Constitution.

I now enclose another speech on a series of resolutions, which he introduced as his farewell move; the object of which mainly was to put up the flag of the protective system anew. It has also been well received and arrangement has been made to circulate a very large edition.¹

We are getting along very slowly and not well. The Administration is very weak. It has not one open advocate in the Senate; and not more than 4 or 5 in the House. It is unsteady, without fixed purpose of any kind, except to create a third party and without sagacity. Webster is regarded as the controlling spirit, and he has become almost universally odious. There is no confidence in him. His integrity is questioned by almost all of any party. Owing to these causes, Clay has

¹ Works, IV, 100-140.

been able to detach the almost entire body of the whigs from the administration, while they have failed to make any impression on the Republican ranks. We support them whenever we can consistently with our principle and policy, but are often compelled to oppose their measures.

To this weakness of the administration much of the difficulty of getting along is to be attributed; but it is not the only cause. The Clay wing of the whigs, or at least the northern portion, are intent on restoring the protective policy in its full vigour; but they dare not openly assume the ground of laying duties for protection. To create a pretext for laying high duties for revenue, the income from the publick lands has been surrendered to the States; and every effort made to keep up the waste and extravagance of the Government to the highest point, even beyond that of the period of a large surplus, which the Government knew not how to expend. So intent are they on this object, that they are ready to sacrifice the credit and honor of the Government to accomplish it, and, if it should be necessary, to effect their object, its very existence. It is to be hoped, that the withdrawal of Mr Clay from the Senate will weaken this portion of his party to such a degree, as to destroy their predominant influence, so that we may get clear of the Distribution bill and bring the expenditure of the Government into some reasonable limits. That done, its credit may be easily restored, and its finances placed on a safe foundation. If that should not be done, it is hard to say, what may not happen. Should their scheme be carried out, the credit of the General Government will ere long be as bad as that of some of the States, which have refused to provide for the interest on their Debt.

As to the Presidency, my friends think, that things are going on well. It seems now to be admitted, that Mr Van Buren is the only one that can stand in my way, and the impression is strong that he is making no headway, while I am constantly gaining. The movement in Mississippi, to which you allude, proved to be a small affair and has turned out to be an entire abortion. It is said that every Republican paper in the State is in my favour, except perhaps one, and that doubtful. Both of the members of the House of Representa-

tives are warmly my friends; and it is said that Walker¹ is also in my favour, though he has not yet openly avowed his preference. He is decidedly against M^r Van Buren. He (M^r V) has little strength in either the Senate or the House, while, on the contrary, it is believed that there is a decided majority of the party in Congress for me. He is now on a visit to General Jackson, no doubt with the intention of bringing him out in his support but many think, it will be more injurious than beneficial to him should he succeed. On the propriety of making an open move my friends are somewhat divided. The great body is against it, and think that well enough ought to be let alone, and such is the inclination of my opinion. Every reason would be on that side, if there be no danger of forestalling publick opinion. As yet there would seem to be none. The difficult and critical State of the country is probably against forestalling. The people are brought to a pause and seem disposed to look around. The more that is the case, the more is it in my favour. The present is but illustrating the truth of my past course.

In the meantime, my friends are far from being idle. Much is doing by correspondence and conversation, and by giving me a wide hearing. They are very sanguine; and take much more interest in my success than what I do.

Tell Anna I got her letter of the 20th March yesterday and that I shall answer it shortly. I am happy to hear from you and herself, that her health is so completely restored, and that Calhoun is growing so finely. He must really be a fine boy from what both of you say, after allowing for the partiality of parents. . . .

Give my love to Anna and kiss Calhoun for his grandfather.

To Andrew Pickens Calhoun.

P. AND M. C.

Washington 3^d April 1842

MY DEAR ANDREW, . . . I sent you some time since my speech on the Veto. It has had an unprecedented run, and been more universally well received, than any I ever delivered. That speaks well, for it is but the premises from which State

¹ Robert J Walker, at this time Senator from Mississippi.

interposition is but the conclusion. At no prior period would it have had such a reception.

I now enclose my speech on Mr Clay's series of resolutions. It was intended for his farewell measure, and to run up the flag of the protective policy again. Our friends intend to circulate a very large edition. It is needed at this time.

Your remarks on the origin of the present pressure are perfectly just, as are also your reflections on the danger to which it exposes us, and the consequences to which a false step would now lead. There is, indeed, a good deal of danger in our present position. The administration is very weak. It has literally almost no friends in either House; it is weak, unfixed in its purpose, except to get up a third party—a Tyler party, to which all its measures lead, but with little sagacity or foresight. The result is, that Clay has been able to detach from them almost all the Whigs, and those that remain are mercenary office seekers for the most part, while they have not secured the confidence of the Republican party. We support their measures, whenever we can, consistently with our principles, but have often to oppose them.

If in addition to this condition of the administration, you take into consideration the object and policy of the Clay Whigs, which still constitute a majority in both Houses, you will not be surprised, that business should get along so badly. The great object with them to which all else bends, is to get up another protective Tariff. They dare not go directly for protection, and to effect their object, they resort to every means to raise the expenditures and to cut off the revenue. Hence the surrender of the income from the land; hence their zeal for a debt, and hence the absence of all efforts to retrench the expenditures. So intent are they, that they see with indifference the loss of publick credit, and I believe, if the existence of the Government should depend on it, they would hold on to the distribution bill, rather than to increase the revenue by the addition of that branch of the customs. I never before witnessed such pure selfishness in any party.

It is to be hoped that the withdrawal of Mr Clay from the Senate will deprive the northern tariff wing of his party of their present preponderance. If it should, and the publick lands be restored, and proper retrenchments be made, publick

credit may speedily be restored, and the finances placed on a safe foundation; but if that be not done, it is hard to say, what may not come.

There is no doubt, that M^r Van Buren is on an electioneering tour and that his object is to get Gen^l Jackson to endorse his pretensions. Thus far, he has made no headway with the publick. He is obviously losing ground. It remains to be seen, whether Gen^l Jackson can change the current. I think not. I judge from the efforts already made and the state of our publick affairs. The people are brought to a pause and are looking around, to understand the cause, which has lead to the present state of things. The more they reflect, the better for me. The existing state of things, but illustrates the truth of my principles and course. My friends are sanguine. It is acknowledged, that I am by far the strongest in Congress. My friends think I have a decided majority of the party in Congress. I have with me the whole Republican members from the South and South West with few exceptions. I have all in Mississippi, in Louisiana in Georgia and Alabama except King, who is inclined to Buchanan, Bagby who is to Benton and Shields, who keeps silent.¹ The rest of your members are mainly for me. Besides the South, I have a large support in the other sections of the delegation in Congress.

Most of my friends think that our true policy is to make no publick demonstration yet; that it is best to let well enough alone. I am inclined to the same opinion. It is certainly the wise course, if there be no danger of forestalling publick opinion by others of which I see none at present.

My friends are sanguine and by no means idle. They take a far deeper interest in my election than what I do. I regard the high office in the light of heavy, onerous duties, which at my time of life, nothing could induce me to assume, but a deep attachment to our country and our institutions. . . .

¹ Thomas Butler King, of Georgia, Arthur P. Bagby, Senator from Alabama; Benjamin D. Shields of Alabama.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 22^d April 1842

MY DEAR ANNA, I read with much interest your letter of the 20th March. You need never apprehend, that your letters will fatigue me. I take too much interest in you and all that concerns you, in addition to the good sense and intrinsic merits of your letters, ever to feel weary in reading them.

The entire restoration of your health, with the continued good health of M^r Clemson and little Calhoun is a source of thankful joy to me. Health is one of the principal sources of happiness, and may the blessing of a kind Providence long continue it to you all. My own health, with the exception of occasional colds, has been good during the whole Session. I heard from home day before yesterday. All were well with the exception of colds and sore throat which have been very common throughout the country during the Winter and Spring thus far. I had at the same time a letter from Andrew and Patrick. Andrew and family were well. Patrick was at N. Orleans, and expected to take his passage to his post, the next day after he wrote.

As it is quite uncertain whether this letter will reach you before you will leave Cuba, I will not make it a long one.

Congress is progressing slowly, but very quietly excepting an occasional outbreak from that mischievous bad old man, J. Q. Adams. It is understood, that the negotiation has opened between Lord Ashburton and the State Department. My impression is that a treaty will be the result and I hope on satisfactory terms. I have seen a good deal of his Lordship.¹ He is a plain, sensible man, and well disposed. I doubt not, that he is anxious to close the difference between the two countries. The late news from Cabool is I think highly favourable, as far as the negotiation is concerned. His Lordship [has] his first dinner tomorrow, and I am one of the invited.

The Presidential question begins to be more agitated. My friends are sanguine and think my strength increases daily. There is no doubt I am much the strongest in Congress.

. . .

¹ Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton, who negotiated the boundary treaty of 1842.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 10th July 1842

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Things are in great confusion here. The Big Tariff bill, as it is called, is before the House. It will pass and be vetoed, and then confusion will be worse confounded with the Whigs. They are a doomed party.

My friends continue sanguine; and my own impression is, that my prospects improve. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 3^d August 1842

MY DEAR SIR, . . . We are engaged in the Senate on the Tariff. I expect to speak at large tomorrow or next day on the passage of the bill. It will pass without amendment, and, I suppose, without doubt be vetoed, when it is probable another bill will be ran through for revenue, so formed as to escape the veto. The time of adjournment is still uncertain; though I think it will be about the 20th Inst.

My friends are in high sperits. They think my prospect fair and daily improving. I had a letter from Anna a few days since. I presume she is with you; and if so give my love to her and a kiss to Calhoun for his grandfather.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 22^d Aug^t. 1842

MY DEAR SIR, I have received your letter, written since your return from Fort Hill and regret to learn, that the indications are less favourable. I hope, however, that it may have improved in the vein to the North East and that we may find profitable operation there, at least for some time. Gold is now so valuable, that it is worth while to seek it, if but small quantities be found. I have such entire confidence in your judgement, that I will not pretend to offer, even a suggestion, as to the best manner of employing your force till I can be out, when we can make it a matter of consultation

I hope it will not now be long. We have not yet fixed on the day of adjournment, but from present appearance, the prospect is, that we shall adjourn in the course of a week, and then without furnishing the means of carrying on the Government. The Whigs are now divided into two parties; one preferring the Distribution to the Tariff, and the other the Tariff to the Distribution; and neither willing to join in a bill simply for revenue with us. They seem to have lost all patriotism and discretion.

We ratified the treaty yesterday,¹ which will give us time and leisure to settle our domestick troubles, without any from abroad; a thing most desirable. I am so overwhelmed by business, that I have not time to give you the news here. My friends are very sanguine.

I enclose my speech on the Tariff;² and Patrick's last letter, which you and Anna will be, I am sure happy to read, as I suppose you have not heard from him, as late. . . .

*To Duff Green.*³

Washington 31st Aug^t 1842

DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 2^d inst⁴ has been received in the midst of the bustle and confusion incident to the termination of a session, and I have but a few spare moments left to acknowledge it.

I do not doubt, that you feel a deep interest in my success. There was no foundation for the rumor of my going into M^r Tyler's Cabinet. I have given him a fair support, whenever I could, but without the least understanding between us.

I have made no change in any opinion I have expressed within a few years on the Subject of the currency. It is a subject of great delicacy to touch and must abide time and opportunity.

I have not received the pamphlet to which you refer.

I hope you will be successful in obtaining the agency you

¹ On Saturday, August 20, rather, the Ashburton treaty.

² In Works, IV, 164-212, three speeches on the tariff are printed, of July 28, August 5, and August 27, 1842.

³ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

⁴ See the letter, in Part II., *post*.

desire, and in carrying it successfully into effect. The revival of credit, on a sound basis, is highly desirable. I would have been very glad to see you before I went South.

I enclose a copy of my speech on the Tariff bill, that was vetoed.¹ You will see my remarks on the one that has become a law in the Globe of yesterday.² The vote of Wright and others of the party on it is destined to have a great effect on political relations of prominent men. It prostrates Mr Van Buren in the South. The whole is much like what occurred in 1828.

My friends are active and sanguine. I shall be glad to hear from you.

*To R. M. T. Hunter.*³

Fort Hill 26th Oct^r, 1842

MY DEAR SIR, I write more to say that I have just received your letter of the 14th, than because I have anything important to communicate. From every quarter, I get favourable information; and the only fear expressed is as to the Convention. It is a point that will need guarding; and among the first precautions, it seems to me, to be taken is, that where nominations are made by our friends, either in local meetings, or by the State, they ought not to be made subject to the decision of a convention, *specifically*, but to abide by any fair expression of the opinion of the Republican or Democratic party. No one who intends fairly, can object to such a course; while it would give us ground to stand on in resisting any attempt through a convention to impose a candidate on the country by management, or against the will of the party. The next is to postpone the meeting of a Convention as long as possible. It ought not to take place before next summer 12 months, in order that public opinion should be brought to bear on it as strongly as possible. I would also suggest, whether it would not be advisable for the Republican members at the next session or the succeeding, to meet

¹ See Works, IV, 117-201

² Ibid., IV, 201-211.

³ The text of this letter, of which the editor has not seen the original, is derived from a copy kindly furnished by Miss M. T. Hunter, of Lloyds, Va., its present possessor.

and express its [their] opinion, as to the proper time and place for holding the Convention, and the manner [in which] it ought to be organized. Finally our friends ought to fix among themselves the rules that ought to be established when it meets to bring out the true sense of the party, so that if there should be any attempt to defeat that sense, they may be prepared to oppose it in concert. It is not impossible, if it be delayed, that the publick voice may supersede its meeting altogether. I am glad to hear, that the indications are so favourable in Virginia. If she goes right, there is no danger. I see Ritchie intimates the call of a State Convention. If one should be, you must be on the alert. I shall write forthwith to Elmore and Rhett, who is to be in Charleston, in reference to some suggestions in regard to Woodbury and [*name illegible*].

*To Druff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 27th Oct^r 1842

DEAR SIR, I received yours of the 16th of Sep^r., accompanied by your letters to the Times, which are well calculated to give the British publick a more correct conception of the character of our political system, than is usually entertained on that side of the Atlantick. Your conversation with Lord Aberdeen and other functionaries of the Government is interesting, and I hope may contribute to placing the commercial relations of the two countries on a better footing. England has reached a point where she is compelled to act on the principle of free trade or resort to violent measures to obtain a monopoly of the trade of the world. But you have done me much injustice in supposing, that I overlooked in my remarks on the Tariff, that Commerce is reciprocal; that if we do not buy, we can not sell. It is one of my maine points, in showing how the Tariff destroys our Export trade, which you must have overlooked in a hasty perusal. I laid down the broad proposition, that imports and exports are reciprocal, and mutually limit one another; that we cannot export in the long run more than we import, and vice versa—a proposition, which I think has never been fully realized.

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma. Wash.

I have never changed any of the views I expressed on the currency, and to which you allude. It would have been wise in '37 to have used the credit of the government, as I suggested, to ease off the pressure. It would have contributed to break the fall; but what would have been wise then, would not be now. Prescriptions in the case of political disease must be governed by the State of the Disease, just as in cases of phisical. The dose that might cure in the first stages, may kill in the last. We have now reached the bottom. The currency cannot be farther contracted; nor in my opinion can it be expanded, at present, by any expedients. The Tariff itself is the most powerful of all expedients to produce an expansion in our country. Its first effect is expansion in one section, and contraction in the other, and finally a general, but morbid expansion; but so adverse is the period to expansion, that I doubt, whether the present, as onerous as it is, will have in that respect much effect. Look at England at this moment. With all her resources she cannot, and if she could, she dare not expand her currency. To do so, would be to sacrifice her export trade, and with it her manufactures. The least expansion, on our part, would be followed by depreciation; I mean expansion caused by the issue of paper; unless, indeed, the paper should be such, that its quantity would be regulated, by the quantity of specie, like that of the old deposite bank of Holland.

If then by the benefit of a cheap currency, you mean the benefit of an expanded one, in my opinion, it cannot be had at present (unless the Tariff should give it) short of depreciation; but if you mean, the substitute of the Government credit in the management of its finances, and that in such form, that it shall follow the same laws with specie itself in its increase and decrease, as I suggested in '37, I have no idea, that such a currency could get support at present, and, if it could, I doubt whether it is the proper time for its introduction. Time and circumstances must govern in all the practical affairs of life, and it is emphatically the case as to currency.

I infer, that you think, the creation of a debt, and the addition of paper to circulation are in fact the creation of capital. I cannot think so. It may stimulate for a time like capital, but the depression in the end must follow.

I have on former occasions, expressed my opinion, in reference to your suggestions, as far as they relate to Post roads.

As to the Presidency, I regard the office wholly in the light of its duties. If the country should think I can best discharge them, it should have my best efforts, honestly and faithfully to discharge its high duties. I have neither pride, nor ambition to gratify. If you should think with me, I would be glad to have you act with me, as old friend; but if not, I cannot expect it, but will regret it.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Fort Hill 27th Nov 1842

MY DEAR SIR, I have by the mail, that takes this, transmitted my resignation to the two Houses, to take effect at the close of the present Congress, the 4th March next.²

It was a matter of consultation among some of my confidential friends at Washington, before I left at the end of the last Session. All agreed, that I ought to retire from the Senate at some period prior to the Presidential election; and most of them thought, I ought not to return to the coming session. After full reflection, I determined to take the course I have adopted, and in answer to a letter of M^r Boyce, on the Subject, I have stated the views, that have controlled me briefly. I have authorized him to show it to such friends as he may have perfect confidence in, and have named you particularly. I wish you to see the letter.

It is my impression, that under all circumstances, it is the course least objectionable, and I hope, that you and other friends, will approve of it. Much will depend on the notice, that the Carolinian and the Mercury may take of it; and I must ask your attention to the former of these papers.

I have for the last 16 or 17 years had no other object in view, but to restore the old state rights Republican doctrines of '98, and have acted under the solemn belief, that on their restoration, the existence of our free popular institutions depended. With the view to their restoration, I placed myself

¹ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

² Resignation from the U. S. Senate.

in opposition to Adams and Clay, after the latter had elected the former President, and carrying with him N. England in support of Mr Clay's American system. The first step in the restoration was to overthrow that system, and for that purpose, it was necessary to expel them from power. With those views, I supported Gen^l Jackson, and after he was elected, seperated from him from the same motives when I found, that he took a stand in reference to the high protective Tariff, and some other subjects, that would defeat the object I had in view, and threw myself on the State, in support of the doctrines, for which I contended. With the same view, after nullification and the compromise act had settled the Tariff controversy by a full surrender on the part of Clay and his friends, of the protective principle, I used the Whigs to bring down the power and influence of the Executive, and force back the party in power to the old doctrines, which they professed, but had almost entirely departed from in practice. That done, and when Mr Van Buren and his administration fell prostrate in 1837, and the Whigs rushed forward to seize the reins of Gov^t. and reestablish their old system, I interposed to prevent it, and sustained the administration at its utmost need. After their fall, in spite of my aid, pursuing the same object which had so long governed me, I joined my old friends, from whom I had seperated, and led on the contest the second time, for the expulsion of the Whigs, that is the federalists from power. The recent elections amply prove, that the work has been effectually done.

What I want to say is, that in this long, laborious, and perilous course, I have been actuated and sustained solely by a sense of duty. I have looked to nothing beyond. I have been anxious for relaxation and repose to refresh myself and attend a little to my domestick and private affairs, after a tour of more than 31 years in the service of the Union; but I stood fast at my post, and cheerfully sacrificed all to effect the great object I had in view. As far as Congress is concerned, that is substantially effected. The Great Democratick Republican party will come in by an overwhelming majority, and what is of vastly more importance, united, I may say almost unanimously, on the old doctrines and policy of the party, saving only on the question of the protective policy; but I am happy

to add that even on that, the most vital of all questions, a vast majority of the party is perfectly sound.

What now remains to be done is, a thorough reform in the administrative Departments of the Gov^t; unless, indeed, a considerable portion should prove recreant in reference to the Tariff, which I cannot believe, and which they cannot do without abandoning the principles of the party and adopting those of its opponents. There is much very much to do, to reform the administrative Departments. It will prove to be a difficult task, requiring vast labor great firmness and no little sagacity. I feel assured, the expenditures may be reduced millions, without impairing the efficiency of the Government, but the work will require the hearty cooperation of the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Gov^t., the former taking the lead; and even then, it will require years to effect it. Congress can do little of itself. It must be the great work of the next administration; and unless it is thoroughly done, all will be lost. If I can be of any future service to the country it will be in carrying through this great reform, and elevating the moral and political tone of the country, and establishing firmly the victory, which has already been achieved; and these can only be effected by wielding the power and influence of the Executive Department. My Congressional task, in short is done. I can do little more there, after this session; and it rests with the people to say, whether I shall be selected to finish the work, which has been carried forward to where it now is.

I have given you this hasty sketch, in hope, that you would have time to prepare a short notice for the Carolinian to accompany the publication of my letter of resignation. It will be sufficient to say, that it is well known to the friends and constituents of Mr Calhoun, that his great object for the last 16 or 17 years has been the restoration of the old state rights Republican doctrines of '98; that he has devoted the last 12 years exclusively to it, and has remained at his post purely from a sense of duty, without any personal motives whatever. That it was for that, he separated from his old friends, while they were in power and at the moment of their greatest strength; that the same motives brought him to their rescue, when most depressed, and when defeated, to take the lead in

expelling the enemy from the citidel; and now that the late elections have shown, that the work is effectively done, he seeks the repose and relaxation, which it is known to his friends he has long desired, and to which he is so fairly entitled after more than thirty years uninterrupted and faithful and laborious service in the cause of the Union. That it now remains for the people of the United States to determine, how long he shall continue in retirement. What now remains to make the great victory complete and its fruits durable, is the entire abandonment of the protective policy, the placing of the duties on impost on a fair revenue principle, and at such rates as the legitimate and economical wants of the Gov^t. may require; to reform the administrative branches of the Gov^t. by thoroughly correcting the thousand abuses, which have crept in; and to carry out in good faith, the great principles, which the party has so nobly maintained against those in power for the last 2 years. That these great objects can only be effected through the executive Dep^t. and will require great abilities, skill, experience, firmness, patriotism and devotion to the cause. These are the great qualities, which the next Chief Magistrate ought to possess in the highest degree, and without which, it may justly be feared that the fruits of the great Victory, which has been achieved, will be lost. It is for the people to say who it is, that has them in the highest degree. I throw out this, as a sort of outline. No one can fill it up with more skill and tack than yourself.

I do not think I ought to go through Columbia at present. If I had concluded to take it in my route, it would [have] afforded me great pleasure to accept your kind invitation.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 23^d Jan^y 1843

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 18th Dec^r. has remained unacknowledged till this time, in consequence of the numerous engagements, which claimed my attention and which have, in a great measure, suspended my private correspondence.

I have no doubt, but that your explanation of the causes, which governed the late Senatorial election and influenced

¹ Original lent by Mr Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

others is the true one. I hope, that the state of feelings, it has caused, will not lead to any permanent division or distraction in the State. Our union and harmony are essential to our respectability and influence as a member of the Union, and ought not to be put to hazard or exposed to danger, unless some great object is to be gained.

I fear our Representatives will be very inexperienced in the next Congress. Pickens and Rhett are by far the most experienced and efficient members of the delegation in the present Congress. The former unfortunately retires at this critical moment, and it is to be regretted, that the other is opposed in his District. I hope he is in no danger. I would regard his defeat as a great misfortune at the present time. Trotti appears to be an amiable and worthy young man; but he is without experience and if Rhett should be defeated, we would have no man in the delegation at once efficient and experienced.¹ You know that I have made it a rule not to interfere in elections in the State, unless occasionally to preserve harmony among our friends; but I regard the present instance as an exception, so far as to write to yourself and one or two other friends, in whom I can fully confide. There is so much at stake, that I feel justified. You have great influence in the District and can do much in a silent way, and I do hope, if you should think with me, that you will exercise it as far as it can be done with strict propriety and prudence. I feel assured in so doing under existing circumstances you will render essential service to the country and our cause at this critical period.

My friends are sanguine. It seems almost certain that M^r Van Buren cannot be elected. It is generally thought he would be defeated, even if he should get the nomination.

I am very glad to learn, that we have appointed M^r Ruffin on the Geological Survey of the State and that he has accepted. I anticipate much benefit to our agriculture from the appointment.

M^r M^cDuffie has the floor to morrow on the Oregon question. Much expectation will be excited. I hope he will sustain himself well. His health has visibly improved since his arrival.

¹ Robert Barnwell Rhett was elected.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 6th Feb: 1843

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . You must not, my dear daughter, think, that I have neglected you in not having written to you sooner. Never have I been so interrupted by company since I have been in publick life. I have scarcely time left to attend to my ordinary official duties. I had determined to set apart a portion of yesterday and the day before to write you; but both days were so engrossed to a late hour, (after making up the mail) that I was prevented. It snowed last night and is raining today, which prevents visiting, and which gives me some leisure, which I gladly appropriate to writing to you, although I have had my speech on the Oregon question on hand nearly for a week, without making much progress.¹ If I am as much interrupted this week, it will take me into another to complete it.

The Biographical Sketch and the Volume of speeches are in the hands of the Harpers in N. York. The former,² I expect will be delivered this week, and the latter during the month.³ M^r Hunter has rewritten most of the latter [former?]; so much so as fairly to be entitled to the authorship. I am to have an hundred copies of both, and will transmit to you and M^r Clemson one of each, so soon as received. . . .

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington, 6th Feb: 1843

MY DEAR SIR, . . . Politicks and political parties are becoming more and more confused. The Whig party still remains devided and bitterly opposed to each other. M^r Tyler is striving to build up a party; but I think with little success; and in the meantime strong marks of division begins to indicate themselves in the ranks of the Democratick party, especially in reference to a Convention. M^r Van Buren and his friends are desirous of an early day, and to choose Delegates in the old way, by State Conventions; while my friends are

¹ See Works, IV, 238-257.² The Life of John C. Calhoun, presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843 New York, Harper, 1843, pp 76.³ Speeches of John C. Calhoun, N. Y., Harper, 1843, pp. 551.

decidedly in favour of a late day; not sooner than the 1st May '44, and to choose delegates by the people. I enclose a pamphlet written by Rhett¹ which will show the ground we assume. It would be well to have it published in the Messenger, with proper remarks. It has here a wide circulation. If my friends should remain firm, as I doubt not they will, M^r Van Buren's will be brought to our ground.

I write Anna by the mail, that takes this. With love to all.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Senate Chamber 28th Feb 1843

MY DEAR SIR . . . I transmitted to you by the mail a Sketch of my publick life, prepared by some of my friends here, which I hope you have received.

My friends think the prospect is good. They are sanguine as to my success. I expect to leave this on the 4th and will take the Charleston route. James will return with me and John will go to the Virginia University. They have both grown much, and are much improved. They are now at Baltimore on a visit.

As to the future prospect of the country, I am of the impression, that the present oppressive Tariff must fall and that shortly. If nothing else, the deep inroad it has made on the income from the impost, will overthrow it. If it was out of the way, things would soon come right, with a little foresight and wisdom on the part of the Government, and we should soon have prosperous times.

I hope you and Maria will be able to make us a visit during the summer. Give my love to her and believe me to be. . .

To Duff Green.²

Fort Hill 19th Feb. [March] 1843

MY DEAR SIR, I received your letter when I was about to take my departure from Charleston for my residence, where

¹ The Compromises of the Constitution considered in the Organization of a National Convention.

² Original lent by Mr. R. P. Maynard

I arrived day before yesterday, which will explain why I have not answered it before.

I presume Judge Upshur has already decided,¹ so that it would be useless to write to him on the subject, to which your letter refers. I hope that his decision has been such as you desire, and in which I concur. I had a conversation with him a few days before I left Washington, in which the subject of a possible vacancy in the State Department was adverted to, and in which I stated to him in that event, if the office was tendered to him, I was of the impression he ought to accept. It would give him a commanding position, in which he might exert a very salutary influence over the important questions that are like to grow out of our foreign relations the next few years.

I am glad to learn, that your prospect is so good, and do hope, that your most sanguine expectations may be realized. You have struggled long and manfully against an adverse tide and deserve success. I have never doubted that your mountain property was of great value; but always feared, that you would not be able to hold on sufficiently long to realize your anticipations. I hope in that I may be mistaken.

What effect has the Richmond movement had?² You see that it has been met with spirit by the Charleston Meeting, and will be by the whole State and I trust the entire South. If it should be met by my friends as it ought to be, it will react on its authors.

With kind regards to M^{rs} Green and your family I remain yours truly

*To Henry St. George Tucker.*³

Fort Hill 31st March 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, Absence from home on business since my return has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your kind

¹ To become Secretary of State. Abel P. Upshur of Virginia did not take that post till June 24

² The reference is to the Democratic state convention held at Richmond, on March 2 and 3, where the following resolution was passed, "That any individual, however eminent, who refuses to abide by the decision of a fairly elected and fairly conducted national convention, and to give its nominee his cordial support, forfeits his claim to the confidence of the party." See Niles's Register, LXIV, 22.

³ Text derived from a copy furnished by Mr. Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia, owner of the original. Henry St. George Tucker, previously chancellor of Virginia and president of its court of appeals, was at this time professor of law at the university.

letter. I shall not fail to avail myself of your kind offer, in reference to my son, and shall say to him, that he must regard you in the place of a parent, while at the University. I am exceedingly uneasy about the affection of his Larinx. He writes me that his disease was much aggrav[at]ed by exposure in the steamboat going down the Potomac on his way to the University, and that he has not yet recovered from the effects of the exposure. His letter has very greatly increased my anxiety about him. It is my desire, if the disease continues, that he should have the benefit of the best medical advice that can be obtained. You would exceedingly oblige me, if you would take the same steps in his case, in reference to this distressing disease, as if he were your own son.

You cannot have less confidence in a caucus or convention to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, than I have. It is with extreme reluctance that I would permit my name to go before any, however constituted, as my reluctance is insuperable to permitting it to go before one not as fairly constituted, as the nature of such an assemblage would admit. Nothing but the circumstances in which my friends are placed, at this time, could induce me to yield to the authority of any convention. The proceedings of the Richmond Meeting are little calculated to add to the authority of such meetings, whether state or general. Its recommendations, if they should be adopted, would create a precedent, which if not reversed, would transfer the control of the Presidential election permanently to a few large non slave holding states to the exclusion of Virginia and the whole South in the end.

I regard the scheme as a cunning devise of the New York School of Politicks and the course of Mr. Ritchie and his associates in adopting it, as base treason to Virginia and all the South. He and they have stuck Virginia as a tail to New York instead of placing her in National position at the head of the South.

I agree with you as to the importance of a press at Richmond. It is time that the authority of the Enquirer and Ritchie should be checked. An able and judicious press there, with respectable subscriptions would soon put a new face on things. Mr. Hunter afforded me an opportunity of reading your manuscript copy against conventions as the

means of nominating a Presidential candidate. There is very little in it, that I do not cordially approve, and I hope that at the proper time it will be published. It is calculated to awaken thought and to do much good.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 2^d April 1842 [1843]

MY DEAR SIR, I had been at home but a few days, when business compelled me to leave. I did not return till the 28th March, when I found your two letters of the 10th and 17th of March among others, that had been received in my absence.

The Richmond proceedings gave a heavy blow against (I will not say us) the South and in their effects, should they not be arrested, against the Constitution itself. I have examined them with care; and I cannot be mistaken, when I say, that should conventions to nominate the presidential candidates become the settled practice, and should the Richmond resolutions form the precedent, on which they are hereafter to be constituted, the necessary consequence will be; that the great central non slave holding states will control the election, to the exclusion of the rest of the Union, and especially the South. It would place permanently the control of the ballot box, the patronage of the Government and the veto in the same hands, and those the least safe of any, in which they could be placed. In other words, it would centralize the powers of the Union, and establish the most intolerable despotism, by virtually subverting the Constitution, as far as the election of the President is concerned, and substituting in its place, the worst possible mode that could be devised. I regard the whole as a cunningly devised scheme of the N. York School, emanating from the brain of Wright and designed to lead to the result, to which it must, if the precedent it is intended to form be not arrested. And what is base; what is calculated to excite the deepest indignation in the bosom of every true hearted Virginian and son of the South is, that Ritchie and his associates should sink Virginia from her high and proud position of standing at the head of the South, to make her the humble and dependent follower of New York—to be her tail instead of the head of the South.

It is not a new thing with him. He began his work in 1829, after the election of Gen^l Jackson. Had he not then deserted Virginia and the south for N. York, Gen^l Jackson would never have taken the course he did. All that I ever anticipated from his election would have been realised, and the flood of corruption which since broke in on the Government and country, and the disasters which have followed would have been staid. I trace all our misfortunes almost exclusively to the fact, that Virginia has lost her true position in the Union, and that to the Wiles and cunning of one man. I had hoped, that he would have returned in good faith, to the old Virginia School of politicks, but of that I despair. The omission of all mention of the Tariff in Drumgooles address is ominous. It proves design to abandon our cause on the most vital of all questions.

I write what I have, as preliminary to saying, that in my opinion, there is but one of three courses left for our Virginia friends; to submit quietly to be placed where the managers of the Convention have put the State, or rather intend to put the State; to break Mr. Ritchie and his associates down, or drive them openly into the camp to which they truly belong. We would be safer with them there, than in our camp. They, in truth, belong to the N. York and not to the Virginia school of politicks. If it is not intended to submit, a paper at Richmond, conducted with judgement, spirit and ability, is indispensable. It is the one thing needful. Such a paper backed by a general organization of our friends could not fail to accomplish the object intended. Break ground against the time, in a decided and spirited tone. Call on the friends of all, who are truly in favour of harmony and desire that the nomination should truly represent the Voice of the party to rally in favour of May 1844. Draw the attack of M^r Ritchie, but when attacked carry the war into Africa. I fear our friends in your state are not prepared for so bold and decided a course; but I feel assured, that properly executed, it is the safest. We ought not to look too exclusively to the election. Our eyes must be kept on consequences to follow beyond.

As to our state, I have no idea, that she will acquiesce in the Virginia proceedings, if she should stand alone; and, if she should, I cannot consistently with my opinion of the prin-

ciples involved and the consequences to follow permit my name to go before a convention to be held at the time and to be constituted, as the Richmond Resolutions recommend.

I am much gratified to learn, that you have determined to run again, and I do hope, that you will run with success. Your presence in the next Congress will be of great importance; and on the course of that Congress much—very much will depend. I do hope that the South will make the adjustment of the Tariff strictly on revenue principles, a *Sine qua non*. It will be impossible to reform the Government, so long as duties are laid for protection—so long as what is a tax in the most oppressive form in one Section, is a bounty, or regarded as a bounty, in the other.

I shall be anxious to hear from you and to learn, as soon as possible, the result of your election. I am glad to see, that Hubbard runs again, and also Smith. I hope Goode will not give away to Drumgoole. I hope the day is not far distant, when Virginia will return to her old mode of self nomination, to the entire overthrow of the caucus system.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 8th April 1843

MY DEAR SIR, It is a little uncertain, when I shall go to Georgia. M^r Clemson may probably go over next week. It will however depend on information, that may be received from there. I delivered your message in reference to Arthur's note, and he will leave it with your sister, ready to be delivered, whenever you may send up for it. I shall attend to your request in reference to D^r. Symes paper. I regret to hear of Polydore's attack. He is a very valuable negro, and his death would be a great loss to you.

Whether there will be an extra session or not, must depend on the state of the treasury and that again on the imports. If they should not increase very considerably compared to what they were during the first quarter, a call session will be unavoidable; but I am of the impression that they will, and that it is doubtful whether one will be called or not. I agree with you, that it is highly desirable, that the Van Buren party

should be compelled to show their hands on the Tariff and the sooner the better. He and his party have twice betrayed us on the Tariff. It was they, who passed those of '28 and '42, and they will be sure to betray us again, unless closely watched. That they intend it, I have no doubt. The fact that Drumgole's address had no reference to the Tariff is itself almost conclusive proof of their intention.

I understand the biographical Sketch has had and is having a very extended circulation. The only real danger is the Convention. That point must be watched with vigilance. I think, on the question of time, we shall certainly succeed. That is important, but the manner of constituting the convention, and how the members shall vote are not less so. I trust we shall succeed in fixing them on fair principles; but I have made up my mind, that I will not permit my name to go before a convention, which is not calculated to bring out fully and fairly the voice of the party. I regard any other as a fraud on the people.

I hope you and Maria will not fail to make us a visit during the summer. We shall be glad to see you. It will give you an opportunity to look at your mountain property. Pickens is becoming quite a gold region. You ought to look to your property at this time. A good gold mine would be of service at a period of such low prices.

All join in love to you.

*To Joseph A. Scoville.*¹

C. C.

Fort Hill 28th April 1843

DEAR SIR, If I do not answer your letters, you must not infer, that I do not appreciate your efforts, or want confidence in you; but because I deem it both proper and prudent, that I should write as few letters as possible.

I concur with you, both in reference to a press in N. York and in Washington. Our cause is based on truth, justice and the Constitution, and only needs enlightened and able discussion to succeed. A Well established and well conducted paper at

¹ From a draft in Calhoun's handwriting. Scoville was a New York journalist, afterwards Calhoun's private secretary. At this time he was editing the Spectator, a Calhoun paper, in Washington.

both points are almost essential. The Spectator is doing Well. The last number is excellent. It ought never to attack, but in self defence; and then with moderation, dignity and power. Purs[u]ing the course I doubt not it will, I have no doubt, it will be well supported and patronized. It takes time for a paper to gain confidence and strength; but in the present state of things, a paper properly conducted at the Seat of Gov^t., cannot fail in the end to acquire both.

Our State Convention will now meet at Columbia in a few weeks, when I have no doubt proper measures will be devised to produce concert of action, and to give support to the cause.

Every thing looks well at the South. I received a letter from John Danthforth of N. London, Con^t. last week. He gives a favourable account of a conversation he recently had with Gov^r. Cleveland, and speaks favourably of the State of things in Connecticut. Do you know him? And also one from P. T. Buchan, of Rochester, N. Y. very sensible and favourable. He thinks, if my views on the Tariff could be fully understood and satisfactorily explained, I would carry the State. Do you know him? And if so, who is he? I also had one from an ardent young friend of N. Orleans, Alexander Walker, who gives a very favourable account of the State of things in Louisana. It would be well to send him a number of the Spectator with some prospectus.

I hear nothing of the Volume of Speeches.² What delays its appearance, and when will it be out? It is desirable that it should be as soon as possible. Every day now is important, in the way of giving information.

How has the life gone out? Has any effort been made to circulate it?

[Fragment.]

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

[Fort Hill May (?) 1843.]

. . . I hope you do not err in supposing, that Gov^r Van Ness will be appointed collector of N. York. It would be a great point, second only in importance to your taking charge

² Speeches of John C. Calhoun, New York, Harper, 1843, pp 554.

of the Spectator, and Georgia and N. H. adopting the District System. It would give us a head and a leader, with great influence and skill, where one is most needed.

I do not think, that my friends ought to be uneasy about the Rhode Island question. The questions propounded by Mr Smith all, except the last, are couched in General terms, and relate to the Federal aspect of the Subject. Thus presented, they will puzzle Mr Van Buren and the other candidates to answer them much more, than they will me. The last asks my opinion on the right of suffrage involved in the question. On that, I am too orthodox to be injured. I have just concluded my answer to his questions, and it is now copying, to be sent. I hold the argument on all the points to be incontrovertible; and that neither of the others can venture to take different grounds, without Shocking the sense of the Community. I feel bound to send it to him, but shall do it, under strict injunction not to publish, or show it to any one, till he gets the answers of the others, which I have no idea will be shortly. I would be glad, that you could see it.¹

I agree with you, that we ought to do nothing, that can fairly be avoided, to alienate the friends of Mr Van Buren; but while sarcasm, and everthing of the kind ought to be avoided, I hold, that whenever he, or his friends take false, or doubtful grounds, as on the tariff, it ought to be exposed to the publick, in a moderate and dignified way; and that we ought to be resolute not to be driven from our ground, when right. I say so, because, I do not in the least doubt, that he and his friends, including Ritchie, intend to betray us again on the Tariff question. They did so in '28 and '42, and if we permit ourselves to be betrayed the third time, like third apoplectick stroke, it will be fatal. The worse possible result of the election would be for us to be wheedled by their deceptive arts to aid in his election, to be betrayed again on that vital question; not openly, for that they dare not, but by their incidental duties, combined with a permanent high rate of expenditures. Do you not notice, that Van Buren in his Indiana letter² speaks of a rate of duty, which would give a

¹ Letter to the Hon. William Smith on the subject of the Rhode Island Controversy (i. e., the "Dorr War"), in Works, VI, 209-239.

² See Niles's Register, LXIV, 188-188, for Van Buren's letter of February 15, 1843, to the Democratic State convention of Indiana

revenue of at least \$25,000,000, and that Ritchie says, that the Tariff of '42 must be essentially *modified*. *The Bill of abomination modified!* There is a volume in that.

On the subject of making a declaration on my part, in reference to discrimination, I must be excused. I can make none. My sentiments on the Tariff stand of Record, and are such as I believe to be true. I maintained them in the worst of times, and against fearful odds, and nothing can induce me to change or modify them. All that can be expected from me is, that I will not change the system of revenue, nor make too sudden a transition from high to low duties. to that, I am adverse and always have been.

It would be desirable to have the cooperation of Beardsley, but I should think, that there is another individual more likely to cooperate with us, and whose cooperation would be more important. I mean Co^l Young, the Secretary of State. I am not personally acquainted with him but should think, from all I know of him that he is talented and independent, and from his position, not well inclined to the side of what is called the Regency. It would be well to learn what are his opinions and inclination, if you can do it through some safe and confidential channel.

Gen^l Saunders address is Hon. Romulus M. Saunders Raleigh N. C.¹ Let me hear from you as often and as fully as you can conveniently.

[P. S] I hear nothing about the publication of my speeches by the Harpers. What is the matter? It is very desirable, that they should be published early. I would be glad, that you would write to them and ascertain when they are to appear and let me know, as well as the cause of delay.

Ritchie, I see, is about to open his columns. The battery must be kept up on our side, especially on the address of our Convention. What pens can you put in motion?

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 3^d June 1843

MY DEAR SIR, The mail of yesterday, brought me your's of the 23^d of June [May], and I am glad to find that you do not

¹ M. C. 1821-1827, 1841-1845, minister to Spain from 1846 to 1849.

dispair of the old Commonwealth. The indication every where South of Virginia is favourable. In this state, there is perfect unanimity and much devotion to the cause. You have of course seen the address of our Convention, and I hope you approve of it. The Georgia Convention meets to day, and I had, before I received your letter, written to an influential member, and enclosed him the address of our Convention, and advised him strongly to adopt the principles throughout, even to Districting. There will be no difficulty, as the districts of the bill vetoed by Governor McDonald can be adopted, which I suggested to him. If Georgia, which is the largest and most influential of the General ticket States, should adopt the District system, it will be decisive. I also wrote to Col Pickens and suggested the propriety of his writing forthwith to Mr Woodbury, and urging him to exert himself to induce N. H. to adopt the same course. Her legislature meets this month, and no time is to be lost. Can you not put other springs in motion there? It is important, and every thing ought to be done, to obtain her concurrence. It would go far to settle the question.

I am glad, that you visited Washington, and have got Scoville out of the Spectator. All condemn his want of Discretion; but I do not doubt his attachment. I agree with you, that he ought to be dealt with liberally; and you may say so to him. I have written to him not more than two or three letters altogether, and they of a character, that can do no mischief, if published. I got a letter from Hart on the difference between them, which I enclosed in the letter I wrote to you or Maxcy on the subject; I do not recollect which. I wrote you both.

Co^l Pickens writes me, that he has written you on the subject of taking charge of the Spectator, and that he was authorized by the Presiding officers of the Convention to offer you \$4000. I do hope, you will find it consistent with your interest and feelings to accept the offer. It would give the paper at once an established character, and wide circulation, and go far to decide the contest, and would put myself and my friends, if possible, under still stronger obligations. I am sure you could not take a step, that would have greater

influence on the contest, and the after history of the country. It would among other things supercede the necessity of establishing a press at Ritchmond. Your Nephew could be your coadjutor, and on your withdrawal take possession of the establishment; which, if we succeed, would give him a solid basis to commence with. You need not apprehend, that I shall take any hasty step relative to the Convention. I am seriously anxious to give it a fair trial, though I have no great confidence, that it can be made tolerable. Ritchie has put himself, and through his influence, put the State in a false position; in that of an associate, nominally, with the other great central States, but in reality, as the tail of N. York; and it is scarcely possible to bring him and those with whom he acts, in and out of the State, to yield to any fairly arranged Convention. They rely on one constituted for the purpose of effecting their design, and will fight desperately for it. Hence, he will be deadly opposed to the address of our Convention. He sees the blow and will struggle to parry it; but, if Virginia shall be true to herself, and my friends stand firm, it will be all in vain. Her true position is at the head of the South (the weaker Section) and of the medium size and smaller States. It is the one suited to her political creed and out of which, in fact, her creed grew; and the only one, in which she can maintain her high standing and influence in the Union. In any other, she must become contemptible and be entirely detached from the South. Her desertion of it since 1828, has caused all our disasters and compelled this state, reluctantly, to take the ground she deserted. We never sought it, and would be glad to yield it to her. If he should ever support me, it will be on compulsion, and because he can do no better. Believe what I say. I know him well and his ways, and to what he is wedded. I agree with you, that the true course will be, at the proper time, to go on and make appointments according to our plan of delegates from Districts. I say, at the proper time; for we need not be in a hurry. November is already abandoned; and so will the other parts of the plan of the Virginia Con[vention]. . . .

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 7th June 1843

DEAR SIR, I hope you had a pleasant and safe voyage, and that the favorable change going on in reference to the credit of the country, will enable you to dispose of to advantage your valuable property.

The course of events, politically speaking and in reference to myself, as far as I am informed, since you left, is such as you, and my friends would desire. There is, I think, no danger of any state South of North Carolina. That State will be taken either by M^r Clay, or myself; and as I regard Clay's chance to be far from bright, I consider the prospect there to be in my favour. Virginia is a doubtful state, but my friends are sanguine. They think the prospect daily brightens. Of the other portions of the Union I will not speak, except to say, I hear nothing unfavorable.

On the subject of the commercial arrangement with England, I think M^r Webster's developement was too sudden, and early. The papers in the various parts of the Union were not prepared to take their ground, and many have gone off in the direction of the Globe. Even in this State, the Mercury rather fell into its traps, under the apprehension, that M^r Webster's object in the scheme, was to divide and distract the anti Tariff interest, by holding out the falacious hope of an arrangement, that could never be made. A friend wrote me from Charleston, to know my views, which I gave him, and hope they may have the effect of putting things right, in that quarter.

I must say, that I have not much hope, that anything satisfactory can be done, in the form of arrangement; although I do not doubt the sincerity of the Government on either side. The difficulties are great; but if an equal and fair arrangement can be made, I do not doubt its expediency. I am for free trade; free trade on both sides, if it can be had; but, *if not*, on one side. It is good in part, but better in whole, for the interest of both countries; and my advice, as far as I have an opportunity of giving it to my friends, is to push without the least relaxation for decided action on the part of Congress, at the next session; but at the same time, to throw no dis-

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

couragement on the attempt to arrange the Duties by mutual agreement; and, I hope, they may take that course. It is, I hold, to be the most certain mode to effect the object they have in view; to strike off the Shackles of Commerce.

I do not concur in the opinion of yourself and other friends that I should travel this summer, or at any time during the Canvass. My judgement is strongly opposed to it. I have never known any one, occupying the position I do, that has not lost by it; and for which many and strong reasons might be assigned. Among them, I believe one of the strongest is, that there is a large, and quiet, but influential portion of the country, who regard the office, as too exalted and too responsible to be an object of personal solicitude, or Canvass, and such I must say is my opinion and feeling. The highest office of the Union ought to be the reward of *acknowledged services*—services long and faithful, and, ensuring a thorough knowledge of our system of Gov^t and deep devotion to the freedom and happiness of the Country. Under this impression, I have made up my mind to avoid anything, that looks like electioneering. I would rather lose the office, than to seek it by means unworthy, in my opinion, of its dignity, and high and responsible trusts. It may be fastidious, but as such are my feelings, I must yield obedience to them.

I shall be glad to hear from you, whenever it may be convenient.

To Thomas G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 6th July 1843

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 16th June arrived while I was absent from home on business, which will explain the delay of my answer.

I entirely concur in the propriety of your suggestions; that our friends ought to organize on Congressional Districts, and that Candidates ought to come out at the proper time on our side, one in each District. But it appears to me, that some preliminary steps ought to be taken. If I do not mistake, we hold in our hands the means of forcing on the friends of Mr Van Buren in Virginia and N. York the choice of dele-

gates by District and the per capita mode of voting in spite of the dictation of General Drumgool.

His friends (V. B.) have been forced, in order to escape from the [awkward] position, which their attempt to have the Convention held in Nov^r., to agree to leave the decision as to time and place of holding it, to a majority *of the States*. You will see at once the advantage which this gives us. It recognizes the principle, that the majority of the States is the proper authority to determine all preliminary questions touching the Convention, where there is a division of sentiment among the friends of the candidates. It is a most important principle, better calculated to give a just control to the less populous states and sections of the Union, in making the nomination, than any other that could be devised; and, let me add, thereby to add proportionately to the Stability of the Union and our free and popular institutions. Without it, the nomination, and through it the election, would be permanently consolidated in the hands of the great States lying contiguous to the centre. Leave it to each State to determine, as Genl Drumgool contends, how the delegates shall be appointed, and how vote, how many shall be appointed, and how their votes shall [be] counted, and it must be obvious, the central and powerful States would control permanently the nomination, and thereby the election and the Executive Department, and through it the whole Government. It would, in fact, place the control of the ballot box and the executive power, patronage and veto in the same hands and thus erect one of the most odious Despotisms that ever existed. It is, in fact, only when the Executive power is under the influence or control of the less populous states and sections, that there is any balance in the system, and it is only then, as experience shows, that it works well. The value of the principle, in question, is that its certain tendency is to give them a just share of the influence and control over that Department. There is a large majority of the States, that are under the medium size and population, and if they are true to themselves, they will under the operation of the principle, establish the most equitable rules for constituting the Convention and governing its votes and proceedings. It will be in the power of New England and the Southern and South Western

states, to protect themselves against the overwhelming vote of the Midle and North western states.

We ought at once to acquiesce in the precedent and the principle it establishes, that the majority of the States is the proper authority to decide all preliminary questions, in reference to the Convention, and some one of the central Committees, say that of Maryland or New Hampshire, ought to immitate that of Indiana, and all at the proper time on the Committees of the Several states to report to the same papers (Globe and Enquirer) the decision of their respective States, as to the mode of appointing delegates and how they shall vote. In the mean time, our friends in all quarters ought to be active by correspondence and discussion to call publick attention to the subject. I regard the establishment of the principle, that delegates shall be appointed by Districts and that they shall vote per capita more important, as it regards the result of the election, and the future operations of the Government, than any other. Too much pains cannot be taken to establish it. It would be in fact, but a consummation of the great victory you effected last year, in the apportionment bill. The two would give a new lease to our institutions. Can you not put Woodbury¹ and our N. England friends in motion on the subject? . . .

*To R. M. T. Hunter.*²

C. C.

Fort Hill 10th July 1843

MY DEAR SIR, I regret, that you could not take the Charge of the Spectator, but doubt not, that you have decided correctly all things considered. I think M^r Smith would do well, and do hope he may essent. He would do much to hold the Globe and Enquirer in check, and would have a fair prospect of obtaining at least a share of the publick printing. I think he could not do better.

I have given the subject of visiting the different portions of the Union on the invitation of my friends full and deliberate consideration, and the more I have reflected, the more thor-

¹Levi Woodbury, Senator from New Hampshire, afterward Justice Woodbury of the Supreme Court.

²See Hunter's letter of June 16, in Part II, *post*

oughly am I satisfied, the proper course viewed every way is to decline; and I had, before I received your letter, written a formal letter declining the invitation of my friends of Cincinnati to visit that place and Ohio. Laying aside all the higher considerations of propriety and general expediency, and viewing it simply, as bearing on the result of the election, and I feel confident, the weight of the Argument is against it. Take even, in that light, the most narrow view. To accept all or the greater part of the invitations would engross my time and keep me continually on the route; which would be alike exhausting to mind, body and character. Before the termination I would feel in my own estimation and would be regard[ed] in that of the publick, to be a mere political electioneerer. On the other hand, to make a discrimination, and accept but a few, would give offense to all others. I could not go to the North, without offending the West; nor to both, without offending the South and South West.

But the truth is, if my opinion was different; if I thought I could gain by it, and even secure the election, I could hardly bring myself to adopt it—certainly not, but for the respect I have for my friends and desire to meet their wishes; so repugnant are my feelings to it. It may be pride, it may be fastidiousness, or a sense of propriety, or the whole combined; but so it is, and I cannot help it. I would be happy to travel quietly, as an individual to see my friends and converse freely with them; but I am adverse to being made a spectacle, or considered an electioneerer, or to take a step, that would, in the publick estimation, indicate a personal solicitude about the office, which I do not feel. But enough of this.

I read the article in the Enquirer in answer to Drumgool's miserable communication, with pleasure. It does much credit to your Nephew.

The nomination of Van Buren in Maine, I regard as more a defeat, than a victory. To obtain nominations by stealth seems to be a part of his established policy. It cannot fail to react.

You are right, as to the course, that the Globe and the Enquirer intend to take. I see the Petersburg Republican understands the game, and has taken good notice of it for a commencement. It is a point he may touch with great effect.

The Mercury just at this time is quiet about the presidential election, and it is perhaps proper it should be so. The elections are pending in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, where our friends for the most part are the candidates; and where the friends of V. B., at least a part, would be glad to have any pretext not to vote. Many of the old, inveterate hacks would prefer the Success of the Whigs to any but their own friends, notwithstanding all the cant about harmony etc. etc.

I infer from an extract from a letter from M^r. Buchanan, sent me by a friend, that his feeling, as you suppose, is adverse to M^r V. B.

The indications are, that the Whigs are beaten in Louis[i]ana. If so, it will greatly damp the hope of Clay's friends. I regard his case as hopeless; and, if such should prove to be the fact, it will be difficult to estimate its effect on the election. In shaping their course, our friends ought to take into the estimate, the probability of the fact.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 6th Aug^t 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, My impression is and has been, that it would be difficult, if not impossible to get up a general organization. It required the aid of office and patronage for M^r V. B. to effect it; and cannot be effected in any other way, except through an opposition, such as Clay heads, and which looks to plunder. Each state and section will have to act for itself. N. England can readily organize.

Our strength lies in principles and position, in which we have altogether the advantage, so much so, that if we had the aid of a single central paper, of established influence, such as the Enquirer, or the Globe, there would be no contest.

In nothing have we a greater advantage than that of position in the question of the Convention. If that alone is well used, it would give us the control of the nomination or force the friends of M^r Van Buren to break up the Convention. We not only have truth, justice and the Constitution with us in reference to it, but what is not always the case, they are sustained by the plausible and the popular. The very fact,

that our position permits us to appeal to a majority of the States to decide the preliminary questions, gives us a control over them; and through them over the nomination, if well used. The great point now is, to push the Discussion in reference to it. In order to open it, I have, (inter nos and in strict confidence) aided in preparing an article in reply to Drumgoole's answer to the S. Carolina address, which has been sent to the Petersburg Republican for publication. You must follow it up.

There will be, I think, no difficulty in getting at the sense of the majority of the states. Most of them have already spoken through their conventions, or Legislatures, and central Committees, or in the case of the question of time, may speak for others, as was done on the appeal of the Indiana Committee; or it may be taken, when the Convention meets, as you suggest. It would, however, in that case be advisable, that our friends every where, should send delegates from Districts. It would greatly strengthen our position. In a confederacy like ours, and on State rights principle, where states act as states, as the Richmond plan proposes, each is equal to the other, and the vote of each counts but one.

I wrote to a friend in Boston, calling his attention to the subject, and suggested the propriety of their Convention making a move on the subject, when it meets next month. N. England and the South have a deep interest in the question.

I received a letter from M^r Smith by the mail before the last, saying that he had received M^r V. B. reply to his questions. I sent mine by the last mail. I have had it prepared for a long time, and wrote him, that I would transmit it, as soon as he informed me, that he had received a reply from any one, to whom they had been addressed. I have made my answer full; in fact covered the whole ground, and in a great measure exhausted the subject. I have requested him to show it to you, if an opportunity should offer. I would be very glad you could see it. My own impression has always been, that the best way was to meet the question; and, if it should be thought advisable, it can be done in no better form, than that in which the questions and answer places it. If he should conclude to publish, would it not be better to have the corre-

spondence put in pamphlet form first and sent to the various leading papers of the Union for publication. It would, I think, give it a more general circulation, and more importance.

To R. M. T Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 26th Aug^t 1848

MY DEAR SIR, Absence from home for a few days has delayed till now the acknowledgement of your letter of the 4th Inst^t.

You will have seen, if you take the Mercury, that the subject of an appeal to the Majority of the States has taken a new turn. A member of our State Convention has propounded two questions to M^r Ritchie, which will throw the onus on him. If he should, in his answer, yield to us, it will open the way to a joint appeal; but if his answer should be the reverse, then it will be for us to take our course. In my opinion it should be bold and decisive, so as to make up the issue at once.

I am happy to inform you, that our friends in Charleston are acting with spirit with reference to funds. On the subject of an editor, I am not prepared to advise in detail. I have full confidence in yourself, Maxcy, and Gen^l Towson, who is a fast friend and has an excellent judgement and who may be safely consulted on all points. We want ability, experience, tack, and sound principles on all points, with known devotion to the cause. It would be better that the Editor be South of Mason and Dixon line. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to get all these combined in any one. Some must be sacrificed; but my impression is, that one thing is indispensable, that he should be *of us, and known to be devoted to our cause and principles*. We must fight the battle on our own ground, and those who join us, must rally under our Standard. We must neither go over nor *seem* to go over to others, but they to come to us. Of the two referred to by you, this indispensable requisite would seem to refer to Greenhow, but what, in that case, would be done with the Petersburg Republican? Who would take charge of it? or would it be transferred to Washington, and the two merged?

How would C. C. Baldwin do for an editor? He has undoubted talents, and his position is good. If the Gentleman recommended by W. should be thought of, his name should not for the present appear connected with the establishment. He is able and experienced, but would be wanting in the indispensable. It would be regarded as a coalition, and place us in a false position. I regard W. as a friend, and you would do well to speak explicitly to him. To stand fast on our own ground is indispensable to victory, or if defeat should be our lot, to prevent it from becoming an overthrow. Standing honestly and fearlessly on our own ground, we must ever have strength and command respect. That, you and all our friends must be cautious not to take any step, which, by consequence, would lead to an abandonment of, really or apparently, from any calculation of increased strength, or victory.

I am glad, that you have opened a correspondence with Mr L. He is an able and experienced man, and can do much. I hope he will be active. I read the article to which you refer. It is well done and will do good, and does credit to his son.

I would be happy to hear from your young friend George Pendleton. Will you say to him? He will make a valuable correspondent in the West.

The result of the election in Tennessee and Kentucky is calculated to make a deep impression. It proves, that both Clayism and Jackson Van Burenism are worn out, and that a new order of things is approaching. It is the time for us to assume openly and boldly our ground. We have nothing to fear, defeated, or victorious, if we be but true to ourselves and our cause. The Mercury will henceforward take a bold and active part. The unfortunate sickness and absence of its talented editor weakened it much for a time, but arrangement has been made to carry it on with vigour.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 8th Sep^r 1843

MY DEAR SIR, I have read with interest your letter. It gives me much important information, which confirms my

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

previous impressions. I have, in the present remarkable state of things, not been inattentive to the course of events in England, and have come to the conclusion, that it would take the turn you anticipate. England has but one alternative; to harmonize her interest with that of the other portions of the civilized world, or resort to force to maintain her pre-eminence. If she adopts the former, freedom of commerce and non interference with the institutions of other nations must be the basis of her policy; but if the latter, she must prepare for universal conflict with the civilized world. The danger is, that she will select the latter. If so, it will present a scene of struggle and violence unparalleled in the history of the world, which will end in her downfall; but if the former, it will open a new page of prosperity and civilization never before known on the Globe.

Strange as it may seem, the discussion of the corn law question and the sugar duties, will go far to decide this great issue. In the advanced state of commerce and the arts, the great point of policy for the older and more advanced nations is to command the trade of the newer and less advanced; and that cannot be done, but by opening a free trade in provisions and raw materials with them. The effect of the contrary policy is not only to cripple their commerce and manufactures, by curtailling exchanges; but to force the newer and less advanced portion to become prematurely their competitors. This England now sees and feels, and that to remedy the evil, the corn laws and the sugar duties in favour of her colonies, must be repealed, or that she must resort to force to maintain her commercial and manufacturing superiority. But, if force is resorted to, the blow will first be struck at the U. States, Brazil and other slave holding countries. The reason is obvious. It is indispensable to give her a monopoly of the great staples they produce, and through them, a monopoly of the trade of the world. The abolition of slavery would transfer the production of cotton, rice, and sugar etc. etc. to her colonial possessions, and would consummate the system of commercial monopoly, which she has been so long and systematically pursuing. Hence the movements in Texas and elsewhere on the abolition subject at this time.

I see by your remarks, you have not formed a correct estimate of the state of things on this side of the Ocean. We are not ignorant of the danger to which you allude, but that is not our only danger. If there be danger from the spoils portion of the Democratick party, there is not much less from the Whig party, which is eagerly looking on to profit by any division in our ranks. It is necessary to guard against both, which requires great caution and makes the movements exceedingly complicated; the more so, from the position of Mr Tyler, who, I understand, is very sanguine.

In the mean time, the elections in Tennessee and Kentucky clearly indicate, the decay of the influence of both Mr V. B. and Mr Clay, and a giving away of the foundations on which they stand. In Tennessee, the influence of V. B. Jackson and Polk was perfectly united without any disturbing cause whatever, and yet that is the only state, in which the Whigs have gained and the Democrats lost ground. As to Kentucky, the result speaks for itself and shows a great decay of Clay's influence.

As to myself, I am resolved, that let the election end as it may, I shall take care not to lose position. I shall abandon no principle, or any position, which I have heretofore assumed. Whether victorious, or defeated, it shall be on my own ground. Victory thus won will be worth having, and defeat, if it should come, will not be an overthrow. But within these limits, I shall exercise as much conciliation, as is consistent with preserving them. Of the two, I would rather risk defeat, than character.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 12th Sep^r 1843

MY DEAR SIR, I have no doubt, but that the cause to which you refer has a powerful effect in the North and North West; and that it has been secretly used by Van Buren and his friends to weaken me. It ought to have been struck at vigorously when his papers first made a point of it against me, and the South, but that having passed, I do not think it would be advisable to move on the subject 'till some new occasion shall offer, which, if it should not before, it will be sure to do, dur-

ing the next session of Congress. The Slave question will then come up in some form, or another; either on the presentation of petitions, or in connection with Texas or the circular, said to be sent by the British Government to its consuls to enquire and report minutely on the condition of our Slaves; when the friends of M^r Van Buren will be compelled to show their hands. If my memory serves me, the N. York Legislature has not yet repealed the obnoxious act against which the act of your Legislature was in part directed, granting Jury trial to fugitive Slaves. If so, it will give a proper occasion to test the course of his friends on that vital question to the South. They have now, or will have a majority in both Houses of their Legislature, and will have no excuse, should they refuse to repeal the act. The question once opened the discussion can receive the direction you suggest, and be connected with the grounds taken by the N. York Post, and the Rochester and Nantucket papers against myself on the subject; and against what, if I am right, M^r Ritchie never raised his voice, or, if at all, in the feeblest tone.

I am of the impression, with you, that M^r V. B. is gaining strength in Pensylvania, but that he never can obtain sufficient to get the votes of the state. I never thought, that Buchanan's hold on the state was strong. The great object of his friends there in rallying on him was to wait events, and I am of the impression, that when the time comes, he will be too weak, or too timid to control the state; I have never calculated, accordingly, that he would have the control of its choice. It will go for the strongest, be he who he may; I mean, he who is most likely to succeed. I have no doubt, that M^r Buchanan is in reality opposed to M^r Van Buren, and would prefer the election of almost any other; but he will not separate from the majority of the state, go which way it may. In a word, to control the state, *strength must be shown out of it*. If her votes can decide the election between V. B. and any other, they will not be given to him.

It is now manifest, that the sentiment of the party is in favour of appointing delegates by Districts and voting per capita. The indications are strong, that both Missouri and Tennessee will decide for that plan; and the question is, will N. York and Virginia hold out for their plan? I say their

plan, for it originated in Albany and Richmond. The politicians that control the two, will never yield but on compulsion. On adhering to it rests their scheme of power and ambition; and on defeating it, rests our hope of reforming the Government and restoring the Constitution. If they adhere, we cannot yield, and a split will be the consequence. In that case, I am decidedly of the opinion, our papers ought at once to come out in a call on all, who are in favour of the rights of the people, and against the dictation of cliques and political managers, to select delegates in each Congressional District, where there are such Districts, as the only means left the people of taking the power into their own hands, and out of those of their would be dictators and managers. I am also of the opinion, that the proceedings of the Syracuse Convention ought to be the signal to move, should it, in spite of the strong demonstration against it adhere to the plan. It would make the crisis, which, if seized, would give us the control; but if not, it would pass from us to them. The bolder and more prompt it is seized the better and more safe. The Petersburg Republican should come out without delay.

I fear my answer to Smith's letter in reply to his questions growing out of the Rhode Island affair,¹ may have miscarried, as I, as well as yourself, have not heard from him, though I requested him to let me hear from him, as soon as he received my answer. I wrote to him by the last mail, to ascertain whether he had got it, or not, and informed him, that if he had not, I would forthwith transmit him a copy. I would be glad you could see my answer and that of the others. I am strongly inclined to think, that at some stage of the contest, the Answers ought to be published. The principles involved are vital, and it is right, that the sentiments of the candidates should be known. I have no fear, that I would be injured. As far as I am informed everything is going on well South of Virginia.

[P. S.] I am glad to hear that Gilmer is right. It is important that Wise should go with us. His letter to your dinner was kind. I read the proceedings at the dinner with interest. What is Rives doing?²

¹ See Works, VI, 209-239, on the Dorr war question

² Thomas W. Gilmer, Henry A. Wise, William C. Rives, of Virginia

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Fort Hill 23^d Oct^r 1848

MY DEAR SIR, I am much obliged to you for the number of Hunt's Magazine, which you were so kind as to send me, and have read the article to which you refer with pleasure. I am glad, that you are engaged on the subject of the commercial legislation of the U. States. It is one of deep interest and badly understood. Since the termination of the late war with Great Britain, that Great branch of industry has been most harshly treated by the Government, to use no stronger language.

Of all the acts ever passed by Congress, I regard the act of '28, as the most indefensible and mischevous. It grew out of the contest between the friends of Gen^l Jackson and M^r Adams for political power, and the Constitution and the interest of the Union was wickedly and shamefully sacrificed to party considerations. A full and accurate history of its origin, its passage and its disastrous consequences is a desideratum in our political history. I have often alluded to it in debate, but never fully. You will find a reference to it, which will give you some facts, in my life, published by the Harpers, beginning at page 32; and also in the volume of speeches etc printed by the same, beginning at page 36 and again beginning 264, and again 372 (it perhaps would be well to begin with 366); but you will find the fullest account in a speech, not included in the volume, delivered in the month of March, I think, 1837 on a bill introduced by M^r Wright to repeal certain duties in violation of the compromise act. You will find it, I think, in a file of the *Intelligencer* of that day.

These references will give you much of the information you desire in reference to that flagitious act. To realize, however, fully its flagitious character, it must be borne in mind, that the high duties which had been previously imposed, had been mainly to pay the debt of the revolution and the late

¹ Original lent by Mrs Francis Wharton, of Washington. Francis Wharton, afterward so distinguished as a publicist and professor of law, was at this time a young lawyer of twenty-three in Philadelphia, who had sent Calhoun a magazine containing his articles on commercial legislation and on the commerce of Cuba,—Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, October, 1848.

war, and that the country had submitted to them in the first instance, and had continued to bear the heavy burthen, because they approved of the object. When that was accomplished, on any principle of honor, honesty and justice, they ought to have been reduced to the lowest point, consistent with the economical and necessary wants of the Government, for its current expenses, after the debt was discharged. Instead of that, by this act of wickedness and folly they were doubled on many of the necessary articles of general consumption, and the burthen of the people, instead of being reduced by the discharge of the debt has been heavier since than they ever had been before in time of peace. It is a curious fact, that in the only instance in which a heavy funded debt has been paid, that I recollect, instead of being followed by reduction of taxes and revenue has been followed by an increase of both, and that in the most popular Government in the world! And what adds to it is the fact, that the party by whose agency it was effected, was that which professed the most popular doctrines, and the portion of the party which professed par Excellence to be the Democracy! I mean M^r V. Buren and M^r Wright and their friends.

I shall be gratified in having an opportunity of perusing the subsequent articles from your pen, that may appear in the Magazine. I am not a subscriber to the work.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 19th Nov^r 1843

MY DEAR JAMES, D^r Anderson will find in my life, page 26, a summary of the results of my economical reforms in the Army proper. The same spirit of reform was carried through all other branches; the Ordenance, the Engineer, the Indian and what may be called the civil disbursements of the Department. The reduction in all these were proportionally great; but they were never collected and reduced to tabular form, and it would be a work of vast labour to collect and compare them with expenditures of like kind, before or since. As the Doctor may not have seen the sketch of my life published by the Harpers, I herewith transmit a spare

copy, which you or Francis may transmit to him put up in pamphlet form, in what will make the postage but a trifle. If I were to transmit it direct, it would not reach in time for the Nashville Convention; and I prefer its going through you or him.

I am much gratified to learn, that you have made a conditional sale of your Millwood property on such favourable terms. I think you have done well to sell. It took more capital than you could command to Develope its resources.

We are all well except colds and all join their love to you, and Maria.

To George McDuffie.¹

Fort Hill 4th Dec, 1843

MY-DEAR SIR, You did right in not answering the letter you enclosed to me. The writer is, as you supposed, one of lo[o]se political notions, as is the case with almost the whole body of politicians in Pennsylvania. I regret much that you could not make me a visit. I had much to say, that could be better said in conversation, than by letter.

You are right in supposing that many of the friends of Mr. V. B are against us on the Subject of the Tariff. Indeed, they have long been so, and that, in fact, has been the cause of all our difficulties since 1828 'till the present time. It was he and his friends, who formed and passed the Tariff of '28, and it was that measure which gave Gen^l Jackson's administration a false direction, and controlled events 'till the suspension of the Bank in 1837. Mr Wright is the real author of that Tariff. He was on the Committee of manufactures, which concocted and reported it, and was its leading member. It was passed in the Senate by the vote of Mr. V. B., Co^l. Benton and his other friends, added to that of the National Republicans. The consequences of that wicked and oppressive measure is to be found recorded in the political history of the country since. To it, all the disasters, which have befallen the country and the party may be distinctly traced.

¹Original lent by Mr J Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C. George McDuffie (1788-1851) one of the most eminent and most brilliant of South Carolina statesmen, was at this time in the U. S Senate. For his life, see O'Neill, Bench and Bar of South Carolina, II, 463-468.

After the Suspension of '37, when V B and his friends fell prostrated, we refused to cooperate with them, except on the Subtreasury and other measures, which we had supported; or to join them in an Address, till they agreed explicitly to renounce the protective policy, and adopt our principles and policy generally. This they did in two consecutive addresses to the party.

After the defeat of Mr V. B in 1840 the whole party boldly and openly took our ground against a protective Tariff, and all the connected measures. No one was more openly and apparently sincerely opposed than Mr. Wright. He continued so till within a short time before the passage of the bill of '42. It was not till within three or four days of its passage, that we heard for the first time, that he and Mr. Buchanan had determined to vote for it, to our great surprise. They put their votes on the false and flimsy ground, that the revenue made it absolutely necessary that some bill should pass, and that was the only one which could, when they could not but know, it would diminish, rather than increase the revenue, as it then stood.

Since then, there have been three State conventions held in N. York; the last of which was the Syracuse, which nominated Mr. V. B. They have all adopted resolutions on the subject of the Tariff as unsound as the doctrines of Mr. Clay and his friends on the same subject. Indeed, Mr. Clay in his late letters has come up almost to the identical language held by the Syracuse convention.

If to this we add, the vague language held by Mr V. B. himself on the same subject, there can be no doubt that we shall again be betrayed, as we were in '28, should he and his friends again get the control. We may rest assured, that those who will play false to get power, will play false to retain it. And let me add, another betrayal would, if possible, be still more fatal to the South, than that of '28. It would demoralize and break us down. The worse that could befall us, would be to put into power the portion of the party opposed to us on the Tariff. They would on that question be supported by the Whigs, which would make all opposition to it hopeless, whereas if a Whig should be elected President,

the whole of the Democratic party would take sides with us to expel him from power.

But, my dear Sir, there is another objection to Mr V. B. and his friends not less fatal, in my opinion, than the Tariff; I mean the mode, on which they dictatorially insist to constitute the Convention. It is calculated and intended to give the control of the nomination, to the large central states, and through that of the election, as far as the party is concerned. If it be permitted, it will give to them the entire control of the Executive Department, which, added to the like control in the House of Representatives, would give them the control over the whole Government. It would unite the ballot-box, the vote and the patronage in the same hands, and leave the Government without a check.

With a clear conception of these results, it will be impossible for me, with my principles and conception of duty, to permit my name to go before the Baltimore Convention, constituted as it now must be. It would be to betray the Constitution and the smaller states, and weaker portions of the Union, that is the South. On that point, I have made up my mind; and I wish my friends so to understand it, in determining what course they ought to pursue. I am of the impression, our friends in Congress ought to have an understanding among themselves what course ought to be taken, and when they have decided, it ought to be made known to all who are disposed to act with us over the Union. If they should decide, that they cannot act with those, whose opinions accord much more with the Whigs, on the vital question of the Tariff, than with us; and who insist on constituting the Convention on such false and dangerous principles, I shall stand by them, be their number ever so few, even if we should carry not a single State; but if they should decide otherwise, it will cause me no mortification or pain to stand alone, on the ground which I feel it my duty to occupy. The approbation of my own conscience, and the preservation of my character, are dearer to me, than any office that can be bestowed on me. In writing as I do, I do not desire to dictate to my friends. My object is simply to inform them of the course which I will feel it my duty to take.

All that has since occurred, prove the wisdom of the resolution you long since moved, to District the States for the election of the Chief Magistrate, and give the election directly to the people. The smaller states would do well to yield the eventual choice by the House, in order to break up that general ticket system, in choosing electors. The introduction of that system has done much to disorder and corrupt the Government, and country. In fact, where many choose many it is no election at all. It creates the necessity of making nominations, and those who make the nomination virtually control the election. I do hope that you will again introduce your resolutions at this session. It will give you a fine field in which to exercise your talents and eloquence, and display your principles and patriotism.

I see the subject of Texas is destined to be one of the first magnitude. The interference there by Great Britain in order to act on our Southern institutions has presented it in a new and most important aspect, and so changed it, that those who were formerly opposed to the annexation, may well support it now. I think no alternative is left us, and that if the Executive should take a stand for it, he ought to be unanimously and decidedly supported by the South.

I can have no objection to your showing this confidentially to your colleague,¹ or any other friend. Give my respects to him, and say to him I shall be happy to hear from him. I hope to hear [*missing*] from you, even if your letters should have to be short.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 22^d Dec^r 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, It is some time since I have heard from you, which I attribute to the fact, that you had nothing agreeable to communicate. Those who expect to live on the Gov^t. have proved stronger than the people, and political machinery stronger than arguments.

I write now to say, that I have prepared an Address^a to my

¹ Senator Daniel E. Huger.

^a Works, VI, 239-254. But see the letter of January 15, 1844, *post*.

political friends and supporters; and have sent one copy to our central Committee in Charleston, and the other to our two Senators, with a letter addressed to my friends and supporters in Congress. The Address contains my reasons for declining to permit my name to go before the Baltimore convention. I object to the mode in which it is constituted, and the Tariff principles of an influential portion of those, who will be represented in the Convention (principally N. Y. and Penya). I have reasoned both grounds pretty fully, and taken high grounds for my course. I have taken the step on my own individual responsibility, leaving my friends free to say, whether they will support the stand I have taken or not. My course is irrevocably taken.

I have sent the two copies in advance of the publication of the Address, to afford the Committee and my friends in Congress an opportunity to decide on their course, before it appears, but have requested the former not to delay its publication unnecessarily. I presume it will be published in 8 or 10 days at farthest.

I hope you will be able to make a visit to Washington, to aid in the deliberation of our friends. I have written to Maxcy to the same effect. For myself, I have no solicitude as to their decision. I am content to stand where my Address places me, and to terminate my political life with it, if they decide so; but there ought to be a rally to save our principles. A run between Mr. Clay and Mr. V. B., on the issue which will be made up between them, will utterly demoralize the South, to be followed by the final loss of the good old State rights doctrines. I think I have shown that clearly in the Address, not directly, but by inference. The object now is, not victory, but to preserve our position and principles; the only way, under [the] circumstances, by which we can preserve our influence and the safety of the South. They can beat us in management, but there, if true to ourselves, we can beat them. If Wise Rives and Gilmer could be brought to act with zeal and concert with you, your weight will be felt in Virginia. The South has nothing to hope from V. B. He is in my opinion a doomed man, and there is no obligation on us to share his fate. We could not sustain him on our own issue, and much less could we do it on the issue with which he

must now go into the contest. I honestly believe that his defeat is necessary to save the party, not by our joining the Whigs, but by standing fast and rallied on our own ground.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Fort Hill 23^d Dec^r 1843

MY DEAR SIR, I am much obliged to you for the information you give me, and I hope I shall hear from you frequently and fully. There is now no doubt that political management and political machinery are too strong for the people. They have forced V. B. on the party against the real wishes of three fourths of the party, and when the workers of the machinery must see, at the hazard of a defeat and the overthrow of the party.

I have decided to Address my friends and supporters, and to assign my reasons for not permitting my name to go before the Baltimore Convention. One copy has been sent of my Address to the Central Committee in Charleston, and the other under cover to our senators. I have written to Rhett, Lewis and McDuffie,² and for fuller particulars I refer you to what I have said to them.

We have nothing to hope from the two great factions that are now contending for the spoils they have extorted from us. The leaders of the Democratick portion are more hostile to us than to the Whigs, to whom they are much more nearly allied in policy and principles than to us. If they should ever be put to the test, such will prove to be the fact.

The object now is not so much victory, as to preserve our position and principles, and that can only be done by keeping our flag flying. The object of my address is two fold; to put myself rectus, and the next to afford those, who agreed with me, a point on which to rally. I have done my duty, it rest[s] with them to do theirs.

I regret to hear that Martha has been so unwell. I hope she is recovered ere this. I am glad you are in so pleasant a Mess. It will add much to yours and Martha's pleasure during what I anticipate will be a very long session.

All join in love to you and her.

¹ Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

² Robert Barnwell Rhett, Dixon H. Lewis, George McDuffie.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Fort Hill 25th Dec^r 1843

MY DEAR SIR, I am much obliged to you for the Magazine, and have read your article with pleasure.² It will do good, especially in reference to the great object you had in view; to justify the South for its course on the passage of the bill of 1816. She was actuated by the most liberal and patriotick motives on the occasion, and much she has suffered for it. Even those who gained by it, and have turned what was then conceded to them into the means of unbounded extortion, have turned round and accused her of inconsistency because she would not quietly submit to be plundered.

Your plan is exceedingly judicious, and you have been very successful in its execution; you will reach by it the understanding of many, which could not be in any other way. I hope you will find leisure to continue your valuable labour. The cause is great. Free trade and intercourse, with the facility which modern improvements afford both, are destined to work the greatest and most happy change, which have ever taken place in the condition of our race. Its reaction on politicks, morals and religion will be powerful and most salutary.

I am much gratified that you have prepared an article for the Democratick Review on the volume of my speeches.³ I could not desire it to be in better hands. I shall be anxious to see the article. If you have an European correspondent through whom you could have it reviewed there, in some of the quarterlies of established reputation, you would add to the obligations, under which you have already placed me. The conception on that side of the Atlantick is universally false in reference to our system of Government. It is indeed a most remarkable system; the most so, that ever existed. I have never yet discussed it in its higher elementary principles, or rather, I ought to say, in reference to higher elementary principles of political science. If I should have leisure, I may yet do it.

¹ The text of this letter has been taken partly from a fragment of the original, and partly from a copy of the whole letter, both kindly lent by Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington.

² The reference is to Wharton's article on The Tariff of 1816, in Hunt's Merchant's Magazine for December, 1843, pp. 492-508, one of a series of articles entitled "Sketches of Commercial Legislation."

³ See the Democratic Review for February, 1844, pp. 111-120.

I have prepared a paper addressed to my political friends and supporters, assigning my reasons for refusing to permit my name to go before the Baltimore convention. I object to the mode in which it is constituted, and the principles of a large portion of the party who will be represented there in reference to the political policy. It will probably appear in 8 or 9 days. I mention this however in confidence, as I do not wish it to be spoken of till the address appears.

To Thomas W. Gilmer.¹

Fort Hill, 25th Dec'r, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR: My opinion has long since been made up, and often expressed, on the important subject to which your letter refers. I believe the annexation of Texas to be necessary to the peace and security of both countries, and will be beneficial to the rest of the civilized world, including Mexico herself. That it is obviously so for Texas and the southern portion of our Union must be admitted by all who will calmly and fairly examine the subject. That she will contribute vastly more to the general wealth and prosperity of the commercial world, without endangering the peace or independence of any other nation, by being annexed to our Union, than without it, I hold equally clear, if Mexico be not an exception. I hold that she is not. To my mind it is clear that if Texas, in her independent state, should become a bone of contention between us and England, it is almost impossible but that Mexico would be involved as a party with England, and that her subjugation would follow almost as a matter of course.

As to the other portions of our Union, North and Northwest, her annexation would open a wide and valuable market for their products, while in a political point of view it could not more than compensate for the vast extension opened to the non slaveholding States to the Pacific on the line of the Oregon.

¹This letter is printed in Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 296, 297, from which it has been copied into this volume. Gilmer's letter of December 13, to which it is a reply, is printed in the same work, III, 130. Thomas W. Gilmer was a Congressman from Virginia, and a friend of Tyler, who made him Secretary of War in February, 1844; but in the same month he was killed by the explosion on the *Princeton*.

The objection that it would extend our domestic institutions of the South, must be met as a direct attack on the compromise of the Constitution, and the highest ground ought to be taken in opposition to it on our part. You will find one of my resolutions, moved on the subject of abolition, in '38 or '39 I think, directly applicable to the case. I think it was the last of the five I then moved.¹ I do not think there is anything in the ground that we acquired the country under the treaty of Louisiana, we had no right to cede it away, and that therefore it is still ours. It seems to me the true ground is, that the interest and safety of both countries require it, and that it would not be detrimental to any other. Under such circumstances no nation has pretext to interfere, except it be Mexico, and she none fairly considered. The same principle as was applicable to the union of England and Scotland or Ireland, or of these states, is applicable to the union of Texas with us. The proper course in all such cases is to take openly and boldly the true ground, and to maintain it at all hazard. In such a case I would rely on no refinement or unimportant argument, but take the broad, plain, general ground.

I do not wish what I write to be published. I think it would rather do harm than good to publish anything from me on the subject under existing circumstances. It would give it too much the air of a mere presidential movement. Besides, I have ever been averse to appearing in the papers when I could avoid it; but I have no objection that my views should be known, and that you should show this to any friend you may think proper.

*To James H. Hammond.*²

Fort Hill 3^d Jan^y 1843 [1844]

MY DEAR SIR, The writer of the enclosed was the Essayer for the Mint at Dahlonega. I know him well. He is well qualified for the place for which he applies. None can be had better, and is withall a most excellent man. I would be gratified to see him appointed.

¹ The sixth of the resolutions of December 27, 1837. See Works of John C. Calhoun, III, 141.

² Original lent by Mr Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S. C.

I have decided not to let my name go before the Baltimore Convention and have prepared an Address and transmitted a copy to the central Committee at Charleston for publication, assigning quite fully my reasons for doing so. It will I presume soon appear. I have acted on my individual responsibility. The paper is addressed to my political friends and supporters, who I have left free to sustain the course I have taken, or not, as they may deem their duty to dictate. With my principles, it was impossible for me to take any other course. I hope this paper, when it appears, will meet your approbation.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 15th Jan^y 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have received by the same mail your two letters to day; and as I expect to leave home tomorrow morning early on business and to be gone 8 or 9 days you must excuse a short letter, especially as it is now 10 o'clock at night and I have several letters on my table to answer.

I have modified my Address as far as I could consistently with the principles on which I act, to meet the views of my friends. I omitted all the part which treats of the Tariff as one of the grounds for not going before the Convention, although I do not concur altogether in the objections taken to it.

Its appearance has been accidentally delayed. I presume it will appear now in a short time.

I wish you great success in your New paper.² The position is a commanding one, and with your great experience, and the advantage of the popular side of the question, I cannot doubt you will make a deep impression. If the party machinery and the spoils principles be not put down, the Gov^t is lost.

But while you war against them, I hope you will not be silent on the subject of Free Trade. It is destined to triumph and is now popular in the West and a large portion of the

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert F. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

² The Republic, published at New York.

North. Nor on the subject of abolition. Your assailing them at the same time you attack the Caucus system will strengthen your position, while it will make your fire more destructive to those against whom it is directed.

Let me hear from you frequently and send me your paper when it appears.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

Fort Hill 1st Feb: 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received yours of the 19th Jan^y, and hope this may reach you at Richmond before the meeting of your State Convention.

Our friends ought by no means [to] give a pledge unless conditional to support the nominee of the Baltimore convention. They ought to take the ground boldly and adhere to it, that they cannot support M^r V. B or act with his friends, till they redeem fully the pledges given after the catastrophe of '37, and before the election of '40, in their Address, especially in reference to the tariff and abolition; and, also, their pledge in reference to the latter in adopting the resolutions I offered in the Senate, in relation to abolition.¹ You will find them in my life, prepared by yourself, and published by the Harpers. The four first were adopted by the unanimous vote of the party, if I recollect aright. You know the fact, I presume, that I, in particular, and, I believe, our friends generally refused to act with them as a party untill their open and solemn pledges were given. The resolutions take the high ground, that the Constitution prohibits the agitation of the subject of the abolition either in the District of Columbia, or elsewhere, on the ground that where the end is inhibited the means are so, and that the right to property includes the right of enjoying it without molestation; and yet, in the face of these pledges, the great majority of the N. York delegation, including the confidential friends of M^r V. B have acted as they have in the H of Representatives this session, and the Albany Argus has openly endorsed the course of the most prominent of them, M^r Beardsley. It is a case of political treachery almost with-

¹ Resolutions of December 27, 1837, Works, III, 140-142.

out example; and to ask our friends, under such circumstances, to pledge themselves to support the nomination of Mr V. B. is nothing short of an insult.

It will be time enough to ask them, after their pledges are redeemed—after a tariff bill strictly for revenue has been reported by the V. B Committee of the House, and voted and passed by his friends there, and the 21st rule¹ restored by the same vote. Nothing short of it ought to be taken, after such an example of treachery; nor ought any distinction to be admitted between Mr V. B and his friends; I mean his prominent and influential friends. After the repeated instances of treachery, from the passage of the tariff of '28 untill the present time, *we ought to be done with promises. Nothing ought to be taken but performance.*

Let our friends take this high and impregnable position; and refuse all pledges, except the conditional one, that they will support Mr V. B, if those pledges so solemnly given be in good faith fully redeemed, before the meeting of the Convention, but not otherwise. His friends have ample time to redeem them before that, and if they do not, we have a right to conclude that they do not intend to do so. If the position be taken, as it ought, the effect will be decisive and happy; but to give a positive pledge to support the nominee, under existing circumstances, would subject us and our cause to the deserved Scorn of the whole Union. Our friends have already done much to expose us to scorn by their timidity. They seem to forget, that a good cause is all powerful, when boldly defended, in the spirit of truth; but is feebleness itself, if defended with timidity and hesitation. The sound portion of Virginia must now stand fast, or agree to take the yoke. Ritchie and his associates are resolved to put it on them. I trust that even Gen^l Gordon will refuse to pledge himself, except conditionally, after what he has witnessed during the present session.

One thing I do hope, that our friends will not permit their course to be in the least swayed by any consideration in reference to myself or my future prospects. They ought not to weigh a particle, where the rights and safety of the South and

¹ The rule against reception of abolition petitions.

the preservation of our free institutions are involved; and I shall be deeply mortified, if they should yield an inch of ground on their account. Indeed, it would be a great mistake, if they should suppose, that they would promote my interest, either now or hereafter, by it. The higher the ground they take, and the more resolutely they defend it, the better for me, as well as the cause of the South and the Constitution. Let them forget me, and look exclusively to the cause, and they will act in the manner best calculated to advance both.

I am of the opinion, they ought not to think of rallying on me at the next election, unless it should be found to be indispensable to keep our flag a flying, in order *to preserve our position*. It will be time enough yet to decide on that; provided our friends take the stand they ought, in your convention, and refuse to give pledges. But unless Mr V. B's friends shall redeem their pledges, and make up an issue thereby with Mr Clay and his friends, which we can support on our own principles, it appears to me a separate rally will be indispensable to save them. A run between him and Mr Clay, on the issue as now made up between them, would demoralize and ruin the South, whatever side we may take.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Fort Hill 4th Feb: 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, Before this reaches you, you will have seen my Address. I hope "the tone and bearing" may meet your approbation. I confess, it required great effort to restrain my indignation at the course of Mr V. B and his friends. It has been treacherous and mean beyond any example in the political history of our country.

We step forward, generously and patriotically, to save him and them from utter prostration at the extra session of 1837; not, indeed, for his or their sake, but for that of a measure, on which he was thrown by the course of events. We refused to go one step farther in his support, untill his friends pledged him and themselves twice, openly, in their Address, before the election of 1840, to our principles and policy generally,

¹ Original lent by Mrs Francis Wharton, of Washington.

and especially on the subjects of the Tariff and Abolition. To make the pledge more binding in reference to the latter, I move[d] a set of resolutions in reference to it in the Senate, as strong as I could draw them, condemning agitation itself as a violation of the Constitution. The four first of which were adopted by the unanimous vote of the party. You will see them in my life published by the Harpers. Under the force of these pledges, we supported his election and saved him from complete and final prostration. Without our aid, he would have got scarcely the vote of a single State. We did more. After his defeat, we took the lead in the overthrow of the Whigs; I acting as chairman of the Standing Committee in the Senate, which planed and carried on the campaign. Our success was complete. The Whigs were routed in two months, and would have remained so, if Mr V. B had not been brought forward. Now, after all this, and profiting by our aid, to turn round in violation of all these open and solemn pledges, to court the Tariffites and Abolitionists, after they had secured our support, as they thought, by obtaining a majority of the Convention, is an instance of treachery hard to be equalled.

But it is not the only instance, in which they have been guilty of flagrant treachery. The act of '28 was passed by the same party (Mr Wright taking the lead in the House and Mr V. B in the Senate) by a violation of pledges not less strong, though less open,—an act which deprived the country of the fruits of the great victory achieved over the national party that year, and to which the disasters which have since befallen the country and party may be clearly traced. After such repeated examples of perfidy, it is impossible for me to repose the least confidence in any promise, which they may hereafter make; and it required no little exertion on my part and no small influence on the part of my friends to restrain me from saying so. No consideration, or influence could restrain me from saying less. With my views of the Constitution, I could do no act that could countenance a usage, as they call it, intended to supercede in practice the fundamental compromise of the Constitution. *To destroy or supercede that would be to revolutionize the Government.*

The present indication is, that Mr V. B will be defeated.

It is impossible for me or my friends to support M^r Clay and the Whigs. We are the opposites in all things; but I am not certain whether his success is not necessary to save the Republican party. Certain it is, that his course has raised the Whigs to their present power, and I fear if he succeeds it will but contribute to the entire discredit of the Republican party and the permanent ascendancy of the Whigs. I see the Democratic Review has not published your article. I suppose political reasons have prevented it. I do hope that if it refuses, you will not let it be lost. I am sure the Southern or some other liberal Review would be glad to publish it.

To James Edward Calhoun.

C. C.

Fort Hill 7th Feb 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have written to the Editor of the Mercury to correct the statement, that my name was withdrawn by myself. I could not do it consistently with the position I occupied, which was a passive one (neither to decline or seek the office); nor with my Address, which simply withheld my name from the Baltimore convention, leaving my friends and supporters to decide what course ought to be taken, under circumstances, in reference to both themselves and myself. Indeed, my principal object in transmitting it to the central Committee of the State, was to give them, as the representative of my friends and supporters in the State, an opportunity to decide in advance, what that course ought to be. I had concluded to make up my mind to abide by its decision, be it to support me or not; and be their motive what it might; for it would be in vain for my name to be continued before the people, unless heartily supported by my friends in the State. In its decision I must be content; but it must be *their* decision, and *so announced*; and I have accordingly requested the Mercury to state the fact, if the withdrawal was made on its authority. To that extent, it is my duty to go, but I can go no farther. To go beyond, and insist on my friends to hold on, would be, on my part, inconsistent with my position and Address, and, with every deference for your opinion,

improper. Not that I doubt, that the true policy for my friends would be to hold on and to keep our flag a flying; not however from any hope of my being elected, but for the important object of *keeping our position and preventing ourselves and cause from being merged in a wretched struggle, who should have the spoils plundered from ourselves.* Be assured, that you are deceived, if you should think, that anything beyond that, is to be hoped for in the contest. I am the last man that can be elected in the present condition of the country. I am too honest and patriotick to be the choice of anything like a majority. The Philadelphia convention will be an abortion, and, if it should not, it will present a miserable struggle between Johnson's, Cass, Tylers and my friends, for a barren nomination. I can never consent for my name to go before a convention, after what I have seen. No; our only course is to rally on our own ground, be our number few, or many; or to withdraw and stand aloof from the fraudulent game. The great point for me, is to *preserve my character* in these corrupt and degenerate times. That may be of service hereafter; not to run again as a candidate, but in some greater emergency. Things cannot go on in the direction they are taking much longer. A split between us and the northern Democracy is inevitable, unless we should prove [to] be the most base and submissive people on earth, or they should reverse their course on the Tariff and slave questions, which I do not expect. You need not fear, that I shall ever permit disgust to influence me. I am proof against that. All other influences have long since been merged with me, in my publick conduct, except those from duty and devotion to country. If I know myself, I would cheerfully lay down my life and glory in it, to preserve our free institutions, or save the South from destruction.

As to the result of the present contest, I see nothing that can prevent the success of the Whigs, as things stand. I have no doubt, but Clay will easily beat V. B; and, perhaps that result, though we cannot aid it, is the only way by which the Republican party can be purged of spoils men and be regenerated.

All join in love to you and Maria.

*To Duff Green.*¹

Fort Hill 10th Feb. 1844

DEAR SIR, I received by the last mail yours of the 26th Jan^y. I did not answer yours of an earlier date, in consequence, in part, of my absence from home when it was received, and waiting, after my return, for the publication of my Address and to see what course events would take.

In conformity with your urgent desire and that of several other friends, I omitted the part, against my own judgement, in reference to the Tariff. Your wish, and those who thought with you on that point, was limited to that; but not so with a much larger portion of my friends. They entertained the hope (a vain one I am sure) that they could compel the friends of Mr V. B. to redeem their pledges, in reference to the Tariff and Abolition, and were adverse to taking any step, which would lead to a seperation. This giving away, was so extensive at Washington and acted with such force from that point on this state, or rather on the Committee in Charleston, that I soon saw there was little hope, that the position I took would be backed by the Committee. The result is such as you have seen. The withdrawal of my name was without authority from me, and was neither consistent with the Address or the position that I had taken in the canvass. It was for them and my friends and supporters to withdraw it, and not myself, if they should think proper. I have written to the Editor of the Mercury to correct the error; not that I wish my name to be continued before the publick (far otherwise) but I wish to avoid the imputation, to which the unauthorised withdrawal on my authority might expose me. I write this, however, in strict confidence, as I wish no conflict with the Committee or any of its members.

I am now disentangled from the fraudulent game of President making, and hope never to have to do anything with it again. It is abhorrent to my feelings and taste. The truth is, that both of the great parties have degenerated from their original standard so far, that they have ceased to represent their original principles. The Whigs are the old federal party turn[ed] demagogue—a thing most abhorrent to their original char-

¹ Original lent by Mr. Robert P. Maynard, of Tacoma, Wash.

acter; the Democrats are the old Republican party turn[ed] spoils men, a thing equally abhorrent to their original character. It would be still more in conformity to facts, to say that they, or at least the V. B. wing, are the legitimate offspring of the Burr school of politicks, and that in his and their triumph, the school of Burr has triumphed over that of Jefferson.

I cannot think in the present state of parties of entering again on the political arena. I would but waste my strength and exhaust my time, without adding to my character, or rendering service to the country, or advancing the cause for which I have so long contended. I feel no disgust nor do I feel disposed to complain of any one. On the contrary, I am content, and willing to end my publick life n[ow]. In looking back, I see nothing to regret, and little to correct. My interest in the prosperity of the country, and the success of our peculiar and sublime political system when well understood, remain without abatement, and will do so till my last breath; and I shall ever stand prepared to serve the country, whenever I shall see reasonable prospect of doing so.

I write you in the confidence of an old friend.

To James Edward Calhoun.

c. c.

Fort Hill 14th Feb. 1844

MY DEAR SIR. . . . The course you are for taking, I have no doubt is the one, that ought at first to be taken, and I had prepared my Address on that supposition; and urged on the Committee a prompt publication. But I soon found, it was altogether too high to be sustained by a large portion;—much the majority; and among them many the most intelligent and devoted. I modified, as far as I could consistently with my principles my Address to meet their views, and releive them from embarassment. I could not do less, without still further dividing, distracting and weakening the South.

But, whether the course was right or wrong at first, it is now entirely too late to be thought of, and cannot be taken without doing great mischief to the cause and causing much

embarrassment and injury to myself. My mind is so decisively made up on the point that I cannot permit it, and should it be persisted in I should feel myself compelled to come out in disapprobation of it. I hope, therefore, that the proposed meeting in Abbeville will not take place, and, if it should, that there will be no action such as you suggest; and I rely on your friendship to arrest it, or give a different direction to its proceedings, if it be too late for that.

The great mass of my friends and supporters, who disagree with the course you are in favor of, still hope, that the party will redeem their pledges, both in reference to the tariff and Abolition; and that the pressure to compel them to do so, will be greatly increased by the ground we now occupy. They farther think, that it will be time enough to take hostile ground, and rally under our own flag, after it is ascertained, that their pledges will not be redeemed. I confess, that I have little faith, that they will, or that any effective rally can be made, if they should not be; but still, as I cannot doubt their fidelity and sincerity, I am certain, that our true policy, under existing circumstances, is to give to those, who take the view, time and opportunity to give it a fair trial. If it fails, as I apprehend it will, in both particulars, one thing is certain, it will lead to the defeat of V. B. by the universal disgust it will excite against the perfidy of his friends. Let me, now, entreat you to give up your contemplated movements, and to remain quiet for the present, at least. There can be no movement, in this state, at this time, which will not call in question my sincerity in making the declaration, that I would be content, let my friends decide as they would. Every movement in the state, which would indicate discontent, would be attributed to me. You cannot oblige me more, than in acquiescing in these views. I must preserve my character above all suspicion for candour and fair dealing. It is all important to myself and to our cause. I care nothing for the Presidency, except for my friends and the country, but much for my character and standing both now and hereafter.

I shall be anxious to hear from you. Write without delay.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Fort Hill 22^d Feb: 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have read the article in the Democratick Review² with much pleasure. The manner and the matter both do you much credit. If a half a dozen men of leisure and education, North of the Potomac, would follow your example a revolution might be made in the publick sentiment of that portion of the Union, which would save the country and our truly wonderful and sublime system of Government. As it is their fate is doubtful. One thing, however, is certain, things cannot much longer progress, as they have for the last fifteen years. In consequence of the false direction the Albany party have given, the overwhelming majority which brought Gen^l Jackson into power has wasted away. They have done more to raise up the Whigs and depress the Republican party, than all the other causes combined. They have even made Clay formidable in the South; a thing that nothing else could have done.

I nope, that my Address has not departed far from the line you approve. To meet the wishes of a large list of friends, I modified it as far as I possibly could, without losing my position, and becoming a partisan, which nothing could induce me to do. Had I consulted my own feeling and judgement, I would have tendered the issue at once and specifically, fulfil your pledges or lose our support. Nothing, I fear, but another defeat still more signal can reform the Albany wing of the party. They are essentially spoils men.

*To James H. Hammond.*³

Fort Hill 5th March 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I have answered Judge Huger, and informed him, that I could not obtain my own consent to return to the Senate, should he resign, and the place be offered to me.⁴ I am willing to make any and every sacrafice to save the coun-

¹ Original lent by Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington.

² February number; see Wharton's letter of February 1, in Part II, *post*.

³ Original lent by Mr. Edward Spann Hammond, of Blackville, S C.

⁴ Judge Daniel E. Huger was Senator from South Carolina. See his letter of March 24, 1845, in Part II, *post*.

try; but I do not think, in my present position and under existing circumstances, I could be of any service in the Senate. It is in the power of the V. Buren leaders in Congress, to settle the only two questions of pressing importance, as they please; I mean the Tariff and abolition. They will settle both simply in reference to the presidential question. If they should conclude, that the chance is, that M^r V. B. will get more votes by favoring the abolitionists and the friends of the Tariff, they will be settled in their favour, against anything that I can do, and in violation of all their pledges, were they ten times more numerous than they are. My opinion may appear uncharitable; but it has been forced on me by a thorough Knowledge of the party, founded on long observation and much experience. I have lost all faith in them, I mean the leaders. If we wish to control them, there is but one way; and that is to satisfy them how many votes they have to gain or lose by taking this or that way on any question, in which we have an interest. We must show as fixed a determination to defend our property and our safety, as the friends of the tariff and the abolitionists do to assail them, which I fear, from all I can see, is far from being the case. If I thought the South would sustain me in taking the course, which the occasion demands, I would make the sacrifice and brave the hazard, as great as they might be, to repel the attack on their property [and] safety. But I see no prospect of that at present, and am unwilling to exhaust the few years, that remain to me, in vain efforts. I hope to appropriate them more satisfactory to myself, and more useful to them in the quiet of a private station, in which I am content to spend the rest of my days.

*To Armistead Burt.*¹

Fort Hill 9th March 1844

MY DEAR SIR, In answer to your question, I have to say, that Gen^l Green, as far as I know, is acting on his own responsibility in reference to the proposed convention at Philadelphia.² He is, at least, not acting under my advice or

¹ Original lent by Mr. J. Towne Robertson, jr., of Abbeville, S. C.

² A convention proposed to be held on the Fourth of July, but which did not take place See Niles's Register, LXV, 404, LXVI, 23

countenance, nor shall I take any part whatever in reference to it.

The conduct of the Northern Wing of the Democrats appears to me to be outrageous on the abolition question, after the solemn pledges which they gave before the election of '40, in reference to it; and I must say, that I regard with surprise, that the deceptive vote of laying the question on the table by one vote, should be regarded as a triumph by some of our Southern friends. It is obvious that it is but a trick, in the infamous scheme of endeavoring to catch the abolition votes, without offending the South, and ought to be so treated. I am glad to see that you took the high ground you ought in your speech. It would be better by far to bring the question at once to issue, than that we should be made the dupes and victims of a fraudulent game. Sound policy and self respect leave to the South but one course; to hold Mr V. B. and his friends to their pledges, both in reference to the tariff and abolition. It would be the extreme of weakness and folly to attempt [to] exact new pledges, while the old, openly and solemnly given, remain unredeemed.

Mr^s Calhoun and the family join their love to you and Martha.

To _____¹

C. C.

Fort Hill March 9th 1844

MY DEAR SIR, No one has greater cause to be distressed by the astonishing events of which your letter conveyed the intelligence, than myself, except the families and the immediate connections of those, who fell by the fatal explosion.² It deprives me of old and tried friends, to whom I was strongly attached, and whose places I can never hope to supply. But my loss, as great as it is, is nothing compared to that of the publick, especially the South, and by the death of Mr. Upshur, at this critical moment. No one feels it more, in that respect, aside from our personal relations, than I do; and among other reasons, that his death, at this time, should, in

¹ From a draft, with corrections in Calhoun's handwriting.

² On board the *Princeton*. See Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 567-569. Judge Upshur, Secretary of State, Gilmer, Secretary of War, and Virgil Maxcy were among those killed.

your opinion and that of other friends, create a necessity for my returning again to publick life.

When I resigned my seat in the Senate, I intended to close my publick life, unless the voice of the people should freely call me to take charge of the administration of the Government, or the occurrence of some great calamity should clearly demand my return to it, as a duty; neither of which had I any reason to anticipate. Acting in conformity with this fixed intention, I have appropriated the rest of my days to my entire satisfaction; and among other things, to a task, which I am very desirous of executing, and to do which, would engross all the spare time, on which, at my period of life, I have a right to calculate. No consideration of a personal character could possibly induce me to break my arrangement, and return to publick life. As far as I am concerned, mine is closed, to my entire satisfaction. I have done my duty to the country. I have devoted the prime of my life to its service, and to the best of my abilities endeavoured to promote its interest. I have done so, because it was my duty, without looking to any reward beyond; and aside from duty, neither Government nor people can bestow any reward on me, which could induce me to return to publick life.

Whether, then, I ought to accept the place, to which you refer, if offered, is with me exclusively a question of duty. To do so would be a great personal sacrifice. In addition to the reasons already assigned, it would break up for a temporary employment all my family arrangements, and what adds to the difficulty, I have no hope that I could possibly induce M^{rs} Calhoun again to return to Washington.

But as a question of duty, I do not feel, that I possess the requisite information to decide satisfactorily. The only possible reason I can see for accepting the Department, should it be offered, as far as duty is concerned, is limited to the pending negotiations relating to Texas and Oregon. They are both, I admit, of vast importance; especially to the West and South; and if a satisfactory termination of one or both should be thought on reasonable grounds, to depend on my accepting or not, I feel it would be a strong case of duty. But is there any such reasonable grounds? Is there reasonable hope, that a treaty for annexation, such as *ought* to be acceptable to both

Governments can be made with Texas, and that the Oregon question, can be settled on grounds, that *ought* to be mutually acceptable to the United States and Great Britain? And if so, is there reasonable grounds to believe, that any service of mine would be important either in the negotiation of the treaties, or in carrying them through successfully? If so, I do not see how I could withhold my services, if required by the President; and if he should desire it, I leave it to you and General Anderson, who has also written, and with whom you have consulted, with such friends as you may think proper to consult, to decide for me. If, in that case, you should decide, that my service is important, I will give it to the utmost of my abilities to the administration and the country.

But the way in which it should be given is a matter of no small importance, at least to myself. I have stated, that I could see no motive, which could induce me to go into the State Department, except the pending negotiations. It seems to me, that if my services should be required as important in reference to them, it would be better, at least it would be far more agreeable to me, and break less on my arrangements, to take charge of the negotiations, or aid in conducting them, without taking charge, at the same time, of the State Department. I can see no such necessary connection between them, as to require both to be united in the same person. On the contrary, there appear to me to be strong reasons, why a Secretary, who has just entered on the duties of his office, and who is unacquainted with its duties, should not be exclusively charged with such high and onerous duties, as that of discharging the duties of his office and conducting two such negotiations would impose on him. It would be impossible for him, under such circumstances, to discharge them all satisfactorily. As it has been a rule with me, not to undertake to perform, what I could not well and conveniently execute. With my impression I would have strong, if not insuperable objections to undertake to discharge the duties of the Department under such circumstances. What then would be altogether the most acceptable to me, should my service be deemed important, would be to receive an appointment to take charge of the negotiations, either separately or in conjunction with whoever might be appointed Secretary of State, or might be the most

agreeable to the President and him. Either would be equally so to me. The two negotiations would be as much as I would feel disposed to undertake.

If the additional expense should be thought to be an objection, I would willingly make such arrangements in reference to it as would remove all difficulty. The pay would be nothing to me, compared to having no more of my time appropriated nor any farther derangement of my plan of disposing of it hereafter, than might be necessary to the accomplishment of the object intended, and which only . . .

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Fort Hill 15th March 1844

MY DEAR ANNA, . . . The next item of news relates to myself, and is to me far from being of an agreeable character.

I have been offered the State Department, and owing to the two important negotiations now pending, in reference to the annexation of Texas and settling the Oregon question, and I am strongly appealed to through Mr Mc Duffie and others to accept. The appeal is to my patriotism and magnanimity, and in behalf of the South. My repugnance to accepting is every way great. I have in answer stated strongly such leading reasons for wishing to decline, as I could with propriety, with the expression, in strong terms, of the hope that I might be spared the sacrifice; but that, if on a review, my friends should think my services cannot be dispensed with, without hazard, that I would accept an appointment to negotiate the treaties, separately from the Department, if such an arrangement could be made with propriety; but if not, I would accept the latter, as averse as I am to it, with the understanding, that I should be at liberty to resign as soon as the negotiation was over. On a full survey of all circumstances, I did not see, that I could, without loss of character and standing give any other answer; but I accompanied that, with a strong wish, that the President might be able to make some other satisfactory arrangement.

I expect to hear the result in 12 or 13 days. If I cannot get off, I shall set out as soon as it is announced, that my name is before the Senate.

To John Tyler.¹

C. C.

Fort Hill March 16th 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I received by the Mail of yesterday your letter of the 6th Inst written in the Morning, and informing me that you had nominated me to fill the vacancy in the State Department occasioned by the lamented death of Mr. Upshur, and your note of the same date written in the evening, that the Senate had unanimously confirmed the nomination.

I highly appreciate the honour you have conferred on me, in selecting me to fill the Department, at a crisis, when two such important negotiations are pending, and the very flattering manner the nomination was confirmed.

It is with great reluctance that I return again to public life; but, under the circumstances, I do not feel myself at liberty to decline the appointment. But as nothing short of the magnitude of the crisis, occasioned by the pending negotiations, could induce me to leave my retirement, I accept on the condition, that when they are concluded, I shall be at liberty to retire.

I shall forthwith commence making my arrangements to leave home for Washington, and hope to be able to take my departure this day week or day after to-morrow week at farthest, by the speediest conveyance.

To Thomas G. Clemson.²

C. C.

Fort Hill 16th March 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I wrote Anna by the last mail down, and among other items of news, gave her what has occurred in reference to the State Department, and suggested the possibility I should be forced to accept, however reluctant. Very unexpectedly the next mail up brought me the intelligence of my nomination and confirmation, accompanied by twenty or thirty letters, one from a Whig New England Senator, urging in the strongest terms my acceptance, and saying that it was the unanimous sentiment of all parties, that I ought.

¹ From a copy found among the Calhoun Papers. President Tyler's letter of March 6 is printed in Part II, *post*. See also the letter of Dixon H. Lewis, of the same day.

² Addressed "T. G. Clemson, Canebrake, Edgefield."

Under all the circumstances, I do not see how I can decline, without loss of character, and I have accordingly answered the President, that I accepted; but that as nothing short of the crisis caused by the pending negotiations could induce me to do so, that I accepted, on the condition, that as soon as they should be concluded, I should be at liberty to retire.

I expect to set out this day week, or at farthest day after tomorrow week, by stage, and will be at Col Pickens on tomorrow (Sunday) week, or Tuesday week, as the case may be, and have enclosed this to him, with the request, that he should send it to you, so that you may certainly get it in time. I wish you to send up your carriage to meet me and to have it at the fork of the road to Col Pickens on Sunday when the stage passes, and if I should not be in it, on Tuesday at the same time, so that I may go directly to his house, without going to the Village, and thence to the Cane Brake,¹ or what I would prefer, if you and Anna can make it convenient, that you and she and John and the children should meet me there. It would save me a day, which is important, as I am urged to lose no time.

We are all well and all join love.

To Juan N. Almonte.²

Department of State, Washington, 22^d April, 1844.
To the Brigadier General Don J. N. ALMONTE, etc., etc., etc.

The Undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a note of this date from General Almonte, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Mexico, and in reply thereto assures General Almonte that the statements and speculations to which he refers have never, directly or indirectly, received any authority or countenance from him. He doubts not that General Almonte has attributed their appearance to the true cause—to the common disposition of the Public Journals to speculate at pleasure on the course of public affairs.

¹ The home of Mr. and Mrs. Clemson

² Original in the archives of the Department of State, Notes to Mexican Legation, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy.

The Undersigned takes pleasure in declaring that, in no conversation with which he has been honored by General Almonte has any intimation been given by him to the Undersigned, either that the Government of Mexico or himself entertained any motive or purpose to change the resolution already expressed in the protests of the 23rd of August and the 3rd of November, last, in regard to the annexation of Texas to the United States.

To Edward Everett.¹

Department of State, Washington, April 27, 1844.

SIR: I herewith transmit to you a copy of the treaty concluded between this Government and the Republic of Texas, with the accompanying documents, which has been laid by the President before the Senate for its approval.

I also forward you copies of a correspondence between this Department and Mr. Pakenham, Her Majesty's Minister near this Government; to all of which I call your especial attention.

The necessity of preparing these papers so as to have them ready for the steamer of the 1st proximo, with the briefness of the time allowed me before the mail which carries them closes, will allow but few remarks.

You will perceive that the measure which has been adopted was demanded by the condition in which the avowed policy of Great Britain as proclaimed in Lord Aberdeen's despatch, had placed the United States. This Government could not quietly fold its arms, while a policy was avowed and measures adopted so fatal to the safety and prosperity of the Union. It is in this view of the subject that the Government, as you will perceive, has felt itself called upon to act, and in this aspect it is urgently addressed to your consideration. You will in your correspondence with Her Majesty's Government, fail not to vindicate the motives, and sustain the course of the President, by an appeal to the facts and arguments, adduced in the correspondence communicated; and, in temperate but firm language, make it to be understood that, reluctantly con-

¹Original in the archives of the Department of State, Instructions to Minister to Great Britain, Vol. 15; text derived from an official copy. Edward Everett was minister to England from 1841 to 1845.

strained in self-defense to adopt the measure in question, the Government of the United States will shun no responsibility which justly attaches to her conduct.

I will, by the first opportunity, communicate with you further and more fully on the subject.

*To Josiah Quincy.*¹

Department of State, Washington, May 3rd, 1844.

SIR: By a letter recently received from the Rev. Allen Greely, Pastor of the Congregational Church, at Turner, Oxford County, Maine, I have been informed that a catalogue of the Library of Harvard College, has been published in five volumes; containing indications of many maps, Collections of Treaties, and other works, the examination of which might be useful to the Government, especially in its negotiations with Foreign Powers. As the copy of the catalogue in the Library of this Department is in four volumes, published in 1831, it appears, that either a supplementary volume, or a new addition of the whole, has since appeared.

Mr. Greely also informs me that there is in the Library of Harvard College a map with the following title "New and accurate map of North America (wherein the errors of all preceding maps respecting the Rights of Great Britain, France, and Spain, etc. are corrected) by Huske, Thomas Kitchin Sculpsit, London, 1775 [1755]."²

These documents may serve to throw some light on the issues pending between this Government and Great Britain; and I should feel under many obligations to you, Sir, if they could, through your instrumentality, be procured for the use of this Department, under such conditions as you may think proper to prescribe. They might be forwarded by mail or otherwise at the expense of the Department.

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 35, text derived from an official copy. Josiah Quincy, the famous Federalist and member of Congress, was president of Harvard College from 1829 to 1845.

² See Catalogue of Harvard Library, 1831, Vol. III, p. 185.

*To Richard Pakenham.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 6th May, 1844

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th ultimo, requesting information in respect to the terms upon which this Government is permitted to send its correspondence across the Isthmus of Panamá.

I have, in pursuance of your suggestion, referred your communication to the Postmaster General, and now enclose to you a copy of his reply.

It is proper to add that in March, 1843, Congress made a small appropriation, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of State, "for defraying the expenses attending the conveyance and forwarding, by land, and of the receipt and delivery of mails, letters, and despatches at and between Chagres and Panamá," and the Diplomatic representative of the United States at Bogotá, under instructions from this Department, accordingly addressed a representation to the New Granadian Government with the view of obtaining its express consent to the establishment, under proper regulations for the prevention of frauds upon the revenue of the country by the persons engaged in the carriage of these mails, of an occasional post between those places, under the direction of agents of the United States. No definitive reply was made to this application; and, as it was presumed that no serious objection could be urged against the measure proposed, the Consuls of the United States at Chagres and Panamá, were subsequently directed to take upon themselves the duty of Despatch Agents at those ports, for the purpose of carrying into effect the object of Congress in making the appropriation of funds above referred to.

In the mean time, a conventional arrangement on the subject has been entered into with the Government of New Granada, which has just reached this Department. This postal convention will be forthwith submitted to the Senate of the United States for its consideration and advice, and so soon as it shall have been approved and ratified by the respective

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Notes to British Legation, Vol. 7; text derived from an official copy. Richard Pakenham was minister to the United States from England, from 1843 to 1847, during which time he had an important part in the Oregon negotiations.

Governments, I will take pleasure in placing a copy of it in your possession, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.¹

*To Fernando Wood.*²

Department of State, Washington, 8th May, 1844.

SIR: You are hereby appointed Despatch Agent for this Department at a compensation of \$800 per annum for the services including all ordinary expenses, as stationary, etc. To enable you to discharge which the following statement of the principal duties with which you are charged, as also instructions for their performance is given.

Viz. The receipt of Despatches arriving by the Packets from Liverpool and Havre, or by any other conveyance, and their immediate transmission by mail (unless otherwise directed) to this Department.

The transmission of Despatches from this Department to the Legations and Consulates abroad. For this purpose it will be necessary for you to make an arrangement with respectable American citizens, passengers in the packets or steamers to Liverpool and Havre, to take charge of the Despatches and to deliver them *free of expense* to the Consuls there. They will for this purpose be invested with the character of bearers of Despatches, and you will be furnished with blank passports to be filled for them as such. It will also be necessary for you to make an arrangement with the Post Office at New York by which all Despatches directed to your care may be immediately delivered to you, in order that there may be no delay in their transmission, or loss of opportunity of the vessel for which they may be intended. It will be well to keep advised of all anticipated departures of vessels, so that advantage may be taken of the earliest opportunities that may occur. A tabular account is to be kept of that portion of

¹ Convention signed at Bogotá, March 6, 1844, ratifications exchanged December 20. Text in Statutes at Large, VIII, 594.

² Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 34, text derived from an official copy. Fernando Wood (18.2-1881) had lately represented New York in Congress 1841-1845. Subsequently he was several times mayor of New York, and representative in Congress. He was preeminently distinguished as a political manipulator.

Despatches from hence which may be numbered on their envelope, noting the numbers of those received, and the date and mode of their transmission: a copy of which is to be transmitted monthly to this Department.

In case of the detention of Packets at Quarantine, the Despatches are to be sent for at the expense of the Department, and an arrangement may be made with the owners or commanders of newsboats who may board the Packets, for bringing in, and delivering to you, the Despatches (if by such mode you expedite their transmission) for this a reasonable compensation may be made, which will be allowed to you in your account. The despatches from this Department will consist generally of communications to the Ministers and Consuls of the United States abroad, and of books, printed documents and newspapers for those Officers.

It is desirable to save expense in the transmission, as far as may be consistent with safety and the requisite despatch. Those intended for Consuls are not usually of an urgent nature, and are, therefore, to be sent by vessels sailing direct to ports of the Consuls residence, or if no such opportunities offer, to the ports from which they may be most readily transmitted; in which latter case, they are to be sent to the care of the Consuls, with a request that they may be forwarded by the first vessel, or in some other suitable and economical manner, to those to whom they are addressed. When communications for Consuls are to be sent otherwise, particular instructions will be given.

Despatches for the Minister at Madrid and Paris are to be sent to the Consul at Havre, who will forward them. But when the package for the Minister at Madrid consists of Books or printed papers they are not to be sent to Havre, but for Madrid, to the Consul at Cadiz. Despatches for the Minister at Constantinople are to be sent by the way of Gibraltar. Despatches for the Ministers in England, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, the Netherlands and Belgium are to be sent to the Consul at Liverpool, by whom they will be transmitted to the Minister at London, who will forward those intended for the Continent. Despatches for the Minister in Portugal are to be sent to the Consul at Liverpool when there is no opportunity of sending them direct to the Consuls at

Lisbon or St. Ubes. Books and printed papers are to be sent only by vessels for those ports.

Despatches for the Consuls at Tangiers and Tunis are to be sent to the Consul at Gibraltar. Those for the Consul at Tripoli to the Consul at Malta.

Those for the Minister at Mexico to the Consul at Vera Cruz, between which place and New York there are regular Packets.

Those for the Minister at Guatemala to the Consul at Kingston, Jamaica, or by vessels for Balize or Omoa.

Those for the Minister at Bogota, to the Consul at Carthagina, and when no direct opportunity offers, to the Consul at Kingston, who will forward them to the Consul at Carthagina.

Those for the other Legations on the American Continent to the most convenient Consul as occasions may offer: but where the Minister resides at the port to which the vessel is bound they will be sent direct to them, and not to the Consul.

No letters or papers are to be transmitted in the Despatch Bag or packages, except those sent by the Department, unless specially directed. No endorsement, note or stamp is to be put on Despatches received by you to be sent abroad. A list of the Despatches is to be sent with them to the Consul. You will keep yourself early informed of vessels about to sail from the principal ports in the United States, to those to which you have despatches to forward, and where there is time, advise the Department of them. It is important that the Department shall receive its Despatches as early as practicable after their arrival, and you will adopt such measures as may enable you to obtain them as early as private letters are obtained, and you will transmit them immediately by mail, or, if too late to be enclosed in the mail, they may be sent by the same conveyance, or by some passengers at the same time. All reasonable and necessary expenses incurred in obtaining or transmitting Despatches early will be allowed.

In sending Despatches to the Department, you will state the day of the sailing of the Vessel by which they were brought, when you can ascertain it. You will keep a Register of the Passports which may be given by you to bearers of Despatches, and will make returns of them to this Department, so soon as delivered, stating the number and date of the Passport, and the

name of the person to whom it is delivered. On each passport you will note the number and address of the packages delivered to the bearer. This is necessary in order to prevent any abuse on his part, by representing as public Despatches packages which are not so. It may perhaps be necessary to add, that the duties imposed on you are of a confidential nature, and that it is necessary for you to transact the business confided to you in that light, and carefully to keep all Despatches in your possession. I enclose open letters for the Post Master and Collector at New York, asking such aid on the part of their respective Offices as may be necessary to the prompt discharge of your duties.

To Mrs. T. G. Clemson.

C. C.

Washington 10th May 1844

MY DEAR ANNA, I am indebted to you one letter and to Mr Clemson two. As I have to write a dozen of letters to yours and his one, you and he must be content with my paying off scores, with you both, with one, and that not a long one. Between business and visitors, I have but little time left for correspondence.

A letter from Washington must almost of course begin with politicks. Every thing, there, is in confusion with the democracy at present. V. B's letter¹ has completely prostrated him, and has brought forward a host of candidates in his place; Buchanan, Cass, Stuart, Johnson, who, with Tyler and V. B. himself, make six, whose claims are to be settled at Baltimore on the 27th inst^t. To add to the confusion, there will be two conventions, Tyler's and the old V. B's; and two parties, as opposed and hostile to each other as Whig and Democrat; the one in favour of, and the other opposed to the immediate annexation. So there is a fair prospect, that confusion will be worse confounded.

In the meane time, I stand aloof. I regard annexation to be a vital question. If lost now, it will be forever lost; and, if

¹ Letter of April 20, 1844, to W. H. Hammet, declining to approve of the annexation of Texas; the letter is printed in Niles, LXVI, 153-157.

that, the South will be lost, if some prompt and decisive measure be not adopted to save us. I would prefer Tyler to any northern man at present, because, I think, the South will be safer in his hands; and because, as far as annexation is concerned, I regard his claim as the strongest; but my aim will be to obtain union among the friends of annexation. If that can be done, the whigs will be beaten. It is the all absorbing question, stronger even than the presidential. It is, indeed, under circumstances, the most important question, both for the South and the Union, ever agitated since the adoption of the Constitution. So much for politicks.

Say to M^r Clemson, that I have not had time to see the Postmaster General in reference to the change he desires to make in the route of the post from Edgefield to Newberry. I will devote the first leisure hour to it, if he should deem it necessary, after the piece of intelligence I have to give him.

I saw the President day before yesterday, and asked him, if he had disposed of the mission to Belgium. He said he had not, and that it was at my disposal. I named M^r Clemson to him. He readily assented; so that, if he desires to fill it, it is at his service.¹ The present Charge will leave in August. It is near to Paris, and, I suppose, will suit him better than the one to Naples, which will not be vacant till next year. He must let me know soon. Say also to him, that I would be glad to oblige M^r Barton, but I have find it necessary to establish it as a rule, not to interfere with the appointments in the other departments, in order to prevent them interfering with mine; and I am averse to giving countenance to that system of turning out and putting in, which has been introduced in the Custom Houses. If, however, any fair opportunity should offer, I will take pleasure in serving him. . . .

My health is good, notwithstanding a cold accompanied with a good deal of cough, as is usual with me, when I have a cold. Patrick is well. I hope you all continue so.

My love to M^r Clemson. Kiss the dear children for grandfather.

¹ President Tyler on June 17 nominated Mr. Clemson as *chargé d'affaires* to Belgium, and the nomination was confirmed.

*To Edward Everett.*¹

Department of State, Washington, 16th May 1844

SIR: It appears from the accompanying transcript of a letter from Mr. Shepard Cary to this Department, of the 11th instant, that a company composed of American citizens and British subjects, some time since erected a boom across the mouth of the Aroostook, and within the province of New Brunswick, for the security of the owners of logs and other lumber manufactured upon that river and its tributaries. The assent of Maine was afterwards prospectively given, with certain limitations, by a resolve dated 3^d March, 1843, (copy enclosed) to an act of incorporation by the authorities of New Brunswick, extending to the corporators the right to erect such boom; and at the last session of the Provincial Legislature, an act of incorporation was accordingly obtained embracing the restrictions and conditions contained in the resolve of Maine, subject to the approval of the home Government. Maine and New Brunswick having thus signified their assent to the measure, the Provincial act has, it is understood, been sent to England for the purpose referred to, and the citizens of Maine, who have much larger interest in the timber trade on the Aroostook, are desirous that your good offices should be employed in endeavoring to attract to this subject the prompt and favorable notice of Her Majesty's Government. I have, therefore, to request that you will, in informal conferences with her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and by such other means as you may deem best calculated to attain the end in view, use your best efforts to promote the object of Mr. Cary's application.

You will also receive herewith copies of certain papers (of which a list is annexed) relative to an act of the Parliament of New Brunswick, passed on the 25th day of March last, imposing an export duty of one shilling (twenty cents) per ton on all timber shipped from any port in that province, and releasing all claim for the right to cut timber on the Crown lands. A communication on the subject has been addressed to this Department by certain citizens of the State of Maine, com-

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State; Instructions to Ministers to Great Britain, Vol. 15; text derived from an official copy.

plaining of the proposed exaction as an infringement of the letter and spirit of the stipulations contained in the 3^d article of the treaty of Washington, of the 9th of August, 1842; going into an argumentative examination of the construction to be given to that article, and of the nature of the rights secured by it to the citizens of the United States; and asking the intervention of this Department with the British Government to defeat this measure of the provincial Parliament.

As a perseverance in this policy by the British Provincial Authorities must seriously and injuriously affect the interests of many American citizens, and as the proposed exaction appears to be in obvious violation of conventional stipulations existing between the United States and Great Britain, you will lose no time in calling the attention of Lord Aberdeen to the subject, with a view to procure the total abandonment of this policy on the part of the Province of New Brunswick, and the adoption by Her Majesty's Government of such measures as shall insure, hereafter, a strict observance of the obligations of the treaty.

*To James H. Hammond.*¹

Washington 17th May 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I discovered shortly after I enclosed you the letter of Mr Pakenham, that the wrong one was by accident transmitted. I will thank you to return it. The one intended related to a man of the name of Brown, who had been condemned for enticing away a negro, but who it was discovered had been pardoned. Mr Pakenham wrote me a private note in reference to his case, originating in the request of some of his friends in Ireland.

The fate of the treaty is not yet decided. The prospect is that it will be rejected; but I am not without hope, that the Senate will approve.² There is not a doubt in my mind, that if Texas should not now be annexed, she is lost to our Union. The Senate has been furnished with evidence to that effect,

¹ Original lent by Mr. E. S. Hammond. See Hammond's letter of May 10, in Part II, *post.*

² The treaty for the annexation of Texas was rejected June 8.

perfectly conclusive. I hope, that it may change the votes of the Whig Senators from the South and West, especially if backed by a strong expression of public opinion in favor of annexation in those Sections. It is to us a question of life and death. Every city, town, County and District in the South and West should speak out promptly and loudly. Strange as it may seem, Benton and his wing object to the admission among other things, because in my letter to Mr Pakenham, I should dare place the issue where it does! This, with many other things, clearly prove, that V. B. was courting the abolitionists. Thank God both of them lie prostrate, never to rise. They have done the party and country infinite mischief.

My letter¹ was intended to lay the foundation, on which to stand in the future progress of the correspondence. I shall rise at every step until England shall be placed on the defensive. I only ask the South to stand by me. Now is the time to vindicate and save our institutions. If this tide is lost we shall never have another. Why do you all, I mean our men of influence and leisure, like yourself, not put in your pens at this great crisis? Our papers ought to be crowded with animated communications.

*To John Tyler.*²

Department of State, Washington, 18th May, 1844.

To the President of the United States.

The Secretary of State to whom was referred the Resolution of the Senate of 29th last month, requesting the President to transmit to that Body, copies of any communications to our Ministers in Mexico or Spain, concerning the purchase of, or title to Texas and any replies relating to either subject which have not heretofore been made public, nor sent to the Senate—has the honor to report to the President, that there is not on the records of this Department any communication whatever, to a Diplomatic Agent of the United States in Mexico, nor any communication to a Diplomatic Agent of the

¹ To Pakenham, of April 18 or April 27.

² Original in the archives of the Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy.

United States in Spain, since 1820 upon the Subject of the Resolution, which has not been made public, or communicated to the Senate.

The papers which are now laid before the President are an extract from a private letter of Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay, and extracts from, and a copy of other letters from Mr. Butler to the President and Secretary of State, and are all the unpublished Communications and parts of Communications from Diplomatic Agents of the United States in Mexico relating to the purchase of, or title to Texas; And also all the unpublished communications and parts of communications from Diplomatic Agents of the United States in Spain since 1820 upon the same Subject, which [after] a careful Collation with previous reports from this Department, can be found upon its files.

The report of the Secretary of State, upon another Resolution of the Senate of the 29th will be accompanied by such unpublished correspondence between the Department and the mission to Spain previous to, and including 1820, as may be discovered.

All which is respectfully submitted.

*To John Tyler.*¹

Department of State, Washington,
May 20th, 1844.

To the President of the United States:

The Secretary of State to whom has been referred the Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 22^d ulto., requesting the President to inform the House, "what measures, if any, are now in progress to obtain from the Government of Denmark, indemnity for three ships and their cargoes, sent by Commo. John Paul Jones in the year 1779, as prizes into Bergen and Surrendered by order of the Danish King to the British Minister, in obedience to the demand of that Minister"—has the honor to submit copies of the following

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Report Book, Vol. 6; text derived from an official copy. John Paul Jones had sent some prizes into ports of Norway, where the Danish Government returned them to Great Britain. See Sherburne's Paul Jones, ed. 1851, pp. 257-261, etc., Twenty-fourth Congress, second session, H. R. 297, and the President's message of, May 20, 1844.

letters which appear to contain the information called for by the former portion of the Resolution.

The latter part of the Resolution enquires "whether the Treaty concluded between our Government and Denmark in 1830, in pursuance of which \$650,000 were paid by Denmark to the Government of the United States in satisfaction of all claims, which had heretofore been preferred by Citizens of the United States, on the Government of Denmark, did, in its execution, embrace the claim to indemnity for the aforesaid prizes sent by Commo. John Paul Jones into Bergen; and if not so included, are the claimants to those prizes excluded, by the terms of that Treaty, from further claim on the Government of Denmark."

In regard to the enquiry embraced in the latter part of this resolution, the Secretary of State is unable to perceive anything in the Treaty which would bar the Claim in question.

To R. M. T. Hunter.

C. C.

State Department 21st May 1844

MY DEAR SIR, . . . I am glad to learn, that you will be at the Convention.¹ Its proceedings will be pregnant with much good or evil. You must make a point to take Washington in your way. It will be indispensable, I should see you, in order to explain what is the actual State of things here. Without that it will be impossible to act intelligently and with effect; and it would be difficult to give you a full explanation within the ordinary limits of a letter. I will expect you, and you must not disappoint me.

To H. Archibald Arrington.²

Department of State, Washington, 23^d May, 1844.

SIR: In reply to your note of the 22d instant, enclosing a letter from Mr. Styron of Beaufort, N. C., concerning the

¹The approaching Democratic national nominating convention at Baltimore, which nominated Polk and Dallas.

²Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol. 34; text derived from an official copy. Archibald Arrington was from 1841 to 1845 a member of Congress from North Carolina.

claim of John Paul Jones against the Danish Government, in which he holds a certain interest, I have the honor to inform you that the present Diplomatic representative of the United States at Copenhagen has been instructed to call the attention of the Danish Government to these claims and to demand indemnity therefor, but that no decision has yet been made known to this Department.

For fuller information on the subject, I beg to refer you to the correspondence recently communicated to the House of Representatives in answer to a Resolution dated on the 22d ultimo respecting these claims.

*To Francis Wharton.*¹

Washington 28th May 1844

MY DEAR SIR, I am always gratified with the free expression of the opinions of my friends. I infer from your remarks, that you are of the impression that I am some how or other connected with M^r Tyler in reference to the Presidential election. Nothing is farther from the fact. I have no understanding, or connection with him whatever in reference to it. I accepted the office I hold with the utmost reluctance, and with an express declaration on my part, that I accepted it wholly in reference to the pending negotiations and that I should be at liberty to retire as soon as they were closed. I came here resolved to take no part in the presidential election, or the party politicks of the day unless forced by circumstances over which I could have no control to do so. The unexpected opposition of M^r Clay and M^r V. B to the Treaty, and the wholly unjustifiable assaults on me by the friends of the latter, have compelled me to oppose him and them, which I have done decidedly; and to that extent, and no farther, have I interfered. Their course has made a thorough reorganization of the party necessary, and when I say their course, I do not refer simply to it in reference to Texas, but on the subjects of the Tariff and abolition, on both of which they have identified themselves with the Whigs, and that in violation of the most open and solemn pledges often given.

¹ Original lent by Mrs. Francis Wharton, of Washington. See Wharton's letters of May 22 and May 31, in Part II, *post*.

If the Texas question to a northern eye does not appear sufficiently sustained by the documents, I must think, it is owing to the fact, that that portion of the Union has not duly weighed the danger to which the movements and avowed policy of Great Britain in reference to Texas would, if consummated, expose the southern and western states, and the obligation which this Government is under to defend them. I must say, that I fear from what I see and hear, even from the enlightened and well disposed at the North, that the zeal, which the South has ever evinced to defend the North, when her interest is involved, will never be reciprocated on her part. On three memorable occasions, the war of the Revolution, that of 1812, and the threatened war of the Maine boundary, when the interest of the north was mainly involved, we evinced a zeal not less than her own, for her defence. In none of these cases, had we any particular or local interest, yet we did not on that account hold back. Even in the local question of the Maine boundary, which involved a few hundred thousands of acres of barren land, we came up unanimously to the rescue; but now, when for the first time we ask for defence; when our very safety is at stake, the great body of the enlightened portion of the North either hold back, or oppose. There is something wrong in all this, and not a little ominous to the duration of our system. If our safety and the great interest we have in maintaining the existing relation between the two races in the south, are of no estimation in the eyes of our northern friends—if they see neither insult nor danger, in the Declaration of the Earl of Aberdeen, in reference to that relation, in connection with Texas, it is time we should know it. If they are insensible or blind to our danger on that vital point, they may rest assured we are not.

I think you will find, when you come to look in to the facts, that you have permitted Co^l Benton's unfounded assertions to make an erroneous impression on your mind. His whole speech¹ is a mass of contradictions, resting on baseless assumptions, as I think you will see, should [you] read the replies, which have been made to him. He, and, I must say, M^r Clay

¹ See Benton's *Thirty Years*, II, 600-616.

and Mr V. B. have involved themselves by their course in a web of contradiction, from which they can never extricate themselves.

As to myself, I am of the impression, if we shall have the folly or wickedness to permit Great Britain to plant the lever of her power between the U. States and Mexico, on the Northern shore of the Gulph of Mexico, we give her a place to stand on, from which she can [brave?] at pleasure the American Continent and control its destiny. There is not a vacant spot left on the Globe, not excepting Cuba, to be seized by her, so well calculated to further the boundless schemes of her ambition and cupidity. If we should permit her to seize on it, we shall deserve the execration of posterity. Reject the treaty, and refuse to annex Texas, and she will certainly seize on it. A treaty of alliance commercial and political will be forthwith proposed by Texas to her, and I doubt not accepted. This for yourself.

To William S. Archer.¹

Department of State, Washington, 6th June, 1844.

SIR: In reply to your letter of the 3rd instant, asking for information in regard to the Sardinian mission, I have the honor to state that the motives for the establishment of that mission, and the advantages to be anticipated from diplomatic relations with Sardinia will be found clearly set forth in the papers accompanying the Treaty of commerce with Sardinia communicated by the President to the Senate, on the 24th January 1839,² to which I beg leave to refer you. It may be proper to observe for the information of the Senate that Genoa, the Commercial capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia is the largest commercial Emporium in the Mediterranean. It is the principal point from which the smaller ports of Italy, the Levant, and Africa are supplied with the Colonial products of this hemisphere.

¹ Original in the archives of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, Vol 34; text derived from an official copy. Archer, of Virginia, M. C 1820-1835, Senator 1841-1847, was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

² Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, III, 512; treaty of November 26, 1838.